ECCLESIA RESTAURATA;

OR, THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION of the CHURCH

OF

ENGLAND:

CONTAINING

The *Beginning, Progress,* and *Successes* of it; the *Counsels,* by which it was conducted; the *Rules* of Piety, and Prudence, upon which it was Founded; the several Steps, by which it was promoted, or retarded, in the Change of Times:

FROM

The first Preparations to it by King HENRY *the Eight,* untill the *Legal* Settling, and Establishment of it under Queen *ELIZABETH:*

TOGETHER

With the Intermixture of such *Civil Actions,* and *Affairs* of *State,* as either were Co-incident with it, or related to it.

By *PETER HEYLYN,* D.D.

The second Edition, with the Addition of a very useful Table of all the Principal Matters contained in the whole Book.

LONDON,

Printed for *H. Twyford, J. Place, T. Basset, W. Palmer*; to be sold in *Vine-Court, Middle-Temple*; the *George in Fleet-street*, and *Furnival's* Inn-Gate in *Holborn*, 1670.

HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION of the CHURCH

OF

ENGLAND:

To the Most Sacred

MAJESTY
OF KING
CHARLES
THE SECOND.

Most Gracious Soveraign,

IT *was an usual* Saying *of* King JAMES (*Your* Majestie's most Learned *Grand-Father*) *of Blessed Memory, that,* Of all the Churches in the *World,* He knew not any which came nearer to the *Primitive* Pattern, for Doctrine, Government, and Worship, then the *Reformed Church* of *England. A* Saying, *which He built not upon Fancy, and Affection only; but on such Just and Solid Reasons, as might sufficiently endear it to all Knowing Men. The Truth, and Certainty whereof, will be made apparent by the following* History, *which here, in all Humility, is offered to Your* Majestie's *View. It is* (Dread Sir) *an* History *of the* Reformation of the Church of ENGLAND, *with all the Various Fortunes, and Successes of it, from the first Agitations in* Religion *under* HENRY the Eight (*which served for a Preamble thereunto*) *until the Legal Setling, and Establishment of it by the great* Queen ELIZABETH, *of Happy Memory. A* Piece *not to be Dedicated to any other, then Your* Sacred Majesty; *who, being rais'd by God, to be a* Nur-

 sing

sing Father *to this part of His* Church, *may possibly discharge that Duty with the Greater tenderness, when You shall find upon what* Rules *of* Piety, *and* Christian Prudence, *the Work was carryed on by the first* Reformers. *Which being once found, it will be no hard matter to determine of such Means, and Counsels, whereby the* Church *may be restored to her Peace and Purity; from which She is most miserably fallen by our late* Distractions. *It cannot be denyed, but that some* Tares *grew up almost immediately with the* Wheat *it self; and seem'd so specious to the* Eye, *in the* Blade, *or* Stalk, *that they were taken by some* Credulous, *and* Confiding *Men, for the better* Grain. *But still they were no more then* Tares, *distinguished easily in the* Fruits (*the Fruits of* Errour, *and* False Doctrine, *of* Faction, Schism, Disorder, *and perhaps* Sedition) *from the* Lord's good Seed. *And, being of an abler sowing* (*a* Supersemination, *as the* Vulgar *reads it*) *and sown on purpose by a Cunning and Industrious* Enemy, *to raise an* Harvest *to himself, they neither can pretend to the same* Antiquity, *and much less to the* Purity *of that* Sacred Seed, *with which the* Field *was sown, at first, by the* Heavenly Husband-man. *I leave the* Application *of this* Parable *to the following* History, *and shall conclude with this* Address *to* Almighty God; *That, as He hath restored Your* Majesty *to the Throne of Your* Father, *and done it in so strange a manner, as makes it seem a* Miracle *in the Eyes of* Christendom; *so He would settle You in the same, on so sure a Bottom, that no Design of* Mischievous, *and* Unquiet *Men may disturb Your* Peace, *or detract any thing from those* Felicities, *which You have acquired. So prayeth,*

Dread Sovereign,

Your Majestie's *most obedient Servant,*
and most Loyal Subject,

PETER HEYLYN.

To the Reader.

READER,

HEre present thee with a Piece of as great variety as can be easily comprehended in so narrow a compass; the History of an Affair of such Weight, and Consequence, as had a powerful Influence on the rest of *Christendom*: It is an History of the *Reformation* of the Church of *England*, from the first Agitations in Religion under *HENRY the Eight*, until the final setling, and establishing of it (in Doctrine, Government, and Worship) under the Fortunate, and most Glorious Reign of Queen *ELIZABETH*. Nor hast thou here a bare Relation onely of such Passages, as those Times afforded, but a discovery of those Counsels, by which the Action was conducted; the Rules of Piety and Prudence, upon which it was carryed; the several steps, by which it was promoted, or retarded in the Change of Times; together with the Intercurrence of such civil Concernments, both at home, and abroad, as either were co-incident with it, or related to it. So that We may affirm of this present History, as *Florus* doth of his *Compendium* of the *Roman* Stories, *Ut non tam populi unius, quam totius generis humani*; that is to say, That it contains not only the Affairs of one State or Nation, but in a manner, of the greatest part of all Civil Governments. The Work first hinted by a Prince of an undanted Spirit, the Master of as great a Courage, as the World had any; and, to say truth, the Work required it: He durst not else have grapled with that mighty Adversary, who, claiming to be Successour to St. *Peter* in the *See* of *Rome*, and *Vicar-*

General to *Christ* over all the Church, had gained unto himself an absolute Sovereignty over all Christian Kings and Princes in the *Western Empire*: But this King being violently hurried with the transport of some private Affections, and finding that the *Pope* appeared the greatest Obstacle to his desires, he first divested him by degrees of that Supremacy, which had been challenged, and enjoyed by his Predecessours for some Ages past; and finally, extinguished His Authority in the Realm of *Engl.* without noise, or trouble; to the great admiration and astonishment of the rest of the Christian World. This opened the first way to the *Reformation*, and gave encouragement to those, who enclined unto it: To which the King afforded no small Countenance, out of Politick Ends, by suffering them to have the Bible in the *English* Tongue, and to enjoy the benefit of such Godly *Tractates*, as openly discovered the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*. But, for his own part, he adhered to his old Religion, severely persecuted those who dissented from it, & dyed (though Excommunicated) in that Faith & Doctrine, which he had sucked in, as it were, with his Mother's Milk; and of the which he shew'd himself so stout a champion against *Martin Luther*, in his first quarrels with the *Pope*.

Next comes a *Minor* on the stage, just, mild, and gracious; whose Name was made a Property to serve turns withall, and his Authority abused (as commonly it happened on the like occasions) to his own undoing. In his first year, the *Reformation* was resolved on, but on different ends; endeavoured by some Godly Bishops, and other Learned and Religious Men of the lower Clergy, out of Judgment & Conscience; who managed the Affair according to the Word of God, the Practice of the Primitive Times, the general current and consent of the old Catholick Doctors; but not without an Eye to such Foreign Churches, as seemed to have most consonancy to the ancient Forms: Promoted with like Zeal, and Industry, but not with like Integrity, and Christian Candour, by some great men about the Court; who, under colour of removing such Corruptions, as remained in the Church, had cast their Eyes upon the spoil of Shrines, and Images (though still preserv'd in the greatest part of the *Lutheran* Churches) and the improving of their own *Fortunes* by the *Chantery-Lands*: All which, most sacrilegiously they divided amongst themselves, without admitting the poor King to his share therein; though nothing but the filling of his Coffers, by the spoil of the one, and the encrease of his Revenue,

Revenue, by the fall of the other, was openly pretended in the Conduct of it. But ſeparating this *Obliquity* from the main Intendment, the Work was vigorouſly carryed on by the King, and his Councellours; as appears cleared by the *Doctrinals* in the *Book of Homilies*, & by the *Practical part* of Chriſtian Piety, in the firſt *Publick Liturgie* confirmed by *Act of Parliament*, in the ſecond and third year of this King; and in that Act (and, which is more, by *Fox* himſelf) affirmed to have *been done by the eſpecial aid of the Holy Ghoſt*. And here the buſineſs might have reſted, if *Calvin*'s Pragmatical Spirit had not interpoſed: He firſt began to quarrel at ſome paſſages in this *Sacred Liturgie*, and afterwards never let ſolliciting the *Lord Protector*, and practiſing by his *Agents* on the Court, the Countrey, and the Univerſities, til he had laid the firſt foundation of the *Zuinglian* Faction, who laboured nothing more, than Innovation both in Doctrine, and Diſcipline. To which they were encouraged by nothing more than ſome improvident Indulgence granted unto *John A-Laſco*; Who bringing with him a mixt multitude of *Poles*, and *Germans*, obtained the Priviledge of a Church for himſelf and his, diſtinct in Government, and Forms of Worſhip, from the Church of *England*.

This gave a powerful animation to the *Zuinglian Goſpellers* (as they are called by Biſhop *Hooper*, and ſome other Writers) to practiſe firſt upon the Church; who being countenanced, if not headed by the Earl of *Warwick* (who then began to undermine the *Lord Protectour*) firſt quarrelled the Epiſcopal Habit, and afterwards inveighed againſt Caps, and Surplices, againſt Gowns and Tippets; but fell at laſt upon the Altars, which were left ſtanding in all Churches by the Rules of the *Liturgie*. The touching on this String made excellent Muſick to moſt of the Grandees of the Court, who had before caſt many an envious Eye on thoſe coſtly Hangings, that Maſſie Plate, and other rich and precious Utenſils, which adorn'd thoſe Altars. And *What need all this Waſte?* ſaid *Judas*; when one poor Chalice only, and perhaps not that might have ſerved the turn. Beſides, there was no ſmall ſpoil to be made of *Copes*, in which the Prieſt officiated at the holy Sacrament; ſome of them being made of Cloth of Tyſſue, of Cloth of Gold and Silver, or imbroidered Velvet; the meaneſt being made of Silk, or Sattin, with ſome decent Trimming. And might not theſe be handſomly converted unto private uſes, to ſerve as Carpets for their Tables, Coverlids

verlids to their Beds, or Cuſhions to their Chairs, or Windows. Hereupon ſome rude People are encouraged under-hand to beat down ſome Altars, which makes way for an Order of the *Council-Table*, to take down the reſt, and ſet up Tables in their places; Followed by a Commiſſion, to be executed in all parts of the Kingdom, for ſeiſing on the *Premiſes* to the uſe of the *King*. But as the Grandees of the Court intended to defraud the King of ſo great a Booty and the Commiſſioners to put a Cheat upon the Court-Lords, who employed them in it: So they were both prevented in ſome places by the Lords, and Gentry of the Countrey, who thought the Altar-Cloths, together with the copes, and plate of their ſeveral Churches, to be as neceſſary for themſelves, as for any others. This Change drew on the Alteration of the former *Liturgy*, reviewed by certain Godly *Prelates*, reduced almoſt into the ſame Form, in which now it ſtands, and confirmed by *Parliament* in the 5th. & 6th. years of this King; but almoſt as unpleaſing to the *Zuinglian Faction*, as the former was. In which Conjuncture of Affairs dyed King *Edward the Sixth*. From the beginning of whoſe Reign, the Church accounts the *Epoche* of a *Reformation*. All that was done in order to it, under *Henry the eight*, ſeem'd to be accidental only, and by the by rather deſigned on private Ends, then out of any ſetled purpoſe to *Reform* the *Church*, & therefore intermitted, and reſumed again, as thoſe Ends had variance. But now the Work was carried on with a conſtant Hand, the *Prelates* of the *Church* co-operating with the *King* and his *Council*, and each contriving with the other, for the Honour of it. Scarce had they brought it to this paſs, when King *Edward* dyed, whoſe Death I cannot reckon for an Infelicity to the Church of *England*: For being ill-principled in himſelf, and eaſily inclined to embrace ſuch Counſels as were offered to Him; it is not to be thought, but that the reſt of the Biſhopricks (before ſufficiently empoveriſhed) muſt have followed *Durham*, and the poor Church be left as deſtitute of Lands, and Ornaments, as when ſhe came into the World in Her Natural Nakedneſs. Nor was it like to happen otherwiſe in the following Reign, if it had laſted longer than *a Nine day's Wonder*. For *Dudley* of *Northumberland*, who then ruled the Roaſt, & had before diſſolved, and in hope devoured, the Wealthy Biſhoprick of *Durham*, might eaſily have poſſeſſed himſelf of the greateſt part of the Revenues of *York*, & *Carliſle*. By means whereof, He would have made himſelf more abſolute on the North-ſide of the *Trent*, then the

poor

poor Titular Queen (a most virtuous Lady) could have been suffered to continue on the South side of it. To carry on whose Interests, and maintain Her Title, the poor remainder of the *Church*'s *Patrimony* was, in all probability, to have been shared amongst those of that Party to make them sure unto the side. But the *Wisdom* of this great *Achitophel*, being turned to *foolishness*; He fell into the Hands of the Publick Hang-man, and thereby saved himself the labour of becoming his own Executioner.

Now *MARY* comes to Act Her Part, and She drives on furiously: Her Personal Interests had strongly byassed Her to the *Church* of *Rome*; On which depended the Validity of Her Mather's Marriage, and consequently Her own *Legitimation*, and *Succession* to the Crown of this Realm. And it was no hard matter for Her, in a time unsettled, to Repeal all the *Acts* of Her Brother's Reign, and after to restore the Pope unto that Supremacy, of which Her Father had deprived him. A Reign Calamitous, and unfortunate to Her Self, and Her Subjects; Unfortunate to Her Self in the loss of *Calais*; Calamitous to Her Subjects, by many Insurrections, and Executions; but more by the effusion of the Bloud of so many *Martyrs*. For though She gave a check to the *Rapacity* of the former Times; yet the *Professours* of the *Reformation* paid dearly for it, whose Bloud She caused to be poured forth, *like Water*, in most parts of the *Kingdom*; but no where more abundantly, than in *Bonner*'s *Slaughter House*: Which being within the view of the *Court*, and *under Her own Nose* (as the *Saying* is) must needs entitle Her to a great part of those Horrid *Cruelties*, which almost every day were acted by that bloudy *Butcher*. The *Schism* at *Frankfort* took beginning in the same time also, occasioned by some *Zealots* of the *Zuinglian* Faction; who needs must lay aside the use of the *Publick Liturgie* (retained by all the rest of the *English* Exiles) the better to make way for such *Forms* of *Worship*, as seemed more consonant to *Calvin*'s Platform, and the *Rules* of *Geneva*:

VVhich woful *Schiſm*, ſo wretchedly begun in a *Foreign Nation*, they laboured to promote by all ſiniſter Practiſes in the Church of *England*, when they returned from *Exile* in the *following Reign*. The miſerable Effects whereof we feel too ſenſibly and ſmartly, to this very day.

But the great Buſineſs of *this Reign* related to the reſtitution of the *Abbey-Lands*, endeavour'd earneſtly by the *Queen*, and no leſs ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the then preſent Owners, who had all the reaſon in the World to maintain that Right, which by the known *Laws of the Land*, had been veſted in them. For when the *Monaſteries*, and *Religious Houſes*, had been diſſolved by ſeveral *Acts of Parliament*, in the time of *King Henry*; the Lands belonging to thoſe *Houſes* were, by thoſe *Acts*, conferr'd upon the *King* and His Succceſſours, *Kings*, and *Queens* of *England*. Moſt of which Lands were either exchanged for others with the *Lords*, and *Gentry*, or ſold, for valuable Conſideration, to the reſt of the *Subjects*. All which *Exchanges*, *Grants*, and *Sales*, were paſſed, and Confirmed by the King's *Letters Patents*, under the *Great Seal* of *England*, in due *Form of Law*; Which gave unto the *Patentees* as good a Title, as the *Law* could make them. This was well known unto the *Pope*, and He knew well upon what tickliſh *Terms* He ſtood with the *Lords*, and *Commons*, then Aſſembled in *Parliament*; whom if He did not gratifie with ſome Signal Favour, He could not hope to be reſtored by them to His former Power: for, being deprived of His *Supremacy* by *Act of Parliament* in the Time of *King HENRY*, He could not be reſtored unto it, but by *Act of Parliament* in the time of *Queen MARY*; and no ſuch *Act* could be obtained, or compaſſed for Him, without a Confirmation of *Church-Lands* to the preſent Owners. To which Neceſſity Pope *Julius* being forced to ſubmit Himſelf, He iſſueth a *Decree*, accompanied with ſome *Reaſons*, which might ſeem to induce Him to it, for confirming all ſuch *Lands* on the preſent Occupants, of which they ſtood poſſeſſed

(*juſto*

(*juſto Titulo*) *by a Lawful Title.* And this was onely reckoned by him for a Lawful *Title*; Firſt, that *they were poſſeſſed of the ſaid Lands* (juxta Leges hujus Regni pro tempore exiſtentes) *according to the Laws of the Land which were then in force, whether by purchaſe, or gift, or in the way of Exchange:* which are the words of the *Decree.* And ſecondly, *If the ſaid Lands were warranted, and confirmed unto them, by* Letters Patents *from the two laſt Kings;* (*qui per literas Patentes eaſdem Terras Warrantizarunt*) as is declared in the Second of the following *Reaſons.* For which Conſult the *Book*, Entituled, *No Sacriledge, nor Sin, to purchaſe Cathedral-Lands,* &c. page 52. Where ſtill obſerve, that nothing made a *Lawful Title* in the *Pope*'s Opinion, but the King's *Letters Patents*, grounded on the *Laws* of the *Land*, as is expreſſed more clearly in the former Paſſages. But this can no way ſerve the Turn of ſome preſent *Purchaſers*, though much inſiſted on by one of that number, to juſtifie his defacing of an *Epiſcopal Palace*, and his pretenſions to the Wealthy *Borrough*, which depended on it; For certainly, there muſt needs be a vaſt diſproportion between ſuch *Contracts*, as were founded upon *Acts of Parliament*, Legally paſſed by the *King*'s Authority, with the Conſent, and Approbation of the *Three Eſtates*, and thoſe, which have no other Ground, but the bare *Votes*, and *Orders*, of both *Houſes* onely, and perhaps not that. And by this *Logick*, he may as well juſtifie the late horrid Murther committed on the moſt incomparable Majeſty of *King CHARLES the Firſt*, as ſtand upon the making good of ſuch *Grants*, and *Sales*, as were *Contracted* for, with ſome of thoſe very Men, who *Voted* to the ſetting up of the *High Court of Juſtice*, as moſt ridiculouſly, they were pleaſed to call it: When I ſhall ſee him do the one, I muſt bethink my ſelf of ſome further *Arguments* to refute the other.

And ſo *Queen MARY* makes Her *Exit*, and leaves the *Stage* to *Queen ELIZABETH*, Her younger Siſter; A Princeſs, which had long been trained up in the

School

School of *Experience*, and knew the *Temper* of the *People*, whom She was to Govern; who, having generally embraced the *Reformed Religion*, in the Time of Her *Brother*, moſt paſſionately deſired the Enjoyment of it under Her Protection; And She accordingly reſolved to ſatisfie the Piety of their Deſire, as ſoon as She had Power, and Opportunity, to go thorough with it. In Proſecution of which Work, She raiſed Her whole *Fabrick* on the ſame *Foundation*, which had been lay'd by the *Reformers* in the Reign of *King EDWARD*; that is to ſay, the *Word of God*, the *Practiſe* of the *Primitive Times*, the *General Current* of the *Fathers*, and the *Example* of ſuch *Churches*, as ſeemed to retain moſt in them of the *Antient Forms*. But then She added thereunto ſuch an equal mixture, both of Strength, and Beauty, as gave great Luſtre to the *Church*, and drew along with it many rare Felicities on the *Civil State*, both *Extraordinary* in themſelves, and *of long Continuance*, as the moſt Excellent *King JAMES* (*) hath right-well obſerved: So that We may affirm of the *Reformation* of the *Church* of *England*, as the *Hiſtorian* (*) doth of the Power, and Greatneſs of the *Realm* of *Macedon*; that is to ſay, that *The ſame Arts, by which the firſt Foundations of it were laid by* PHILIP, *were practiſed in the Conſummation, and Accompliſhment of it, by the Care of* ALEXANDER. For, in the firſt Year of Her *Reign*, the *Liturgie*, being firſt *Reviewed*, and qualified in ſome Particulars, was confirmed by *PARLIAMENT*; in *Her* firſt Year, the *Articles of Religion* were agreed upon by the *Convocation*; and in the Eighth, the *Government of the Church*, by *Arch-Biſhops*, and *Biſhops*, received as ſtrong a Confirmation, as the *Laws* could give it. And, for this laſt, We are beholden unto *BONNER*, the late Biſhop of *LONDON*, who being called upon, to take the *OATH of Supremacie*, by *HORN* of *Winton*, refuſed to take the *OATH*, upon this Account, becauſe *HORN*'s

Con-

* In His *Proclamation* of *March* 5th. 160$\frac{3}{4}$.

* *Quibus artibus Imperii fundamenta locavit Pater, iisdem operis totius gloriam conſummavit Filius.* Juſt. lib. 6.

Conſecration was not good, and valid, by the *Laws* of the Land: Which he inſiſted on, becauſe the *Ordinal*, Eſtabliſhed in the Reign of King *EDWARD*, (by which both *HORN*, and all the reſt of Queen *ELIZABETH*'s Biſhops received *Conſecration*) had been diſcharged by Queen *MARY*, and not reſtored by any *Act of Parliament* in the preſent Reign. Which being firſt declared by *PARLIAMENT*, in the Eighth of this Queen, to be *Caſus omiſſus*, or rather, that the *Ordinal* was looked upon, as a part of the *Liturgie*, which had been ſolemnly confirmed in the firſt of this Queen's Reign, they next *Enacted*, and *Ordained*, "That all ſuch Bi-"ſhops, as were Conſecrated by that *Ordinal*, in the "Times precedent, or ſhould be Conſecrated by it, in "the time to come, ſhould be reputed, to be lawfully "Ordained, and Conſecrated, to all Intents, and Pur-"poſes, in the Law, whatever. Which added as much Strength to the *Epiſcopal Government*, as the Authority of Man, and an *Act of Parliament*, could poſſibly Conferr upon it. This made the *Queen* more conſtant to Her former Principles, of keeping up the *Church* in its Power, and Purity, without ſubjecting it to any, but Her Self alone: She looked upon Her Self, as the Sole Fountain of both *Jurisdictions*, which She reſolved to keep in their proper Chanels; neither permitting them to mingle Waters upon any occaſion, nor ſuffering either of them to invade, and deſtroy the other. And to this *Rule* She was ſo conſtant, that when one *Morrice*, being then *Attorney* of the *Dutchy* of *Lancaſter*, had offered a *Bill*, ready drawn, to the *Houſe of Commons*, in the Thirty Fifth of Her *Reign*, for the Retrenching of the *Eccleſiaſtical Courts*, in much Narrower Bounds; She firſt commanded *Coke*, then *Speaker*, (and afterwards ſucceſſively Chief Juſtice of either Bench) not to admit of any ſuch Seditious *Bills*, for the time to come. And, that being done, She cauſed the perſon of the ſaid Attorney to be ſeized upon, deprived him

of his Place in the *Dutchy-Court*, disabled him from Practising as a *Common-Lawyer*; and, finally, shut him up in *Tutbury*-Castle, where he continued till his Death. By which Severity, and keeping the like Constant Hand in the Course of Her Government, She held so great a Curb on the *Puritan* Faction, that neither Her *Parliaments*, nor Her Courts of Justice, were from thence forth much troubled with them, in the rest of her Reign.

This is the Sum, and Method, of the following *History*; in the Particulars whereof thou wilt find more to satisfie thy Curiosity, and inform thy Judgment, than can be possibly drawn up in this General View. As for my Self, and my performance in this Work: in the first place, I am to tell thee, that towards the raising of this *Fabrick*, I have not borrowed my Materials only out of Vulgar Authors, but searched into the Registers of the Convocation; consulted all such Acts of Parliament, as concerned my Purpose, advised with many Foreign Writers, of great Name and Credit, exemplified some Records, and Charters, of no common Quality, many rare Pieces in the famous *Cottonian* Library, and not a few Debates, and Orders, of the Council-Table, which I have laid together in as good a Form, and beautified it with a Trimming as agreeable, as my hands could give it. And, next, I am to let thee know, that in the whole Carriage of this Work, I have assumed unto my Self the Freedom of a *Just Historian*; concealing nothing out of Fear, nor speaking any thing for Favour: delivering nothing for a Truth, without good Authority; but so delivering that Truth, as to witness for me, that I am neither byassed by Love, or Hatred, (*) nor over-swayed by Partiality, and corrupt Affections: If I seem *tart* at any time, as sometimes I may, it is but in such Cases onely, and on such occasions, in which there is no good to be done by Lenitives, and where the *Tumor* is so putrified, as to need a Lancing. For, in this Case, a true *Historian* must have somewhat in him of the good *Samaritan*, in using Wine, or Vinegar, to cleanse the

(*) *Nec odio, nec amore, dicturus aliquid*, &c. Tacit. *Hist.* lib. 1.

the Wound, as well as Oil to qualifie the Grief of the Inflammation. I know it is impoſſible (even in a VVork of this Nature) to pleaſe all Parties, though I have made it my Endeavour to diſſatisfie none, but thoſe, that *hate to be reformed*, in the *Pſalmiſt*'s Language; or otherwiſe are ſo tenaciouſly wedded to their own Opinions, that neither Reaſon, nor Authority, can divorce them from it. And thus (*good Reader*) I commend thee to the Bleſſings of God, whom I beſeech to guide thee in the way to Eternal Life, amongſt thoſe intricate VVindings, and uncertain Turnings, thoſe Crooked Lanes, and Dangerous Precipices, which are round about thee. And ſo fare thee well.

From VVeſtminſter,
October *the* 20th.
1660.

To the Reader.

An. 1536.

THE PARENTAGE, BIRTH, and FIRST FORTUNES of PRINCE EDWARD,

The onely surviving Son of King HENRY the Eighth, before his coming to the CROWN:

With the Condition of Affairs both in Church and State, at his first Coming to the same.

PRINCE *Edward*, the onely surviving son of King *Henry* the Eighth, was born at the Royal Palace of *Hampton* Court, on the twelfth day of *October*, *Anno* 1537. Descended from his Father, by the united Families of *York* and *Lancaster*; by his Grand-father King *Henry* the seventh, from the old Royal Line of the Kings of *Wales*; by his Grand-Mother Queen *Elizabeth*, the eldest daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, from a long continued Race of Kings, descending from the Loins of the *Norman* Conquerour; and finally by *Maud*, the Wife of King *Henry* the first, from *Edmond*, surnamed *Ironside*, the last unquestionable King (as to the Right of his Succession) of the *Saxon* Race; so that all Titles seemed to be Concentred in the Person of this Infant Prince, which Might assure the Subjects of a Peaceable, and untroubled Reign, so much the more, because his Mothers Mariage was not subject unto any Dispute (as were those of the two former Queens) whereby th Legitimation of her Issue might be called in ques-

An. 1536. ſtion: An happineſs, which recompenſed all defects that might be otherwiſe pretended againſt her Birth, not anſwerable unto that of ſo Great a Monarch, and ſhort in ſome reſpects of that of her Predeceſſor, in the Kings affections; though of a Family truly Noble, and of great Antiquity. Concerning which, it will be neceſſary to premiſe ſomewhat in this place, not only for the ſetting forth of this Queens Progenitors, but that we may the better underſtand the State of that Family, which was to Act ſo great a part on the Stage of *England*.

Know then, that Queen *Jane Seimour*, was Daughter of Sir *John Seimour*, of *Wolf-Hall*, in the County of *Wilts*. Deſcended from that *William de* St. *Mauro* (contracted afterwards called *Sanſour*) who by the Aid of *Gilbert* Lord *Marſhal*, Earl of *Pembrok*, recovered *Wendy*, and *Penhow*, (now parts of *Monmouth-ſhire*) from the hands of the *Welſh*, *Anno* 1240. being the two and twentieth year of King *Henry* the thirds Reign; which *William*, as he deſcended lineally from the d' *Sancto Mauro*, whoſe name we find in the Roll of *Battle Abbey*, amongſt thoſe Noble Families which came in with the Conquerour; ſo was he one of the Progenitours of that Sr *Roger* S. *Maur*, or *Seimour*, Knight, who marryed one of the daughters, and Heirs of *John Beauchamp* of *Hach*, a right Noble Baron, who brought his Pedigree from *Sybil*, one of the five daughters, and Heirs of *William Marſhal*, the famous, and moſt puiſſant Earl of *Pembroke*, marryed to *William de Herrares*, Earl of *Herrars* and *Darby*, as alſo from *Hugh d' Vivon*, and *William Mallet*, men in times paſt moſt Renowned, for Eſtate and Chivalry; which goodly Patrimony was afterwards very much augmented, by the Marriage of one of this Noble Family, with the Daughter, and Heir of the *Eſturmies*, Lords of *Wolf-Hall*, not far from *Marleborough*, in the County of *Wilts*, who bare for Arms, *Argent*, 3. *Demy Lions*, *Gules*; And from the time of King *Henry* the ſecond, were by right of inheritance, the Bailiffs and Guardians of the Forreſt of *Savernark*, lying hard by; which is of great note for plenty of Good Game, and for a kind of Fern there, that yieldeth a moſt pleaſant ſavour: In remembrance whereof, their Hunters Horn, of a mighty bigneſs, and tipt with ſilver, is kept by the Earls of *Hartford* unto this day, as a Monument of their Deſcent from ſuch Noble Anceſtors. Out of which houſe came Sir *John Seimour*, *of Wolf-Hall*, the Father of this Excellent Queen; as alſo of the three ſons, *Edward*, *Henry*, and *Thomas*; of which we ſhall ſpeak ſomewhat ſeverally in the way of Preamble, the firſt and laſt being Principal Actors on the Publick Theater of King *Edwards* Reign.

And firſt, Sir *Edward Seimour*, the Eldeſt ſon, received the Order of Knighthood at the hands of *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*, and brother-in-law to King *Henry* the Eighth. In the fifteenth year of whoſe Reign, he Commanded a Right puiſſant Army in a War with *France*, where he took the Town of *Mont Dedier*, and other pieces of Importance. On this foundation he began the riſe of his following Fortunes, exceedingly improved by the Marriage of the King with his only Siſter, from whom, on *Tueſday* in *Whitſon*-week, *Anno* 1536. he received the Title of Viſcount *Beauchamp*, with reference to his Deſcent, from the Lord *John Beauchamp*, above mentioned, and on the eighteenth of *October*, in the year next following he was created Earl of *Hartford*. A man obſerved by Sir *John Haywood*, in his Hiſtory of K. *Edward* the ſixth, to be of *little eſteem for Wiſdom*, *Perſonage*, *or Courage in Arms*; but found withall, not onely to be very faithful, but exceeding fortunate, as long as he ſerved under the more Powerful Planet of King *Henry* the eighth. About five years before the end of whoſe Reign, (He being then *Warden* of the *Marches* againſt *Scotland*) the invaſion of King *James* the fifth, was by his direction encountred, and broken at *Solome Moſſe*, where divers of the *Scottiſh* Nobility were taken Priſoners. In the next year after, accompanied with Sir *John Dudly*, Viſcount *Liſle* (Created afterwards Earl of *Warwick*, and Duke of *Northumberland*, by King *Edward* the ſixth, with a handful of men he fired *Lieth*, and *Edin-*

Edinborough, and returned by a leisurely March 44 miles thorough the body of *Scotland*. And in the year following he invaded the *Scottish* Borders, wasted *Tivedale*, and the *Marches*, defacing all those Parts with spoil and ruine: As fortunate in his undertakings against the *French*, as against the *Scots*, for, being appoited by the King to view the Fortifications upon the Marches of *Callice*, he did not onely perform that service to the Kings contentment, but with the hardy approach of 7000. *English* men, raised an Army of 21000. *French*, Encamped over the River, before *Bolloine*, won their Ordnance, Carriage, Treasure, and Tents, with the loss only of one man; winning in his return from thence, the Castle of *Ouling*, commonly called the *Red Pile*, within shot and rescue of the Town of *Ardes*. And finally, in the year ensuing, (being the last of that Kings Reign) he began the Fortresses of *New-Haven*, *Blackness*, and *Bullingberg*; in which he plyed his work so well, that before his departure from those places, he had made them tenable. Such were his Actings in the time of King *Henry* the Eighth, against whose Powerful *Genius*, there was no withstanding. In all whose time, he never rose to any haughtiness in himself, or contempt of others, but still remained courteous, and affable towards all; chusing a course (least subject to envy) between stiff stubbornness, and servile flattery; without aspiring any further, than to hold a second place in the Kings good Grace. But, being left unto himself, and either overwhelmed by the Greatness of that Authority which was cast upon him, in the Minority of King *Edward*, or undermined by the practises of his cunning and malicious Enemies, he suddenly became (according to the usual Disports of Fortune) a calamitous ruine; as being in himself of an easie nature, apt to be wrought upon by more subtle heads, and wholly governed by his last Wife, of which more hereafter. *An.* 1536.

In the mean time we are to know, that having marryed one of the daughters, and Co-heirs of *William Hilol*, of *Woodlands*, in the County of *Dorset*, he had by her, amongst other Children, a Son called *Edward*, from whom descends Sir *Edward Seimour* of *Berry Pomery*, in the County of *Devon*, Knight, and Baron. After whose death he marryed *Ann*, the daughter of Sir *Edward Stanhop*, by whom he had a Son, called *Edward* also, on whom he was prevailed with, to entail both his Lands and Honours; the Children of the former bed being pretermitted. Concerning which there goes a story, that the Earl having been formerly imployed in *France* did there acquaint himself with a Learned man, supposed to have great skill in *Magick*: of whom he obtained, by great rewards, and importunities, to let him see, by the help of some Magical perspective, in what Estate all his Relations stood at home. In which impertinent curiosity, he was so far satisfied, as to behold a Gentleman of his acquaintance, in a more familiar posture with his wife, than was agreeable to the Honour of either Party. To which Diabolical illusion, he is said to have given so much credit, that he did not only estrange himself from her society at his coming home, but furnished his next wife with an excellent opportunity for, pressing him to the disinheriting of his former Children. But whether this were so or not, certain it is that his last wife, being a proud imperious woman, and one that was resolved to gain her own ends upon him, never left plying him, with one suspition after another, till in the end she had prevailed to have the greatest part of his Lands, and all his Honourable Titles setled on her eldest son. And that she might make sure work of it, she caused him to obtain a private Act of Parliament, in the 32 year of *Henry* the Eighth. *Anno* 1540. for entailing the same on this last *Edward*, and the Heirs-male of his body. So easie was he to be wrought on, by those that knew on which side he did lie most open to assaults and batteries.

Of a far different temper was his Brother *Thomas*, the youngest Son of Sir *John Seimour*, of a daring and enterprising nature, arrogant in himself, a dispiser of others, and a Contemner of all Counsels, which were not first forged in his own brain. Following his sister to the Court, he

An. 1536. he received the Order of Knighthood from the hands of the King, at ſuch time as his brother was made Earl of *Hartford*, and on *May* day; in the thirtieth year of the Kings Reign; he was one of the Challengers at the Magnificent Juſts, maintained by him, and others, againſt all comers in the Pallace of *Weſtminſter*; in which, together with the reſt, he behaved himſelf ſo highly to the Kings contentment, and their own great Honour, that they were all ſeverally rewarded with the Grant of 100. Marks of yearly Rent, and a convenient houſe for habitation thereunto belonging, out of the late diſſolved order of Saint *John* of *Jeruſalem*. Which being the firſt foundation of his following greatneſs, proved not ſufficient to ſupport the building which was raiſed upon it; the Gentleman, and almoſt all the reſt of the challengers, coming within few years after to unfortunate ends. For, being made Lord *Seimour* of *Sudley*, and Lord High Admiral of *England*, by King *Edward* the ſixth, he would not ſatisfie his ambition with a lower marriage, than the widow of his deceaſed Soveraign, aſpiring after her death to the bed of the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, the ſecond daughter of the King. Which wrought ſuch Jealouſies, and diſtruſts in the Head of his brother, then being Lord Protector of the King, and Kingdom, that he was thereupon Arraigned, Condemned, and executed (of which more anon) to the great joy of ſuch as practiſed to ſubvert them both. As for the Barrony of *Sudley*, denominated from a goodly Mannor, in the County of *Gloceſter*, it was anciently the Patrimony of *Harrold*, the eldeſt Son of *Ralph d' Mont*, the ſon of *Walter*, (*Medantinus* or *d' Mount*, and of *Goda* his wife, one of the daughters of *Ethilred*, and ſiſter of *Edmond*, ſirnamed *Ironſide*, Kings of *England*: whoſe Poſterity taking to themſelves the name of *Sudley*, continued in poſſeſſion of it till the time of *John*, the laſt Baron of this name and Family. Whoſe daughter *Joane* conveyed the whole eſtate in marriage to Sir *William Botteler*, of the Family of *Wemm*, in *Shropſhire*. From whom deſcended *Ralph*, Lord *Botteler*, of *Sudley* Caſtle, Chamberlain of the Houſhold to King *Henry* the ſixth, by whom he was created Knight of the Garter, and Lord High Treaſurer of *England*. And though the greateſt part of this Inheritance being divided beween the ſiſters and co-heirs, came to other Families, yet the Caſtle and Barony of *Sudley* remained unto a male of this houſe, untill the latter end of the Reign of King *Henry* the eighth, to whom it was eſcheated, by the Attainder of the laſt Lord *Botteler*, whoſe greateſt Crime was thought to be this goodly Mannor, which ſome greedy Courtiers had an eye on. And being fallen unto the Crown, it was no hard matter for the Lord Protector to eſtate the ſame upon his brother; who was ſcarce warmed in his new Honour, when it fell into the Crown again. Where it continued all the reſt of King *Edwards* Reign, and by Queen *Mary* was conferred on Sir *John Bruges*, (who derived his Pedigree from one of the ſaid ſiſters, and co-heirs of *Ralph*, Lord *Botteler*) whom ſhe ennobled, by the Title of Lord *Chaundos* of *Sudley*.

As for Sir *Henry Seimour*, the ſecond ſon of Sir *John Seimour*, he was not found to be of ſo fine a metal as to make a Courtier, and was therefore left unto the life of a Country Gentleman; Advanced by the Power and favour of his elder Brother, to the order of Knighthood; and afterwards Eſtated in the Mannours of *Marvell*, and *Tuyford*, in the County of *Southampton*, diſmembred in thoſe boken times from the See of *Wincheſter*. To each of theſe belonged a Park, that of the firſt containing no leſs than four miles, that of the laſt but two in compaſs; the firſt being alſo Honoured with a goodly Manſion houſe, belonging anciently to thoſe Biſhops, and little inferiour to the beſt of the Wealthy Biſhopricks. There goes a ſtory, that the Prieſt Officiating at the Altar, in the Church of *Ouſtebury* (of which Pariſh *Marvell* was a part) after the Maſs had been aboliſhed by the Kings Authority, was violently dragged thence by this Sir *Henry*, beaten, and moſt reproachfully handled by him, his ſervants univerſally refuſing to ſerve him, as the inſtruments of his Rage and Fury; and that the poor Prieſt having after an opportunity to get into the Church,

Church, did openly curse the said Sir *Henry*, and his posterity, *with Bell, Book, and Candle*, according to the use observed in the Church of *Rome*. Which, whether it were so or not, or that the main foundation of this Estate being laid on Sacrilege, could promise no long blessing to it; Certain it is, that his posterity are brought beneath the degree of poverty. For, having three Nephews, by Sir *John Seimour*, his only Son; that is to say, *Edward*, the eldest, *Henry* and *Thomas*, younger sons, besides several daughters, there remains not to any of them one foot of Land, or so much as a penny of money to supply their necessities, but what they have from the Munificence of the Marquess of *Hartford*, or the charity of other well disposed people, which have affection, or Relation to them. *An.* 1536.

But, the great ornament of this house, was their sister *Jane*, the only daughter of her father, by whose care she was preferred to the Court, and service of Queen *Ann Bollen*, where she out-shined all the other Ladies, and in short time had gained exceeding much on the King, a great admirer of Fresh Beauties, and such as could pretend unto no command on his own affections. Some Ladies who had seen the pictures of both Queens at *White Hall* Gallery, have entertained no small dispute, to which of the two they were to give Preheminence in point of beauty; each of them having such a plentiful measure of Perfections, as to Entitle either of them to a Superiority. If Queen *Ann* seemed to have the more lively countenance, Queen *Jane* was thought to carry it in the exact symetry, which showed it self in all her features; and what she carryed on that side, by that advantage, was over-ballanced on the other by a pleasing sprightfulness, which gained as much upon the hearts of all beholders. It was conceived by those Great Criticks in the Schools of Beauty, that love which seemed to threaten in the eyes of Queen *Jane*, did only seem to sport it self in the eyes of Queen *Ann*, that there was more Majesty in the Garb of Queen *Jane Seimour*, and more loveliness in that of Queen *Ann Bollen*; yet so, that the Majesty of the one did excel in Loveliness, and that the Loveliness of the other did exceed in Majesty. Sir *John Russell*, afterwards Earl of *Bedford*, who had beheld both Queens in their greatest Glories, did use to say *that the richer Queen Jane was in clothes, the fairer she appeared; but that the other, the richer she was apparrelled, the worse she looked*: which shows, that Queen *Ann* onely trusted to the Beauties of Nature, and that Queen *Jane* did sometimes help her self by external Ornaments. In a word, she had in her all the Graces of Queen *Ann*, but Governed (if my conjecture doth not fail me) with an evener, and more constant tempet, or if you will, she may be said to be equally made up of the two last Queens, as having in her all the Attractions of Queen *Ann*, but Regulated by the reservedness of Queen *Katherine* also. Lord *Herb. Hist. fol.* 387. 1536.

It is not to be thought, that so many rare perfections, should be long concealed from the eye of the King: or, that love should not work in him it's accustomed effects of desire and hope. In the prosecution whereof, he lay so open to discovery, that the Queen could not chuse but take notice of it, and intimated her suspitions to him, as appears by a Letter of hers in the *Scrinia Sacra*. In which she signifies unto him, that by hastning her intended death, he would be *left at liberty*, both before God and man, *to follow his affection, already settled on the Party, for whose sake* she was reduced unto that condition; and *whose name she could some while since have pointed to, his Grace not being ignorant of her suspitions*. And it appeared by the event, that she was not much mistaken in the Mark she aimed at. For, scarce had her lamentable death, which happened on the nineteenth of *May*, prepared the way for the Legitimating of this new affection, but on the morrow after the King was secretly marryed to Mistress *Seimour*, and openly showed her as his Queen in the *Whitsontide* following. A Marriage, which made some alteration in the face of the Court, in the advancing of her kindred, and discountenancing the Dependants of the former Queen; but otherwise produced no change in Affairs of State. The King proceeded as before

An. 1536. before, in ſuppreſſing Monaſteries, extinguiſhing the *Popes* Authority, & altering divers things in the face of the Church which tended to that Reformation, which after followed. For, on the eighth of *June* began the Parliament, in which here paſt an Act for the *final extinguiſhing of the Power of the Popes* of *Rome*, *Cap.* 10. And the next day a Convocation of the Biſhops and Clergy, managed by Sir *Thomas Cromwell*, advanced about that time unto the Title of Lord *Cromwell* of *Wimbledon*; and made his Majeſties *Viccar General*, of all Eccleſiaſtical Matters in the Realm of *England*. By whoſe Authority, a book was publiſhed, after Mature debate and Deliberation, under the name of *Articles, Deviſed by the Kings Highneſs*, in which is mentioned but three Sacraments, that is to ſay, *Baptiſm*, *Pennance*, and the *Lords Supper*. Beſides which book, there were ſome Acts agreed upon in the Convocation, for diminiſhing the ſuperfluous number of Holy days, eſpecially of ſuch as happened in the time of Harveſt. Signified afterwards to the people in certain *Injunctions*, publiſhed in the Kings name, by the new *Viccar General*, as the firſt fruits of his Authority. In which it was ordained amongſt other things, that the Curates in every Pariſh Church ſhould teach the People to ſay the Lords Prayer, the *Creed*, the *Ave-Mary*, and the Ten Commandments in the *Engliſh* Tongue.

But, that which ſeemed to make moſt for the Advantage of the new Queen, and her Poſterity (if it pleaſe God to give her any) was the unexpected death of the Duke of *Richmond*, the Kings natural Son, begotten on the body of the Lady *Talboi*: So dearly cheriſhed by his Father (having then no lawful Iſſue-male) that in the ſixth year of his Age, *An.* 1525. he created him Earl of *Nottingham*, and not long after Duke of *Richmond* and *Sommerſet*, preferred him to the Honourable office of *Earl Marſhal*, elected him into the Order of the Garter, made him Lord Admiral of the Royal Navy, in an expedition againſt *France*, and finally Affianced him to *Mary*, the daughter of *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, the moſt Powerful Subject in the Kingdom. Nor were theſe all the favours intended to him. The Crown it ſelf being deſigned him by the King, in default of Lawful Iſſue, to be procreated, and begotten of his Royal Body. For, in the *Act of the Succeſſion*, which paſt in the Parliament of this year, the Crown being firſt ſetled upon the Iſſue of this Queen, with the remainder to the Kings iſſue, lawfully begotten on any following Wife whatſoever; there paſt this clauſe in favour of the Duke of *Richmond* (as it was then generally conceived) that is to ſay, "That for lack of lawful heirs of the
An. 28. *Hen.* 8. Cap. VII. "Kings body, to be procreated, or begotten, as is afore limitted by this Act, "it ſhould, and might be lawful for him to confer the ſame on any ſuch Perſon, "or Perſons, in Poſſeſſion, and Remainder, as ſhould pleaſe his Highneſs, and "according to ſuch Eſtate, and after ſuch manner, form, faſhion, order, and "condition, as ſhould be expreſſed, declared, named, and limitted, in his ſaid "Letters Patents, or by his laſt Will: the Crown to be enjoyed by ſuch perſon, "or perſons, ſo to be nominated and appointed, in as large and ample manner, as "if ſuch Perſon or Perſons, had been his Highneſs Lawful Heirs to the Imperial "Crown of this Realm.

And though it might pleaſe God, as it after did, to give the King ſome Lawful Iſſue by this Queen, yet took he ſo much care for this natural ſon, as to enable himſelf by another Clauſe in the ſaid Act, "to advance any perſon, or "perſons of his moſt Royal Bloud, by Letters Patents, under the Great Seal, "to any Title, Stile, or Name, of any Eſtate, Dignity or Honour, whatſoever "it be, and to give to them, or any of them, any Caſtles, Honours, Mannours, "Lands, Tenements, Liberties, Franchiſes, or other Hereditaments in fee ſimple, or fee-tail, or for term of their lives, or the life of any of them.

But all theſe expectations and Proviſions were to no effect, the Duke departing this life at the age of 17 years, or thereabouts, within few dayes after the ending of this Seſſion, that is to ſay, on the 22th. day of *July*, *Anno* 1636. to the

the extream grief of the King, and the general sorrow of the Court, who had him in a High degree of Veneration, for his Birth and Gallantry. *An.* 1537.

It appears also by a passage in this Act of Parliament, above mentioned, that the King was not only hurried to this Marriage by his own affections, but by the *humble petition, and intercession of most of the Nobles of his Realm*; moved thereunto, as well by the *conveniency of her years*, as in respect that by her *excellent beauty, and pureness of flesh and bloud* (I speak the very words of the Act it self) she was *apt (God willing) to conceive issue.* And so accordingly it proved. For, on the 12th. of *October*, 1537. about two of the clock in the morning she was delivered of a young Prince (Christened not long after by the name of *Edward*) but it cost her dear, she dying within two days after, and leaving this Character behind her, of being the *Discreetest*, *Humblest*, and *Fairest* of all the *Kings Wives*. It hath been commonly reported, and no less generally believed, that that *Child being come unto the birth*, and there wanting natural strength to be delivered, his Mothers body was ripped open to give him a passage into the World, and that she died of the Incision in a short time after. The thing not only so related in our common Heralds, but taken up for a constant and undoubted truth, by Sir *John Haywood*, in his History of the Life and Reign of King *Edward* the sixth, which, notwithstanding there are many reasons to evince the contrary. For, first it is obseved by the said Sir *John Haywood*, that children, so brought forth, were by the ancient *Romans* esteemed fortunate, and commonly proved great enterprises, with happy success. And so it is affirmed by *Pliny*, *viz. Auspicatius Execta Matre Nascuntur*, &c. called first *Cæsones*, and afterwards more commonly *Cæsares*, as Learned Writers do aver, *quia cæso matris utero in Lucem prodiissent*, because their Mothers bodies had been opened, to make passage for them. Amongst whom they reckon *Cæso*, and *Fabius*, who was three times Consul; *Scipio*, sirnamed *Affricanus*, Renowned for his Victories in *Spain*, his vanquishing of *Hannibal*, and humbling the proud Cities of *Carthage*. And besides others, *Julius Cæsar*, who brought the whole *Roman* Empire under his Command, whereas the life of this Prince was short, his Reign full of troubles, and his end generally supposed to be traiterously contrived, without performing any memorable Action, either at home, or abroad, which might make him pass in the account of a fortunate Prince, or any way successful in the enterprising of Heroick Actions. *Anno* 1537. *Plin. Lib. 7. cap. 9.*

Besides, it may appear by two several Letters, the one written by the appointment of the Queen her self, immediately after her delivery, the other by one of her Physicians, on the morrow after, that she was not under any such extream necessity (though questionless she had a hard labour of it) as report hath made her. For first, the Queen immediately upon the birth of the Prince, caused this ensuing Letter, signed with her own signet, to be sent unto the Lords of the Privy Councel, that is to say:

RIght trusty, and well Beloved, we greet you well. And forasmuch as by the inestimable goodness, and Grace of Almighty God, we be delivered, and brought in Child-bed of a PRINCE, *conceived in most Lawful Matrimony between my Lord the Kings Majesty, and us. Doubting not, but that for the Love and affection you bear unto us, and to the Common-Wealth of this Realm, this knowledge shall be joyous, and Glad Tidings unto you: We have thought good to certifie you of this same: To the intent ye might not only render unto God Condigne thanks, and praise for so great a benefit, but also continually pray for the long Continuance, and preservation of the same, here in this life* Church Hist. 7. Fol. 422.

to

An. 1537. *to the Honour of God, joy and pleasure of my Lord the* KING *and us, and the Universal Weal, quiet, and tranquillity of this whole Realm.*

Given under our signet, at my Lords Mannor of Hampton Court, *the twelfth day of* October.

But, having a hard labour of it, as before was said, it brought her first into a very high distemper, and after into a very great looseness which so accelerated the approach of death, that she prepared her self for God, according to the Rites of the Church then being. And this appears by a Letter of the Queens Physicians, directed in these words to the Lords of the Councel, *viz.*

Id. ibid. *THese shall be to advise your Lordships of the Queens Estate: Yesterday afternoon she had a natural lax, by reason whereof she began to lighten, and (as it appeared) to amend, and so continued till towards night. All this night she hath been very sick, and doth rather appare, then amend. Her Confessor hath been with her Grace this morning, and hath done that to his office appertaineth, and is even now preparing to Administer to her Grace the Sacrament of Unction.*

Subscribed at Hampton-Court *on* Wednesday *morning at eight of the clock, by* Thomas Cutland, Robert Karhold, Edward Bayntam, John Chambers Priest, William Butts, George Owen.

So died this Noble, Beautiful, and Vertuous Queen, to the General lamentation of all good Subjects, and on the twelfth of *November* following, with great Solemnity was conveyed to *Windsor*, and there Magnificently interred in the midst of the Quire. In memory of whom, I find this Epitaph, not unworthy the greatest wits of the present times, to have then been made, *viz.*

Phœnix Jana *Facet nata Phœnice Dolendum est,*
Sæcula Phœnices *nulla tulisse duas.*

That is to say,

Here *Jane*, a *Phenix* lies, whose death,
Gave to another *Phenix* breath.
Sad case the while, that no age ever,
Could show two *Phenixes* together.

Stow Chron. p. 575. Godw. Ann. Hen. 8. *p.* 117. *Lord Herb. Hist. fol.* 430. But, to return unto the Prince, It is affirmed with like confidence, and as little truth, that on the 13th. day of *October*, then next following (that being but the sixth day after his birth) he was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, Earl of *Chester*, &c. In which, though I may easily excuse *John Stow*, and Bishop *Goodwin*, who report the same; yet I shall never pardon the late Lord *Herbert* for his incuriosity, as one that had fit opportunities to know the contrary. For first, Prince *Edward* was never created Duke of *Cornwal*, and there was no reason why he should; he being actually Duke of *Cornwal* at the hour of his birth, according to the *Entail*, which was made of that Dukedom to the Crown, by King *Edward* the third. And secondly, he was never created Prince of *Wales*, nor then, nor any time then after following, his Father dying in the midst of the preparations which were intended for the Pomp and Ceremony of that

that Creation. This truth confeſſed by Sir *John Haywood*, in his Hiſtory of the Life and Reign of this King; and generally avowed by all our Heraulds, who reckon none of the Children of King *Henry* the Eighth, amongſt the Princes of *Wales*, although all of them ſucceſſively by vulgar Appellation had been ſo entituled. Which appears more plainly by a *particular* of the Robes and Ornaments, which were preparing for the day of this Solemnity, as they are entred on Record in the Book called *The Catalogue of Honour*, publiſhed by *Thomas Mills* of *Canterbury*, where it appears alſo, that they were prepared only, but never uſed, by reaſon of the Kings death, which prevented the Solemnities of it. *An.* 1537.

The ground of this Error, I conceive firſt to be taken from *John Stow*, who finding a creation of ſome Noble men, and the making of many Knights, to relate to the 18 day of *October*, ſuppoſed it to have been done with reference to the Creation of a Prince of *Wales* whereas, if I might take the liberty of putting in my own conjecture, I ſhould conceive rather that it was done with Reference to the Princes Chriſtning, as in like manner we find a creation of three Earles, and five to inferiour Titles, at the Chriſtning of the Princeſs *Mary*, born to King *James*, after his coming into *England*, and Chriſtened upon Sunday, the fifth of *May*. 1604. And I conceive withall, that Sir *Edward Seimour*, Vicount *Beauchamp*, the Queens elder brother, was then created Earl of *Hartford*, to make him more capable of being one of the Godfathers; or a Deputy-Godfather at the leaſt, to the Royal Infant, the Court not being then in a condition, by reaſon of the mournful accident of the late Queens death, to ſhow it ſelf in any extraordinary ſplendour, as the occaſion had required at another time. Among which perſons ſo advanced to the Dignity and degree of Knighthood, I find Mr. *Thomas Seimour*, the Queens youngeſt brother, to be one of the number, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak more fully and particularly in the courſe of this Hiſtory. No other alteration made in the face of the Court, but that Sir *William Pawlet* was made Treaſurer, and Sir *John Ruſſell* Comptroller of his Majeſties Houſhold, on the ſaid 18th. day of *October* (which I conceive to be the day of the Princes Chriſtning) both of them being principal Actors in the Affairs, and troubles of the following times. *Stow Chron.* fol. 863.

But, in the face of the Church, there appeared ſome lines, which looked directly towards a Reformation. For, beſides the ſurrendring of divers Monaſteries, and the executing of ſome Abbots, and other Religious Perſons for their ſtiffeneſs (if I may not call it a perverſneſs) in oppoſing the Kings deſires; there are two things of ſpecial note, which concurred this year, as the Prognoſticks, or fore-runners of thoſe great events, which after followed in his Reign. For it appears by a Memorial of the Famous Library of Sir *Robert Cotton*, that *Grafton* now made known to *Cromwel*, the finiſhing of the *Engliſh* Bible, of which he had printed 1500. at his own proper charges, amounting in the total to 500. p. deſiring ſtoppage of a ſurreptitious Edition in a leſs Letter, which elſe would tend to his undoing; the ſuit endeated by *Cranmer*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, at whoſe requeſt *Cromwel* preſents one of the Bibles to the King, and procures the ſame to be allowed by his Authority to be read publickly, without comptrole, in all his Dominions, and for ſo doing, he receives a Letter of thanks from the ſaid Arch-Biſhop, dated *Auguſt* the 13th. of this preſent year. Nor were the Biſhops and Clergy wanting to advance the work, by publiſhing a certain book in the *Engliſh* Tongue, which they entituled *The Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*; in which the Doctrine of the Sacraments, the Creed, the Lords Prayer, and the Commandments, were opened and expounded more perſpicuouſly, and leſs abhorrent from the truth than in former times. By which clear light of Holy Scripture, and the principal duties of Religion ſo laid open to them, the people were the better able to diſcern the errors and corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, From which by the piety of this Prince they were fully Freed. And for a preamble thereunto the *Rood* of *Boxley*, commonly called the *Rood* of *Grace*, ſo Artificially contrived (by reaſon of ſome ſecret wires in the *Cot. M. S.* p. 325.

An. 1538. body: or concavities of it) that it could move the eyes, the lips, *&c.* to the great wonder and aſtoniſhment of the common people, was openly diſcovered for a leud impoſture, and broke in pieces at St. *Pauls Croſs*, on *Sunday* the 24 of *February*; the *Rood* of *Bermondſey* Abby in *South-work* following the ſame fortune alſo within ſix dayes.

Anno 1538. The next year brings an end to almoſt all the Monaſteries, and Religious Houſes in the Realm of *England*, ſurrendred into the Kings hands, by publique inſtruments, under the Seals of all the ſeveral and reſpective *Convents*, and thoſe ſurrenderies, ratified and confirmed by Act of Parliament. And this occaſionally conduced to the future peace and quiet of this young Prince, by removing out of the way ſome Great pretenders, who otherwiſe might have created to him no ſmall diſturbance. For ſo it happened, that *Henry*, Earl of *Devonſhire*, and *Mary*, wife of *Exeter*, deſcended from a daughter of King *Edward* the Fourth, and *Henry Pole*, Lord *Montacute*, deſcended from a daughter of *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, the ſecond Brother of that *Edward*, under colour of preventing, or revenging the Diſſolution of ſo many famous Abbyes, and Religious Houſes, aſſociated themſelves with Sir *Edward Nevil*, and Sir *Nicholas Carew*, in a dangerous practiſe againſt the perſon of the King, and the Peace of the Kingdom. By whoſe Indictment it appears, that it was their purpoſe and deſign to deſtroy the King, and advance *Reginald Pole*, one of the younger Brothers of the ſaid Lord *Mountacute* (of whom we ſhall hear more in the courſe of this Hiſtory) to the Regall Throne. Which, how it could conſiſt with the pretenſions of the Marquiſſe of *Exeter*, or the ambition of the Lord *Mountacute*, the elder Brother of this *Reginald*, it is hard to ſay. But, having the Chronicle of *John Speed* to juſtifie me in the truth hereof in this particular, I ſhall not take upon me to diſpute the point. The dangerous practiſe of which perſons, did not ſo much retard the work of Reformation, as their Execution did advance it; to this year alſo appertaineth the ſuppreſſing of Pilgrimages, the defacing of the coſtly and magnificent ſhrines of our Lady of *Walſingham*, *Ipſwich*, *Worceſter*, *&c.* and more particularly of *Thomas Becket*, once Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. This laſt, ſo rich in Jewels of moſt ineſtimable value, that two great Cheſts were filled with the ſpoyles thereof; ſo heavy and capacious, as is affirmed by Biſhop *Goodwin*, that each of them required no fewer then eight men to carry them out of the Church, nothing inferiour to Gold being charged within them. More modeſtly in this then *Sanders*, that malitious Sycophant, who will have no leſſe then twenty ſix Wain load of Silver, Gold and precious Stones, to be ſeiſed into the Kings hands, by the ſpoil of that Monument. Which proceedings ſo exaſperated the Pope then being, that without more delay, by his Bull of *January* 1. he deprived the King of his Dominions, and cauſed the ſentence of his Deprivation to be poſted up at the Townes of *Bruges*, *Tourney*, and *Dunkirk* in *Flanders*,

Anno 1539. at *Bulloigne* and *Diepe*, in *France*; and St. *Andrews* in *Scotland*; effecting nothing by the unadviſedneſs of that deſperate Counſel, but that the King became more fixed in his Reſolutions, and more averſe from all the thoughts of Reconciliation with the See of *Rome*.

The ſurrenderies of the former year, confirmed by Act of *Parliament*, in the beginning of this, drew after it the final diſſolution of all the reſt; none daring to oppoſe that violent Torrent, which ſeemed to carry all before it, but the Abbots of *Colcheſter*, *Reading*, and *Glaſtenbury* quarrelled, for which they were ſeverally condemned and executed, under colour of denying the Kings Supremacy; and their rich Abbyes ſeiſed upon, as confiſcations to the uſe of the King, which brought him into ſuch a ſuſpicion of ſeparating from the Communion of the

Anno 1540. Church of *Rome*, that for the better vindicating of his integrity, as to the particulars, he paſſed in the ſame Parliament the terrible Statute of the Six Articles, which drew ſo much good blood from his Proteſtant Subjects.

And being further doubtful in himſelf what courſe to ſteer, he marries at the ſame time with the Lady *Ann*, ſiſter unto the Duke of *Cleve*, whom not long after

after he divorseth, advanceth his Great Minister, *Cromwel* (by whom he had made so much havack of Religious houses, in all parts of the Realm) to the Earldom of *Essex*, and sends him headless to his Grave within three moneths after; takes to his bed the Lady *Katharine Howard*, a Neece of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, and in short time found cause enough to cut off her head; not being either the richer in Children, by so many Wives, nor much improved in his Revenue by such horrible Rapines. In the middest of which confusions he sets the wheel of Reformation once more going, by moderating the extream severity of the said Statute, touching the six Articles, abolishing the Superstitious usages, accustomedly observed on St. *Nicholas* day; and causing the *English* Bible, of the Larger Volumn, to be set up, in all, and every Parish Church, within the Kingdom, for such as were Religiously minded to Resort unto it. *Anno* 1542.

An. 1542.

Anno 1541.

The Prince had now but newly finished the first year of his Age, when a fit Wife was thought of for him upon this occasion. The Pope incensed against King *Henry*, had not long since *sententially* deprived him of his Kingdom, as before was said. And having so done, he made an offer of it to King *James* the fifth, then King of the *Scots*, the only Son of *Margaret*, his eldest sister, Wife of *James* the fourth. To whom he sent a *Breve* to this effect, *viz.*

"That he would assist him against King *Henry*, whom in his Consistory, "he had pronounced to be an Heretick, a Schismatick, a manifest Adulterer, a "publick Murtherer, a committer of Sacriledge, a Rebel, and convict of *Le-* "*se Majestatis*, for that he had risen against his Lord, and therefore that he "had justly deprived him of his Kingdom, and would dispose the same to him, "and other Princes, so as they would assist him in the recovery of it.

Speed ex John Leshly. Fol. 1014.

This could not be so closely carryed, but that the King had notice of it, who from thenceforth began to have a watchful eye upon the Actions of his Nephew; sometimes alluring him unto his party, by offering him great hopes and favours, and practising at other times to weaken, and distract him, by animating, and maintaining his own Subjects against him. At last, to set all right between them, an enterview was appointed to be held at *York*, proposed by *Henry*, and condescended to by *James*. But, when the day appointed came, the *Scots* King failed, being deterred from making his appearance there, by some Popish Prelates, who put into his head, a fear of being detained a Prisoner, as *James* the first had been by King *Henry* the fourth. Upon this breach the King makes ready for War, sets out a manifest of the Reasons which induced him to it, amongst which he insists especially on the neglect of performing that Homage, which anciently had been done (& still of Right ought to be done) to the Kings of *England*. In prosecuting of which War, the Duke of *Norfolk* entred *Scotland* with an Army, *October* 21. *Anno* 1542. wasts and spoils all the Country; followed not long after by an Army of *Scots*, consisting of 15000. men, which in like manner entred *England*, but were discomfited by the valour and good fortune of Sir *Thomas Wharton*, and Sir *William Musgrave*, with the help of some few Borderers only, the *Scots* upon some discontent, making little resistance. In which fight, besides many of the *Scottish* Nobility, were taken eight hundred Prisoners of inferiour note: twenty four pieces of Ordnance, some cart loads of Arms, and other booty.

On the 19 of *December* the *Scottish* Lords, and other of the Principal Prisoners, to the number of 20. or thereabouts, were brought into *London*; followed on the third day after with the news of the death of King *James*, and the birth of the young Queen his daughter. This put King *Henry* on some thoughts of uniting the two Crowns in a firm and everlasting League, by the Marriage of this infant Queen, with his Son Prince *Edward*: In pursuance whereof he sent for the imprisoned Lords, feasted them Royally at *White-Hall*, and dealt so effectually with them by himself and his Ministers, that they all severally and joyntly engaged themselves to promote this Match. Dismist into their own Country, upon these promises, and the leaving of Hostages, they followed

An. 1542. the Negotiation with such care and diligence, that on the 29th. of *June*, in the year ensuing (notwithstanding the great opposition made against them by the Queen *Dowager*, Cardinal *Beton*, and divers others who adhered to the Faction of *France*) they brought the business at the last to this Conclusion, *viz.*

"1. *That the Lords of* Scotland *shall have the Education of the Princess for a* "*time, yet so, as it might be Lawful for our King to send thither a Noble* "*man, and his Wife, with a Family under twenty Persons, to wait on her.* "2. *That at ten years of Age she should be brought into* England, *the contract* "*being first finished by a Proxie in* Scotland. 3. *That within two moneths af-*
Anno 1543. "*ter the date hereof, six Noble* Scots *should be given as Hostages for the per-* "*formance of the Conditions on their Part: And that if any of them dyed, their num-* "*ber should be supplyed.* 4. *And furthermore it was agreed upon, that the* "*Realm of* Scotland *(by that name) should preserve it's Laws and Rights; and* "*that Peace should be made for as long time as was desired, the* French *being ex-* "*cluded.*

But, though these Capitulations thus agreed on, were sent into *England*, signed, and sealed in the *August* following; yet the Cardinal and his Party grew so strong, that the whole Treaty came to nothing; the Noble Men who had been Prisoners, falsifying their Faith, and chusing rather (the Lord *Kenneth* Earl of *Cassiles* excepted) to leave their Hostages to King *Henries* mercy, than to put themselves into his Power. Provoked therewith, the King denounceth War against them, and knowing that they depended chiefly upon the strength of *France*, he peeceth with the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, and Proclaimeth War against the *French*, Following the War against both Kingdoms, he causeth many in-roads to be made into *Scotland*, wasting, and harrasing that poor Country; and with a Royal Army passeth over into *France*, where he made him-
Anno 1544. self Master of the strong Town of *Bulloigne*; with the Forts about it, into which he made his Royal entry, *Sept.* 25. 1544. The rest of the Kings life spent in continual Action against both Nations, in which the Enemies had the worst, though not without some loss to the *English* also; the poor *Scots* paying so dearly for their breach of Faith, that no year passed, in which their Countrey was not wasted, and their ships destroyed. Toward the charges of which Wars, the King obtained a Grant in Parliament, of all Chanteries, Colledges, Hospitals, and free Chappels, with the Lands thereunto belonging, to be united to the Crown. But, dying before he had took the benefit of it, he left that part of the spoil to such of his Ministers, who had the Managing of Affairs in his Sons Minority.

Anno 1545. In the mean time the Prince having attained unto the Age of six yeares, was taken out of the hands of his Women, and committed to the tuition of Mr. *John Cheeke*, whom he afterwards Knighted, and advanced him to the Provostship of Kings Colledge in *Cambridge*, and Doctor *Richard Cox*, whom afterwards he preferred to the Deanry of *Westminster*, and made chief *Almoner*. These two being equal in Authority, employed themselves to his advantage in their several kinds, Dr. *Cox* for knowledge of *Divinity*, Philosophy, and Gravity of Manners; Mr. *Cheeke* for Eloquence in the Greek and Latine Tongues. Besides which two he had some others to instruct him in the Modern Languages, and thrived so well amongst them all, that in short time he perfectly spake the *French* Tongue, and was able to express himself significantly enough in the *Italian*, *Greek*, and *Spanish*. And as for Latine, he was such an early proficient in it, that before he was eight years old, he is said to have written the ensuing Letter to the King his Father; seconding the same with another to the Earl of *Hartford*, as he did that also with a third to the Queen *Katharine Parre*, whom his Father had taken to Wife, *July* the 12th. 1543. And though these Letters may be used as good evidences of his great pro-

proficiency, with reference to the times in which he lived; yet in our days in which either the wits of men are sooner ripe, or the method of teaching more exact, and facile, they would be found to contain nothing which is more than ordinary. Now his Letter to the King (referring the Reader for the other two, unto *Fox*, and *Fuller*) it bears date, on the 27th. day of *September*, when he wanted just a fortnight of eight ears old, and is this that followeth. *An.* 1545.

PRINCE *Edwards* Epistle to the King, *September* 27. 1545.

Literæ Meæ semper habent unum Argumentum, Rex Nobilissime, atque pater Illustrissime, id est, in omnibus Epistolis ago tibi Gratias pro beneficentia tua Erga me Maxima; si enim sepius multo ad te literas Exararem, nullo tamen quidem modo potui pervenire officio Literarum ad magnitudinem benignitatis tuæ erga me. Quis enim potuit compensare beneficia tua erga me? Nimirum nullus qui non est tam magnus Rex, ac Nobilis Princeps, ac tu es, cujusmodi ego non sum. Quamobrem Pietas tua in me, multo gratior est mihi, quod facis mihi, quæ nullo modo compensare Possum; sed tamen Admitar, & Faciam quod in me est, ut placeam Majestati, atque Precabor Deum, ut diu te servet incolumen. Vale Rex Nobilissime,

Halfeldiæ
Vicesimo Septimo,
Septemb.

Majestati tuæ
Observantissimus Filius

EDVARDUS PRINCEPS.

For a companion at his Book, or rather for a Proxy to bear the punishment of such errors as either through negligence, or inadvertency were committed by him, he had one *Barnaby Fits Patrick*, the son (if I conjecture aright) of that *Patrick*, whom I find amongst the witnesses to King *Henries* last Will and Testament, as also amongst those Legatees which are therein mentioned, the King bequeathing him the Legacy of one hundred marks. But, whether I hit right or not, most probable it is, that he had a very easie substitution of it; the harmlesness of the Princes nature, the ingenuity of his disposition, and his assiduity at his Book, freeing him for the most part from such corrections, to which other children at the School are most commonly subject. Yet, if it sometimes happened, as it seldom did, that the servant suffered punishment for his Masters errors. It is not easie to affirm, whether *Fits Patrick* smarted more for the fault of the Prince, or the Prince conceived more grief for the smart of *Fits Patrick*. Once I am certain that the Prince entertained such a real Estimation of him, that when he came unto the Crown, he acquainted him by Letter with the sufferings of the Duke of *Somerset*, instructed and maintained him for his travels in *France*, endowed him with fair Lands in *Ireland* (his native Country) and finally made him Baron of upper *Ossery*, which Honourable Title he enjoyed till the time of his death, in the latter end of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, at what time he dyed a zealous and Religious Protestant. One thing I must not pre-

An. 1546. pretermit to ſhew the extraordinary piety of this hopeful Prince in the dayes of his Childhood, when, being about to take down ſomething, which ſeemed to be above his Reach, one of his fellowers proffered him a Boſſed-Plated *Bible*, to ſtand upon, and heighten him for taking that which he deſired. Which, when he perceived to be a Bible, with Holy indignation he refuſed it, and ſharply reprehended him that made the offer. A ſtrong aſſurance of that dear eſteem and veneration, in which he held that Sacred Book in his riper years.

Anno 1546. Having attained the age of nine, there were great preparations made for his ſolemn inveſtiture in the Principality of *Wales*, together with the Earldoms of *Cheſter* and *Flint*, as dependants on it. Toward which Pomp, I find a proviſion to be made of theſe Ornaments and Habiliments following; that is to ſay, firſt an Honourable Habit, *viz.* A Robe of Purple Velvet, having in it about eighteen ells, more or leſs, Garniſhed about with a fringe of Gold, and lined with *Ermins*, A *Surcot*, or inner Gown, having in it about fourteen ells of Velvet, of like colour, Fringe, and Furr, Laces, Buttons, and Taſſels (as they call them) Ornaments made of Purple, Silk, and Gold; A Girdle of ſilk, to gird his inner Gown; A ſword with a ſcabbard made of Purple, ſilk, and Gold, garniſhed with the like Girdle he is girt withall, thereby ſhowing him to be Duke of *Cornwal* by birth, and not by Creation. A cap of the ſame Velvet that his Robe is of, furred with Ermines, with Laces, and a button, and Taſſels on the Crown thereof, made of *Venice Gold*: A Garland, or a little Coronet of Gold, to be put on his head, together with his Cap. A long golden verge, or Rod, betokening his Government. A ring of Gold alſo, to be put on the third finger of his left hand, whereby he was to declare his Marriage, made with equity and Juſtice. But, ſcarce were theſe proviſions ready, but the Kings ſickneſs brought a ſtop, and his death ſhortly after put an end to thoſe preparations; the expectation of a Principality, being thereby changed to the poſſeſſion of a Crown.

For, the King having long lived a voluptuous life, and indulgent too much unto his Pallate, was grown ſo corpulent, or rather ſo over-grown with an unweildy burthen of fleſh, that he was not able to go up ſtairs, from one room to another, but as he was hoiſed up by an Engine: Which, filling his body with foul & foggy humours, and thoſe humours falling into his leg, in which he had an ancient & uncured ſore, they there began to ſettle to an inflamation, which did both waſte his Spirits, and increaſe his paſſions. In the middeſt of which diſtempers, it was not his leaſt care to provide for the ſafety of his Son, and preſerve the ſucceſſion of the Crown to his own Poſterity. At ſuch time as he had marryed Queen *Anne Bollen*, he procured his daughter *Mary* to be declar'd illegitimate by Act of Parliament; the like he alſo did by his daughter *Elizabeth*, when he had marryed Queen *Jane Seimour*, ſetling the Crown upon his iſſue by the ſaid Queen *Jane*. But, having no other iſſue by her but Prince *Edward* only, and none at all by any of his following wives; he thought it a high point of Prudence (as indeed it was) to eſtabliſh the Succeſſion with more ſtayes than one, and not to let it reſt on ſo weak a ſtaff, as a Child of little more than nine years of age. For which cauſe he procured an Act of Parliament, in the 35th. year of his Reign, in which it is declared, *That in default of iſſue of the ſaid Prince* Edward, *the Crown ſhould be entailed to the Kings daughter, the Lady* Mary, *and the Heirs of her body, and for default thereof to the Kings daughter, the Lady* Elizabeth, *and the heirs of her body, and for lack of ſuch iſſue, to ſuch as the King by his Letters Patents, or his Laſt Will in Writing ſhould Limit.*

Act of *An.* 35. *Henry* the 8th. cap. 1.

So that he had three Children by three ſeveral Wives, two of them born of queſtionable Marriages, yet all made capable by this Act, of having their ſeveral turns in the ſucceſſion, as it after proved. And though a threefold cord be not eaſily broken, yet he obtained further power for diſpoſing the Crown, if their iſſue failed; whereof, being now ſick, and fearing his approaching end, he reſolved to make ſuch uſe in laying down the State of the ſucceſſion to the

Crown

Crown Imperial, as was more agreeable to his private paſſions, then the Rules of Juſtice; which appeared plainly by his excluding of the whole *Scottiſh* Line, deſcended from the Lady *Margaret*, his eldeſt ſiſter, from all hopes thereof; unleſs perhaps it may be ſaid, that the *Scottiſh* Line might be ſufficiently provided for, by the Marriage of the young Queen with the Prince his Son, and that it was the *Scots* own fault, if the Match ſhould fail. *An.* 1546.

This care being over, and the Succeſſion ſetled by his laſt Will and Teſtament, bearing date the 28th of *December*, being a full Moneth before his Death, he began to entertain ſome fears and Jealouſies, touching the ſafety of the Prince, whom he ſhould leave unto a factious and divided Court, who were more like to ſerve their own turns by him, than advance his intereſt, his Brother in Law, the Duke of *Suffolk* (in whom he moſt confided) dyed not long before; the kindred of Queen *Jane* were but new in Court, of no Authority in themſelves, and ſuch as had ſubſiſted chiefly by the countenance, which ſhe had from him. As they could contribute little to the defence of the Princes perſon, and the preſervation of his Right: So there were ſome who had the Power, (and who could tell but that they alſo had the will?) to change the whole frame of his deſign, and take the Government to themſelves. Amongſt which there was none more feared then the Noble Lord *Henry*, Earl of *Surrey*, the eldeſt Son of *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, ſtrong in Alliance and Dependance, of a Revenue not inferiour to ſome Forreign Kings, and that did derive his Pedigree from King *Edward* the firſt. The Earl himſelf, beheld in general by the *Engliſh*, as the chief Ornament of the Nation; Highly eſteemed for his Chivalry, his Affability, his Learning, and whatſoever other Graces might either make him amiable in the eyes of the people, or formidable in the ſight of a jealous, impotent, and way-ward Prince. Againſt him therefore, and his Father, there were Crimes deviſed, their perſons put under an Arreſt, their Arraignment proſecuted at the Guild-Hall in *London*, where they both received the ſentence of death; which the Earl ſuffered on the Tower-Hill, on the 19th of *January*, the old Duke being reſerved by the Kings death, (which followed within nine dayes after) for more happy times. Which brings into my mind a ſharp, but ſhrewd Character of this King, occurring in the writings of ſome, but more common in the mouths of many, that is to ſay, *that he never ſpared Woman in his luſt, nor Man in his anger.* For proof of which laſt, it is obſerved, that he brought unto the block two Queens, two Noble Ladies, one Cardinal declared; of Dukes, Marquiſſes, Earls, and the Sons of Earls, no fewer than twelve; Lords and Knights, eighteen; of Abbots and Priors thirteen; Monks, and Religious perſons, about ſeventy ſeven; and many more of both Religions, to a very great number. So as it cannot be denyed, that he had too much (as all great Monarchs muſt have ſomewhat) of the Tyrant in him. And yet I dare not ſay with Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, *That if all the Patterns of a mercileſs Prince had been loſt in the World, they might have been found in this one King*; ſome of his Executions being juſtifiable by the very nature of their Crimes, others to be imputed to the infelicity of the times in which he lived, and may be aſcribed unto Reaſons of State, the Exigencies whereof are ſeldom ſquared by the Rule of Juſtice. *Sand. de Sciſ. Angl.* p. 214.

His Infirmity, and the weakneſs which it brought upon him, having confined him to his bed, he had a great deſire to receive the Sacrament; and being perſwaded to receive it in the eaſieſt poſture ſitting, or raiſed up in his bed, he would by no means yield unto it; but cauſed himſelf to be taken up, placed in his Chair, in which he heard the greateſt part of the Office, till the Conſecration, and then received the Bleſſed Sacrament on his Knees, as at other times, ſaying withall, as *Sanders* doth relate the Story, *That if he did not only caſt himſelf upon the ground, but even under it alſo, he could not give unto the Sacrament the Honour which was due unto it.* The inſtant of his death approaching, none of his Servants, though thereunto deſired by his Phyſicians, durſt acquaint him with it. *Ibid.* p. 218.

An. 1546. it. Till at laſt Sir *Anthony Denny* undertook that ungrateful Office, which the King entertaining with leſs impatience then was looked for from him, gave order that Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer* ſhould be preſently ſent for. But, the Arch-Biſhop being then at his houſe in *Croyden*, ſeven Miles from *Lambeth*, it was ſo long before he came, that he found him ſpeechleſs. Howſoever, applying himſelf to the Kings preſent condition, and diſcourſing to him on this Point, that Salvation was to be obtained only by Faith in Chriſt, he deſired the King, that if he underſtood the effect of his words, and believed the ſame, he would ſignify as much by ſome ſign or other, which the King did, by ringing him gently by the hand, and within ſhort time after he gave up the Ghoſt, when he had lived fifty five years, ſeven Moneths, and ſix dayes over, of which he had reigned thirty ſeven years, nine Moneths, and ſix dayes alſo.

Having brought King *Henry* to his death, we muſt next ſee in what Eſtate he left the Kingdome to his Son, with reference to the condition of Affairs both at home and abroad. Abroad he left the Pope his moſt bitter enemy, intent on all advantages for the recovery of the power and Juriſdiction, which had been exerciſed in *England* by his Predeceſſors; and all the Princes of his Party, in *Germany*, *Italy*, and elſewhere, either in Action, or Deſign, concurring with him. The Proteſtant Kings and Princes he had diſobliged, by repudiating the Lady *Ann* of *Cleve*, and the precipitated death of *Cromwell*, upon whoſe Power and favour with him they did moſt rely: But, nothing did more alienate their affections from him, than the perſecution raiſed at home, upon the terrible Statute of the ſix Articles, before remembred; by which they ſaw themſelves condemned, and executed in the perſons of thoſe, who ſuffered for the ſame Religion, which themſelves profeſſed. And, as for the two great Kings of *France* and *Spain*, he had ſo carryed himſelf between them, that he was rather feared of both, than be loved by either of them. The Realms and Signeuries of *Spain* (except *Portugal* only) together with the Kingdoms of *Naples*, *Scicilie*, and *Sardinia*, and the Eſtates belonging to the Houſe of *Burgundy*, in the *Belgick* Provinces, were all united in the Perſon of *Charles* the fifth, to which he added by his own proper Power and Valour, the Dukedomes of *Millain*, and *Gulldreſs*, the Earldom of *Zutphen*, with the Eſtates of *Groiningen*, *Utrecht*, and *Over-yſſel*. And on the other ſide the *French* Kings were not only in the quiet poſſeſſion of thoſe goodly Territories, (*Normandy*, *Guienne*, and the reſt) which anciently belonged to the Kings of *England*; but lately had impatroniſed themſelves of the Dukedomes of *Burgoine*, and *Bertagne*, and the Earldom of *Provence*, all meeting in the Perſon of King *Francis* the firſt. Of which two great and puiſſant Princes, the firſt being reſolved to admit no equal, and the ſecond to acknowledge no ſuperiour, they endeavoured by all ways and means immaginable to ſubdue each other, whereby the Conquerour might attain in time to the Empire of *Europe*. It was therefore King *Henries* chiefeſt care, as it was his intereſs to keep the ſcales ſo even between them, that neither of them ſhould preponderate, or weigh down the other, to the endangering of the reſt of the Princes of Chriſtendom: Which he performed with ſo great conſtancy & courage, as made him in effect the Arbitrer at all times between them. So as it may be truly affirmed of him, that he ſate at the Helmn, and Steered the great Affairs of Chriſtendom, to what point he pleaſed. But then withall as his conſtant and continual ſtanding to this Maxim of State, made him friend to neither, ſo he was ſuſpected of them both; both having alſo their particular Animoſities againſt his perſon and proceedings. The Emperour irreconciliably incenſt againſt him for the injury done unto his Aunt, from whom he had cauſed himſelf to be divorced; the *French King* no leſs highly enraged by the taking of *Bullogine*, for which, though the King had ſhuffled up a peace with *France*, Prince *Edward* ſhall be called to a ſober Reckoning, when he leaſt looks for it.

To look to matters near at home, we find the *Scots* exaſperated by his

Annual

Annual inrodes, but more by his demanding the long neglected duty of Homage to be performed from that Kingdom to the Crown of *England*: The *Irish* on the other side of the Sea, being kept under by strong hand, but standing upon no good terms of affection with him; the executing of the young Earl of *Kildare*, and five of his Uncles at one time, being fresh in memory, and neither forgotten, nor forgiven by the rest of the *Clanns*. And, as for *England* it self, the people were generally divided into Schisms and Factions; some being too stiff in their old *Mumpsimus*, as others no less busie in their new *Sumpsimus*, as he used to phrase it. The Treasures of the Crown exhausted by prodigal gifts, and his late chargeable Expedition against the *French*; the Lands thereof charged with Rents, and Pensions granted to Abbots, Priors, and all sorts of Religious persons; some of which remained payable, and were paid accordingly, till the time of King *James*; and, which was worst of all, the Mony of the Realm so imposed and mixed, that it could not pass for currant amongst Forreign Nations, to the great dishonour of the Kingdom, and the loss of the Merchant. For, though an infinite Mass of Jewels, Treasure in Plate, and ready Mony, and an incredible improvement of Revenue had acrued unto him by such an universal spoyl, and dissolution of Religious Houses, yet was he little or nothing the richer for it. In so much, that in the year 1543. being within less then seven years after the general suppression of Religious Houses, he was faign to have recourse for moneys to his Houses of Parliament, by which he was supplied after an extraordinary manner; the Clergy at the same time giving him a Subsidy of 6. s. in the pound, to be paid out of all their Spiritual Promotions, poor stipendary Priests paying each 6. s. 8. d. to encrease the sum. Which also was so soon consumed, that the next year he prest his Subjects to a Benevolence, for carrying on his War with *France* and *Scotland*; and in the next obtained the Grant for all Chanteries, Hospitals, Colledges, and Free-Chappels within the Realm, though he lived not to enjoy the benefit of it, as before was said. *An.* 1546.

Most true it is, that it was somewhat of the latest before he cast his eye on the Lands of Bishopricks, though there were some who thought the time long till they fell upon them. Concerning which there goes a story, that after the *Court-Harpies* had devoured the greatest part of the spoil, which came by the suppression of Abbeys, they began to seek some other way to satiate that greedy Appetite, which the division of the former booty had left unsatisfied; and for the satisfying whereof, they found not any thing so necessary as the Bishops Lands. This to effect, Sir *Thomas Seimour* is imployed as the fittest man, as being in favour with the King, as brother to Queen *Jane*, his most, and best beloved wife; and having the opportunity of access unto him, as being one of the Gentlemen of his Privy Chamber. And he not having any good affection to Arch Bishop *Cranmer*, desired that the experiment should be tried on him, and therefore took his time to inform the King, that the Lord of *Canterbury* did nothing but sell his Woods, letting long Leases for great Fines, and making havock of the Royalties of His Arch-Bishoprick, to raise thereby a fortune to his Wife and Children; withall, he did acquaint the King that the Arch-Bishop kept no Hospitality, in respect of such a large Revenue; and that in the opinion of many wise men it was more meet for the Bishops to have a sufficient yearly Stipend out of the Exchequer, than to be so encombred with Temporal Royalties, being so great a hindrance to their Studies, and Pastoral Charge, and that the said Lands and Royalties being taken to his Majesties use, would afford him (besides the said Annual Stipends) a great yearly Revenue. The King soon smelt out the Device, and shortly after sent him on an Errand to *Lambeth*, about dinner time, where he found all the tables in the great Hall to be very bountifully furnished; the Archbishop himself accompanied at Dinner, with divers persons of Quality, his Table exceeding plentifully served, and all things answerable to the Port of so great a Prelate: Wherewith the King being made acquain-

An. 1546. acquainted at his coming back, he gave him such a Rattle for his false information, and the design which visibly depended on it, that neither he, nor any other of the Courtiers, durst stir any further in the suit, whilest King *Henry* lived.

But the King considering further of it, could not think fit that such a plausible Proposition, as taking to himself the Lands of the Bishops, should be made in vain. Only he was resolved to prey further off: and not to fall upon the spoil too near the Court, for fear of having more partakers in the Booty, than might stand with his profit. And to this end he deals with *Holgate*, preferred not long before from *Landaff* to the See of *York*; from whom he takes at one time, no fewer than seventy Mannors, and Townships, of good old Rents, giving him in exchange, to the like yearly value, certain Impropriations, Pensions, Tithes, and Portions of Tithes, (but all of an extended Rent) which had accrued unto the Crown, by the fall of Abbyes. Which Lands he laid by Act of Parliament, to the Dutchy of *Lancaster*. For which, see 37 *Hen.* 8. Cap. 16. He dismembred also by these Acts, certain Mannors from the See of *London*, in favour of Sir *William Pety*; and others in the like manner from the See of *Canterbury*, but not without some reasonable compensation, or allowance for them. And though by reason of his death, which followed within short time after; there was no further alienation made in his time, of the Churches Patrimoney; yet having opened such a Gap, and discovered this secret, that *these sacred Patrimony might be alienated with so little trouble*; the Courtiers of King *Edward*'s time, would not be kept from breaking violently into it, and making up their own fortune in the spoil of the Bishopricks. Of which we may speak more hereafter in its proper place. So impossible a thing it is for the ill example of Great Princes, not to finde followers in all ages, especially where profit, or preferment may be furthered by it.

But then it cannot be denied, but that King *Henry* left the Church in many respects, in a better condition than he found it; not only in order to the Reformation of Religion, which none but such a Masculine Prince durst have undertaken, but also in the Polity and endowments of it. The Monasteries and Religious Houses, might possibly be looked upon no otherwise, than as so many excrescences upon the body of the Church; exempt for the most part from the Episcopal Jurisdiction, wholly depending on the Pope, and such as might be taken away, without any derogation to the Church, in Power or Patrimony. But, Bishopricks being more essential to the Constitution of the same, he did not only preserve, as before he found them, but increased their number. Such of the old Cathedrals as were founded on a Prior and Covent, he changed into a Corporation of Secular Priests, consisting of a Dean, and Prebendaries, according to the proportion of their yearly rents, of which sort were the Churches of *Canterbury*, *Winton*, *Durham*, *Ely*, *Rochester*, *Norwich*, and *Carlisle*. Six of the wealthier Monasteries he turned into Episcopal Sees, that is to say, the Abbyes of *Westminster*, *Peterborough*, *Bristol*, *Glocester*, and *Chester*, with that of *Onsney*, for the See of the Bishop of *Oxon*; assigning to every new Episcopal See its *Dean* and *Chapter*, and unto every such Cathedral, a competent number of Quiremen, and other Officers, all of them liberally endowed and provided for. And that the Church might be continually furnished with sufficient Seminaries, he founded a Grammar-School in every one of his Cathedrals, either old or new, with Annual pensions to the Master, and some allowance to be made to the children yearly; and ordained also, that in each of the two Universities there should be publick Readers, in the faculties of Divinity, Law and Physick, and in the Greek and Hebrew Tongues; all which he pensioned, and endowed with liberal salaries, as the times then were. Besides which publick benefactions, he confirmed Cardinal *Wolsies* Colledge in *Oxon*, by the name of *Kings Colledge* first, and of *Christ-Church* afterwards; and erected that most beautiful pile of *Trinity* Colledge in *Cambridge*; those being the two fairest, and most magnifi-

magnificent foundations in the Christian World. *An.* 1546.

As for the Polity of the Church, he setled it in such a manner, that Arch-Bishops and Bishops might be chosen, confirmed, and consecrated, and all the Subjects be relieved in their Suits and Grievances, without having such recourse to the Court of *Rome*, as formerly had drained the Realm of so much Treasure. For, having by his Proclamation, of the 19th of *September*, *Anno* 1530. prohibited all Addresses and Appeals to the Popes of *Rome*, he prevailed so far upon his Bishops and Clergy; intangled by the Cardinals fall in a *Premunire*, that they acknowledged him in their Convocation, to be the *Supream Head* on Earth of the Church of *England*, and signified as much in a Publick Instrument, bearing date, the 22th day of *March*, next following. Upon this ground were built the Statutes, prohibiting all *Appeals* to *Rome*, and *for determining all Ecclesiastical Suits and Controversies within the Kingdom* 24 *Hen.* 8. cap. 12. *That for the manner of declaring, and consecrating of Arch-Bishops, and Bishops*, 25 *Hen.* 8. Cap. 20. *and the prohibiting the payment of all Impositions to the Court of* Rome; *and for obtaining all such dispensations from the See of* Canterbury, *which formerly were procured from the Popes of* Rome, 25 *Hen.* 8. Cap. 21. Aud finally, that for declaring the *King to be the Supreme Head of the Church of* England, *and to have all Honours and Preheminences; and amongst others, the First-fruits and Tenths of all Ecclesiastical Promotions within the Realm which were annexed unto that Title.* In the form of consecrating Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, and the rule by which they exercised their Jurisdiction, there was no change made, but what the transposition of the Supreme Power, from the Pope to the King, must of necessity infer. For, whereas the Bishops and Clergy in the Convocation *An.* 1532. had bound themselves neither to make, nor execute any Canons, or Constitutions Ecclesiastical, but as they were thereto enabled by the Kings Authority; it was by them desired, assented to by him, and confirmed in Parliament, that all such Canons, and Constitutions, Synodal and Provincial, as were before in use, and neither Repugnant to the Word of God, the Kings Prerogative Royal, or the known Laws of the Land, should remain in force, till a review thereof were made by thirty two persons of the Kings appointment. Which review, not having been made from that time to this, all the said old Canons, and Constitutions so restrained and qualified, do still remain in force, as before they did. For this, Consult the Act of Parliament 25 *Hen.* 8. Cap. 1. And this, and all the rest being setled, then followed finally, the Act *for extinguishing the Power of the Pope of* Rome, 28. *Hen.* 8. Cap. 10. which before we mentioned.

In order to a Reformation in points of Doctrine, he first directed his Bishops and Clergy in their Convocation, *Anno* 1537. to compile a Book, containing The Exposition of the *Creed*, the *Lords Prayer*, the *Ave-mary*, and the ten Commandements; together with an Explication of the use and nature of the seven Sacraments. More cleerly in it self, and more agreeable to the Truth of Holy Scripture, than in former times; which Book being called, *The Institution of a Christian Man*, was by them presented to the King, who liked thereof so well, that he sent it by Doctor *Barlow*, Bishop of St. *Davids*, to King *James* the fifth, *hoping thereby, to induce him to make the like Reformation in the Realm of* Scotland, *as was made in England*, though therein he was deceived of his expectation. But this Book having lien dormant for a certain time, that is to say, as long as the six Articles were in force, was afterwards corrected and explained by the Kings own hand; and being by him so corrected, was sent to be reviewed by Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, by him referred (with his own emendations on it) to the Bishops and Clergy then Assembled in their Convocation, *Anno* 1543. and by them approved. Which care that Godly Prelate took, as himself confesseth in a Letter to a friend of his, bearing date, *January* 25. *because the Book being to come out by the Kings Censure and Judgement, he would have nothing in the same, which* Momus *himself could Reprehend.* Which being done, it was published *M. S. de Rel. cles.* in Bishop *Cot. p.* 5.

An. 1546. lished shortly after, by the Name of a *Necessary Doctrine*, and *Erudition*, *for any Christian man*, with an Epistle of the Kings prefixt before it, in which it was commended to the perusal of all his Subjects that were Religiously disposed. Now, as the first Book was ushered in by an injunction, published in *September*, *An.* 1536. by which all Curates were required to teach the people to say the Lords Prayer, the *Creed*, the *Avemary*, and the Ten Commandements, in the *English* Tongue; so was the second countenanced by a Proclamation which made way unto it, bearing date *May* the sixth, 1541, whereby it was commanded, that the *English* Bible, of the *Larger Volume*, should publickly be placed in every Parish-Church of the Kings Dominions; And here we are to understand, that the Bible having been Translated into the *English* Tongue, by the great pains of *William Tyndal* (who after suffered for Religion, in the Reign of this King) was by the Kings Command suppreſt, and the reading of it interdicted by Proclamation; the Bishops and other Learned men, advising the restraint thereof, as the times then stood. But afterward, the times being changed, and the people better fitted for so great a benefit, the Bishops and Clergy assembled in their Convocation, *Anno* 1536, humbly petitioned to the King, that the Bible being faithfully Translated, and purged of such Prologues and Marginal Notes, as formerly had given offence, might be permitted from thenceforth to the use of the people. According to which godly motion, His Majesty did not only give order for a new Translation, but in the *Interim* he permitted *Cromwel*, His *Vicar General*, to set out an Injunction, for providing the whole Bible, both in Latin and English (after the Translation then in use;) which was called commonly by the name of *Matthews* Bible, (but was no other than that of *Tyndal*, somewhat altered) to be kept in every Parish-Church throughout the Kingdom. And so it stood (but not with such a general Observation, as the case required, till the finishing of the new Translation, Printed by *Grafton*, countenanced by a learned Preface of Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, and authorised by the Kings Proclamation of the sixth of *May*, as before was said. Finally, that the people might be better made acquainted with the Prayers of the Church, it was appointed, a little before the Kings going to *Bolloign*, *Anno* 1545. that the *Letany* (being put into the same form almost in which now it stands) should, from thenceforth be said in the *English* Tongue. So far this King had gone, in order to a Reformation, that it was no hard matter for his Son (or for those rather, who had the Managing of Affairs, during his Minority) to go through with it.

In Reference to the Regal State, he added to the Royal Stile, these three glorious Attributes, that is to say. *Defender of the Faith*, *The Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of* England, *and King of Ireland*. In what manner he obtained the Title of *Supreme Head*, conferred upon him by the Convocation, in the year 1530. and confirmed by Act of Parliament, in the 26 year of his Reign, hath been shown before. That of *Defender of the Faith*, was first bestowed upon him by Pope *Leo* the tenth, upon the publishing of a Book against *Martin Luther*, which Book being presented unto the Pope, by the hands of Dr. *Clark*, afterwards Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, hath been preserved ever since amongst the choisest Rarities of the *Vatican Library*. Certain it is, that the *Pope* was so well pleased with the present, as to receive the same in a solemn Assembly of the Cardinals, and Court of *Rome*, expressing the contentment which he took therein, by a fluent Oration, the Copy whereof we have in *Speed*, Fol. 991. And whereas, in former time, the *French* were honoured with the Title of *Most Christian*; and the *Spaniard* lately with the Title of *The Catholick King*; This Pope, in due acknowledgment of so great a Merit, bestowes on *Henry* the more Glorious Attribute of, *The Defender of the Faith*. Which Bull being dated on the tenth of *October*, *Anno* 1521. is to be found exemplified in the *Titles of Honour*, and thither I refer the Reader for his satisfaction. Twenty three years the King enjoyed this Title, by no other Grant, than the

the Donation of Pope *Leo.* But, then conſidering with himſelf, that it was firſt granted by that *Pope*, as a perſonal favour, and not intended to deſcend upon his poſterity, as alſo, that the *Popes*, by the reaſon of ſuch differences as were between them, might poſſibly take a time to deprive him of it, he reſolved to ſtand no longer on a ground of no greater certainty. And therefore, having ſummoned His High Court of *Parliament*, to aſſemble on the 29th of *March*, *Anno* 1544. he procured this Title to be aſſured unto his perſon, and to be made perpetual unto his Heirs and Succeſſours, for all times ſucceeding. For which Conſult, the Statute 35 *Hen.* 8. Cap. 3. And by the Act it was ordained, that whoſoever ſhould malitiouſly diminiſh any of His Majeſties Royal Titles, or ſeek to deprive him of the ſame, ſhould ſuffer death, as in caſe of Treaſon; and that from thenceforth the Stile Imperial ſhould no otherwiſe be expreſt, than in this form following, that is to ſay, *N. N.* by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, and on Earth, of the Churches of *England*, and *Ireland*, the Supreme Head. By vertue of which Act Queen *Mary* ſtill retained this Title, though ſhe diſclaimed the other of Supreme Head, by Act of Parliament, in the firſt year of her Reign, as being incompatible with her ſubmiſſion, and Relations to the See of *Rome*. *An.* 1546.

As for the Title of King of *Ireland*, it was firſt given unto this King, by a Parliament, there holden in the Month of *June*, 1541. under Sir *Anthony Saint-Leiger*, being then Lord Deputy. The Acts whereof being tranſmitted to the King, and by him confirmed, he cauſed himſelf to be firſt proclaimed King of *Ireland*, on the 23th of *January*, then next following. Which, though it added ſomewhat to him in point of Title, yet it afforded him no advantage in point of Power; but that the name of King was thought to carry more reſpect and awe with it amongſt the *Iriſh*, than the Title of *Lord*, which only till that time had been aſſumed by the Kings of *England*. For, otherwiſe the Kings of *England*, from the firſt Conqueſt of the Country by King *Henry* the ſecond, enjoyed and exerciſed all manner of Royalties, and Preheminences, which do, or can belong to the greateſt Kings: Governing the ſame by their Vice-Gerents, to whom ſometimes they gave the Title of *Lord Lieutenants*, ſometimes *Lord Deputies* of *Ireland*; than whom no *Vice-Roy* in the World, comes nearer to the Pomp and ſplendour of a Soveraign Prince. And though they took no other Title to themſelves, than *Lords of Ireland*, yet they gave higher Titles to their Subjects there, many of which they advanced to the Honour, and Degree of Earls. And at the ſame time, when King *Richard* the Second contented himſelf with no higher ſtile than *Lord of Ireland*, he exalted his great Favourite *Robert de Vere*, the tenth Earl of *Oxon*, of that Family; firſt, to the Dignity and Stile of Marqueſs of *Dublin*, and after to the invidious appellation of Duke of *Ireland*, which he enjoyed unto his death. The Countrey at the ſame time changed its Title alſo, being formerly no otherwiſe called in our Records, than *Terra Hibernie*, or the Land of *Ireland*, but, from henceforth to be called upon all occaſions, in Acts of Parliament, Proclamations, and Letters Patents, by the name of *Regnum Hibernie*, or the Realm of *Ireland*. At the aſſuming of which new Title, by this King, the *Scots* were ſomewhat troubled, but the Pope much more: The *Scots* had then ſome footing in the North parts of that Iſland, and thought, the taking of that Title by the Kings of *England*, to tend to the endangering of their poſſeſſion, or at leaſt to bring them under ſubjection of a Forreign Prince. And on the other ſide, it was complained of in the Court of *Rome*, as a great and viſible encroachment on the Papal Power, to which it only appertained, to erect new Kingdoms; and that the injury was the greater in the preſent caſe, becauſe the King holding that Iſland by no other Title, (as it was then, and there pretended) than by the Donation of Pope *Adrian* to King *Henry* the Second, was not without the Popes conſent to aſſume that Title. But, the King cared as little for the Pope, as he did for the *Scots*, knowing how able he was to make good all his Actings againſt them both; and not only for enjoying this Title

An. 1546. Title for the rest of his life, but for the leaving of it to his Heirs and Successors. Though afterward Queen *Mary* accepted a new Grant of it from the Pope then being.

Having thus setled and confirmed the Regal Stile, his next care was for setling, and preventing all Disputes and quarrels, which might be raised about the Succession of the Crown, if the Prince, his Son, should chance to dye without lawful issue, as he after did. In which, as he discharged the trust reposed in him, so he waved nothing of the Power which he had took unto himself by an Act of Parliament, made in that behalf, in the 35 year of his Reign, as before was noted. In pursuance whereof, finding himself sensibly to decay, but, having his wits and understanding still about him, he framed his last Will and Testament, which he caused to be signed and attested on the 30 of *December*, *An.* 1546, being a full Month before his death. First published by Mr. *Fuller*, in his Church History of *Britain*, *Lib.* 5. *Fol.* 243, 244. And out of him I shall crave leave to transcribe so much thereof, as may suffice to show unto posterity the sense he had of his own condition, the vile esteem he had of his sinful body, what pious, but unprofitable care he took, for the Decent Interment of the same; in what it was wherein he placed the hopes of Eternal life; and finally, what course he was pleased to take in the intailing of the Crown after his decease, by passing over the line of *Scotland*, and setling the Reversion in the House of *Suffolk*, if his own children should depart without lawful Issue, as in fine they did. In which, and in some other points, not here summed up, the Reader may best satisfie himself by the words and tenour of the Will, which are these that follow.

IN the Name of God, and of the Glorious and Blessed Virgin, our Lady St. Mary, and of all the Holy Company of Heaven: We Henry, *by the Grace of God King of* England, France, *and* Ireland; *Defender of the Faith, and in Earth immediately under God, the Supreme Head of the Church of* England *and* Ireland, *of that Name the Eighth; Calling to our remembrance the great gifts and benefits of Almighty God, given unto us in this Transitory life, give unto him our most lowly and humble thanks, acknowledging our selves insufficient in any part to deserve, or recompence the same. But fear that we have not worthily received the same; and considering further also, that we be, (as all mankinde are) mortal, and born in sin, believing nevertheless, and hoping that every Christian creature living here in this Transitory and Wretched World, under God, dying in stedfast and perfect Faith, endevouring, and exercising himself to execute in this life time, if he have leisure, such good deeds, and charitable works, as Scripture commandeth, and as may be to the Honour and pleasure of God, is Ordained by Christ's Passion to be sacred, and attain eternal Life; of which number we verily trust by his Grace to be one.*

And that every creature, the more high that he is in Estate, Honour, and Authority in this World, the more he is bound to love, serve, and thank God, and the more diligently to endeavour himself to do good and charitable Works, to the Laud, Honour, and Praise of Almighty God, and the Profit of his soul; We also calling to remembrance the dignity, Estate, Honour, Rule and Governance that Almighty God hath called us to in this World; and that neither we, nor any other creature mortal knoweth, the place, time, when, nor where it shall please Almighty God to call him out of this Transitory World; willing therefore, and minding with Gods grace, before our passage out of the same, to dispose and order our latter Mind, Will, and Testament, in that sort, as we trust it shall be acceptable to Almighty God, our only Saviour Jesus Christ, and all the Holy Company of Heaven, and the due satisfaction

faction of all Godly Brethren in Earth, Have now, being of whole and perfect mind, adhering wholly to the right Faith of Chriſt, and his Doctrine, repenting alſo our old and deteſtable life, and being in perfect will and mind, by his Grace, never to return to the ſame, and ſuch like. And minding by Gods Grace, never to vary therefrom as long as any remembrance, truth, or inward knowledge, doth, or may, remain within this mortal body; moſt humbly and heartily do commend, and bequeath our ſoul to Almighty God, who in perſon of the Son redeemed the ſame, with his moſt precious body and bloud, in time of his paſſion: And for our better remembrance thereof, hath left here with us in his Church Militant, the Conſecration and Adminiſtration of his moſt precious Body and Bloud, to our no little Conſolation and Comfort, if we as thankfully accept the ſame, as he lovingly and undeſervedly on mans behalf, hath ordained it for our only benefit, and not his. An. 1546.

Alſo, we do inſtantly require, and deſire the bleſſed Virgin Mary, his Mother, with all the Holy Company of Heaven, continually to pray for us, whileſt we live in this World, and in the time of paſſing out of the ſame, that we may the ſooner attain everlaſting life, after our departure out of this tranſitory life, which we do both hope and claim by Chriſts paſſion: and for my body, when the ſoul is departed, ſhall then remain but as a Cadaver, and ſo return to the vile matter it was made of; were it not for the Crown and Dignity which God hath called me unto, and that we would not be counted an infringer of honeſt Worldly Policies, and Cuſtoms, when they be not contrary to Gods Laws, we would be content to have it buried in any place, accuſtomed for Chriſtian folks, were it never ſo vile, for it is but aſhes, and to aſhes it ſhall return. Nevertheleſs, becauſe we would be loth, in the Reputation of the people, to do injury to the Dignity, which we are unworthily called unto, We are content, and alſo by theſe preſents, Our Laſt Will and Teſtament is, to will and Order, that Our body be buried and interred in the Quire of Our Colledge of Windſor, middle way, between the Stalls and the High Altar, and there to be made and ſet, as ſoon as conveniently may be done after Our deceaſe, by our Executors, at Our coſts and charges; if it be not done by Us in Our life-time, an Honourable Tomb, for Our bones to reſt in, which is well onward, and almoſt made therefore already with a fair Grate about it; in which We will alſo, that the bones of Our true and loving Wife Queen Jane, be put alſo: And that there be provided, ordained and ſet, at the coſt and charge of Us, or of Our Executors, if it be not done in Our life-time, a convenient Altar Honourably prepared, and apparelled with all manner of things requiſite, and neceſſary for daily Maſs, there to be ſaid perpetually while the World ſhall endure: Alſo, We Will, that the Tombs, and Altars of King Henry the Sixt, and alſo of King Edward the Fourth, Our Great Uncle and Grandfather, be made more Princely, in the ſame place where they now be, at Our charge.

Which care being taken for his Tomb, he gives Order that all Divine Offices, accuſtomed for the dead, ſhould be duly Celebrated for him; that at the removal of his body to *Windſor*, 1000 Marks ſhould be diſtributed amongſt the poor, to the end that they may pray for the remiſſion of his ſins, and the Wealth of his ſoul; that a Revenue of 600 pound *per Annum*, be ſetled on the Dean and Chapter of *Windſor*, for performance of the uſes in the Will expreſſed, and more particularly for the maintenance of thirteen poor Gentlemen, (to be called, the *Poor Knights of Windſor*) at the rate of twelve pence by the day to each of them, with a fee of 3. l. 6. s. 8. d. yearly to be ſuperadded unto him, which ſhould be choſen the Head and Governour over all the reſt. And that being done, he proceeds to the entailing of the Crown, in this manner following.

And

An. 1546.

And as concerning the Order and Disposition of the Imperial Crown of this Realm of England *and* Ireland, *with Our Title of* France, *and all Dignities, Honours, and Preheminences, Prerogatives, Authorities, and Jurisdictions to the same annexed, or belonging, and for the sure establishment of the* Succession *of the same. And also for a full and plain Gift, Disposition, Assignment, Declaration, Limitation, and appointment, with what Conditions Our Daughters* Mary *and* Elizabeth, *shall severally have, hold, and enjoy the said Imperial Crown, and other the like Premises after Our Decease; and for default of Issue, and Heirs of the several bodies of us, and of Our Son Prince* Edward, *lawfully begotten, And also for a full Gift, Disposition, Assignment, Declaration, Limitation, and appointment to whom, and of what Estate, and of what Manner, Fortune, and Condition, the said Imperial Crown, and other the Premises shall remain, and come after Our Decease; And for default of Issue, and Heirs of the several Bodies of Us, of Our said Son Prince* Edward, *of Our said Daughters,* Mary *and* Elizabeth, *lawfully begotten. We by these Presents do Make, and Declare Our last Will and Testament, conveying the said Imperial Crown, and all other the Premises in manner and Form following.*

That is to say, We Will by these Presents, that Immediately after Our departure out of this present life, Our said Son Prince Edward *shall have and enjoy the said Imperial Crown, and Realm of* England, *our Title of* France, *with all Dignities, Honours, Preheminences, Prerogatives, Authorities, and Jurisdictions, Lands and Possessions to the same annexed, and belonging unto him, or to the Heirs of his body Lawfully begotten; And for default of such Issue of Our said Son Prince* Edward's *Body, lawfully begotten, We will the same Imperial Crown, and other the Premises after Our Deceases, shall wholly remain, and come to the Heirs of Our Body, lawfully begotten upon the Body of Our entirely beloved Wife, Queen* Katharine, *that now is, or of any other Our lawful Wife that We shall hereafter marry. And for lack of such issue and Heirs, We will also, that after Our decease, and for default of Heirs of the several Bodies of us, and of Our said Son Prince* Edward's, *lawfully begotten, the said Imperial Crown and all other the Premises, shall wholly remain, and come to Our said Daughter* Mary, *and the Heirs of her body, lawfully begotten, upon condition, that Our said Daughter* Mary, *after Our decease, shall not marry, nor take any Person to her Husband, without the Assent, and Consent of the Privy Counsellours, and others: appointed by Us to Our dearest Son Prince* Edward *aforesaid, to be of Counsel, or of the most part of them, or the most of such as shall then be alive thereunto, before the said Marriage, had in writing, sealed with their seals. All which conditions we Declare, Limit, Appoint, and Will by these Presents, shall be knit and invested to the said estate of Our Daughter* Mary, *in the said Imperial Crown, and other the Premises. And if it fortune Our said Daughter* Mary *to die, without Issue of her Body lawfully begotten, We will, that after Our decease, and for default of Issue of the several bodies of Us, and of our said Son* Prince Edward, *lawfully begotten, and of our daughter* Mary, *the said Imperial Crown, and other the Premises shall wholly remain to come to Our said Daughter* Elizabeth, *and to the Heirs of her body, lawfully begotten, upon condition that Our said Daughter* Elizabeth, *after Our decease, shall not marry, or take any Person to her Husband, without the Assent, and Consent of the Privy Counsellours, and others appointed by Us, to be of Counsel with Our said dearest Son Prince* Edward, *or the most part of them, or the most part of such of them as shall be then alive, thereunto, before the Marriage, had in writing, sealed with their seals, which Condition, We Declare, Limit, and appoint, and Will by these presents,*

presents, shall be to the said Estate of Our said Daughter Elizabeth *knit, and invested.* *An.* 1546.

And, if it shall fortune Our said Daughter Elizabeth *to die without Issue of Her Body lawfully begotten, We Will, that after Our Decease, and for default of Issue of the several Bodies of Us, and of Our said Son Prince* Edward, *and of Our said Daughter* Mary *and* Elizabeth, *the said Imperial Crown, and other the Premisses, after Our Decease, shall wholly remain, and come to the Heirs of the Body of the Lady* Frances *Our Neece, eldest Daughter to Our late Sister the* French *Queen, lawfully begotten. And for default of such Issue of the Body of the said Lady* Frances, *We Will, that the said Imperial Crown, and other the Premises, after Our Decease, and for default of Issue of the several Bodies of Us, and of Our Son Prince* Edward, *and of Our Daughters* Mary *and* Elizabeth, *and of the Lady* Frances *lawfully begotten, shall wholly remain and come to the Heirs of the Body of the Lady* Elianor *Our Neece, second Daughter to Our said Sister the* French *Queen, lawfully begotten. And, if it happen the said Lady* Elianor *to die without Issue of her Body lawfully begotten, We Will, that after Our Decease, and for default of Issue of the several Bodies of Us, and of Our said Son Prince* Edward; *and of Our said Daughters* Mary *and* Elizabeth, *and of the said Lady* Frances, *and of the said Lady* Elianor, *lawfully begotten, the said Imperial Crown, and other the Premises, shall wholly remain, and come to the next Rightful Heirs. And We Will, that if Our said Daughter* Mary *do marry without the assent and consent of the Privy Councellours, and others appointed by Us to be of Councel to Our said Son Prince* Edward, *or the most part of them that shall then be alive, thereunto, before the said Marriage, had in writing, sealed with their Seals, as is aforesaid; That then, and from thenceforth, for lack of Heirs of the several Bodies of Us, and of Our said Son Prince* Edward, *lawfully begotten, the said Imperial Crown shall wholly remain, be, and come, to Our said Daughter* Elizabeth, *and to the Heirs of Her Body lawfully begotten, in such manner and form, as though Our said Daughter* Mary *were then dead, without any Issue of the Body of Our said Daughter* Mary *lawfully begotten; Any thing contained in this Our Will, or any Act of Parliament, or Statute, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And in case Our said Daughter, the Lady* Mary, *do keep and perform the said condition, expressed, declared, and limited to her Estate in the said Imperial Crown, and other the Premises, in this Our last Will declared; And that Our said Daughter* Elizabeth *do not keep, and perform, for her part, the said condition declared, and limited by this Our last Will to the Estate of the said Lady* Elizabeth *in the said Imperial Crown, in this Realm of* England *and* Ireland, *and other the Premises: We Will, that then, and from thence-forth, after Our Decease, and for lack of Heirs of the several Bodies of Us, and of Our said Son Prince* Edward, *and of Our Daughter* Mary, *lawfully begotten, the said Imperial Crown, and other the Premises, shall wholly remain, and come to the next Heirs lawfully begotten of the said Lady* Frances, *in such manner and form, as though the said Lady* Elizabeth *were dead without any Heir of her body lawfully begotten; Any thing contained in this Will, or in any Act, or Statute, to the contrary notwithstanding. The remainder over, for lack of Issue of the said Lady* Frances *lawfully begotten, to be, and continue to such Persons, like Remainders, and Estates, as is before limited, and declared.*

And We, being now at this time (thanks to Almighty God) of perfect Memory, do Constitute, and Ordain these Personages following Our Executors, and Performers of Our last Will and Testament; Willing, Commanding, and Praying them to take upon them the occupation and performances of the same, as Executors; that is to say: The Arch-Bishop of Canterbury; *the Lord* Wriothesley, *Chancellour of* England; *the Lord* St. John, *Great*

An. 1546.

Master of Our House; the Earl of Hartford, *Great Chamberlain; the Lord* Russel, *Lord Privy Seal; the Visc.* L'isle, *Lord High Admiral of* England; *the Bishop* Tonstal *of* Duresm; *Sir* Anthony Brown *Knight, Master of Our Horses; Sir* Edward Montague *Knight, chief Judg of the Common Pleas; Justice* Bromly; *Sir* Edward North *Knight, Chancellour of the Augmentations; Sir* William Paget *Knight, Our chief Secretary; Sir* Anthony Denny, *Sir* William Herbert *Knight, chief Gentleman of Our Privy Chamber; Sir* Edward Wotton *Kt. and Mr.* Dr. Wotton *his Brother. And all these We will to be Our Executors, and Councellours of the Privy Councel with Our said Son, Prince* Edward, *in all matters, both concerning His private Affairs, and the publick Affairs of the Realm; Willing and charging them, and every of them, as they must, and shall answer at the day of judgement, wholly, and fully to see this My last Will and Testament performed in all things, with as much speed and diligence as may be; and that none of them presume to meddle with any of Our Treasure, or to do any thing appointed by Our said Will, alone, unless the most part of the whole number of the Co-Executors do consent, and by writing agree to the same; And will that Our said Executors, or the most part of them, may lawfully do what they shall think most convenient for the execution of this Our Will, without being troubled by Our said Son, or any other for the same.* —— After which, having taken Order about the payment of His Debts, He proceeds as followeth.

Further, according to the Laws of Almighty God, and for the Fatherly Love, which We bear to Our Son, Prince Edward, *and this Our Realm, We declare Him; according to Justice, Equity, and Conscience, to be Our lawful Heir; and do give, and bequeath unto Him the Succession of Our Realms of* England *and* Ireland, *with Our Title of* France, *and all Our Dominions, both on this side the Seas, and beyond: A convenient portion for Our Will and Testament to be reserved. Also, We give unto him all Our Plate, Stuff of Houshold, Artillery, Ordnance, Ammunition, Ships, Cables, and all other things, and Implements to them belonging, and money also, and Jewels; saving such portions, as shall satisfie this Our last Will and Testament: Charging and commanding Him on pain of Our curse, (seeing He hath so Loving a Father of Us, and that Our chief Labour, and Study in this world, is to establish him in the Crown Imperial of this Realm, after Our Decease, in such sort as may be pleasing to God, and to the health of this Realm,) that He be Ordered and Ruled both in His Marriage, and also in ordering the Affairs of the Realm, as well outward as inward; and also in all His own private Affairs, and in giving of Offices of Charge, by the Advice and Counsel of Our-Right entirely beloved Councellours, the Arch-Bishop of* Canterbury, *the Lord* Wriothesly, *Chancellour of* England, *the Lord* St. John, *Master of Our Horse, the Lord* Russel *Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of* Hartford, *Great Chamberlain of* England, *the Viscount* L'isle, *High Admiral of* England, *the Bishop* Tonstal *of* Duresme, *Sir* Anthony Brown *Knight, Master of Our Horses, Sir* William Paget *Our chief Secretary, Sir* Anthony Denny, *Sir* Wil. Herbert, *Justice* Montague *and* Bromley, *Sir* Edward Wotton, *Mr. Doctour* Wotton, *and Sir* Edward North: *Whom We Ordain, name and appoint, and by these Presents Signed with Our hand, do make and constitute Our Privy Councel, with Our said Son, and will that they have the Governance of Our most dear Son, Prince* Edward, *and of all Our Realms, Dominions, and Subjects, and of all the Affairs, publick and private, until He shall have fully compleated the eighteenth year of His Age.*

And for because the variety, and number of things, affairs, and matters, are, and may be, such, as We, not knowing the certainty of them before, cannot conveniently prescribe a certain Order, or Rule, unto Our said Councellours, for their behaviours, and proceedings, in this charge which We have now, and do appoint unto them about Our said Son, during the time of His minority aforesaid

ſaid: We therefore, for the ſpecial Truſt and Confidence, which We have in them, Will, and by theſe Preſents, do give, and grant full Power and Authority, unto Our ſaid Counſellours; that they all, or the moſt part of them, being aſſembled together in Councel, or, if any of them fortune to dye, the more part of them, which ſhall be for the time living, being aſſembled in Councel together, ſhall, and may make, deviſe, and ordain, whatſoever things they or the more part of them, as aforeſaid, ſhall, during the Minority of Our ſaid Son, think meet, neceſſary, and convenient, for the Benefit, Honour, and Surety of the Weal, Profit and Commodity of Our ſaid Son, His Realms, Dominions, or Subjects, or the Diſcharge of Our Conſcience. And the ſame things made, ordained, and deviſed by them, or the more part of them, as aforeſaid, ſhall, and may, lawfully do, execute, and accompliſh, or cauſe to be done, executed or accompliſhed, by their Diſcretions, or the Diſcretions of the more part of them, as afore-ſaid, in as large and ample manner, as if We had or did expreſs unto them, by a more ſpecial Commiſſion under Our Great Seal of England *every particular cauſe, that may chance, or occur, during the time of Our ſaid Son's Minority, and the ſelf-ſame Manner of Proceeding, which they ſhall from time to time think meet to uſe, and follow: Willing, and charging Our ſaid Son, and all others, which ſhall hereafter be Councellours to Our ſaid Son, that they never charge, moleſt, trouble, or diſquiet Our aforeſaid Councellours, nor any of them, for the deviſing, or doing nor any other perſon, or perſons, for doing that they ſhall deviſe, or the more part of them deviſe, or do, aſſembled as is aforeſaid.* An. 1546.

And We do charge expreſly the ſame Our entirely beloved Councellours, and Executors, that they ſhall take upon them the Rule and Charge of Our ſaid Son and Heir, in all His Cauſes and Affairs, and of the whole Realm; doing nevertheleſs all things, as under Him, and in His name, until Our ſaid Son, and Heir, ſhall be beſtowed, and married by their advice, and that the eighteenth year be expired. Willing, & deſiring furthermore, Our ſaid Truſty Councellours, and then all Our Truſty and aſſured Servants; and Thirdly, all other Our Loving Subjects, to aid and aſſiſt Our fore-named Councellours in the Execution of the Premiſes, during the aforeſaid time; not doubting, but that they will in all things deal ſo truly and uprightly, as they ſhall have cauſe to think them well choſen for the Charge committed unto them: Straightly charging our ſaid Counſellours, *and* Executors, *and in God's Name exhorting them, for the ſingular Truſt and ſpecial* Confidence, *which We have, and ever had in them, to have a due diligent Eye, perfect Zeal, Love, and Affection, to the Honour, Surety, Eſtate, and Dignity of Our ſaid Son, and the Good State and Proſperity of this Our Realm; And, that all delays ſet apart, they will aid and aſſiſt Our ſaid* Councellours *and* Executors, *to the performance of this Our preſent Teſtament, and laſt Will, in every part, as they will anſwer before God at the day of Judgment,* Cum venerit judicare vivos & mortuos.

And furthermore, for the ſpecial Truſt *and* Confidence, *which We have in the Earls of* Arundel, *and* Eſſex, *that now be; Sir* Thomas Cheney *Knight, Treaſurer of Our Houſhold; Sir* John Gage *Knight, Comptroller of Our Houſhold, Sir* Anthony Wingfield *Knight, Our Vice-chamberlain; Sir* William Peter *Knight, one of Our two principal Secretaries; Sir* Richard Rich *Knight, Sir* John Baker *Knight, Sir* Ralph Sadler *Knight, Sir* Thomas Seimour *Knight, Sir* Richard Southwel, *and Sir* Edmond Peckham, *Knights: they and every of them ſhall be of* Councel, *for the aiding and aſſiſting of the fore-named* Councellors, *and Our* Executors, *when they, or any of them, ſhall be called by Our ſaid* Executors, *or the more part of the ſame.*

An. 1546.

Item, *We bequeath to Our Daughters,* Mary *and* Elizabeth's *Marriage, they being married to any Outward Potentate by the Advice of the afore-said Councellours (if We beſtow them not in Our Life-time) ten thouſand pounds in Money, Plate, Jewels, and Houſhold-ſtuff, for each of them; or a larger ſum as to the diſcretion of Our Executours, or the more part of them, ſhall be thought convenient; Willing them on My Bleſſing to be ordered, as well in Marriage, as in all other lawful things, by the Advice of Our fore-named Councellours: And, in caſe they will not, then the ſum to be miniſhed at the Councellours Diſcretions. And Our further Will is, That from the firſt Hour of Our Death, until ſuch time, as the ſaid Councellours can provide either of them, or both, ſome Honourable Marriages, They ſhall have, each of them,* M. M. M. lb. ultra repriſas, *to live upon; Willing, and charging the afore-ſaid Councellours to limit, and appoint to either of them, ſuch ſaid Officers, and Miniſters, for Orderance thereof, as may be employed both to Our Honour, and Theirs. And, for the great Love, Obedience and Chaſtneſs of Life, and Wiſdom, being in Our fore-named Wife and Queen; We bequeath unto Her, for Her proper Uſe, and as it ſhall pleaſe Her to Order it,* M. M. M. l. *in Plate, Jewels, and Stuff of Houſhold, beſides ſuch Apparel, as it ſhall pleaſe Her to take, as She hath already: And further We give unto Her* M. lb. *in Money, with the enjoying of Her Dowry and Joynture, according to Our Grant by Act of Parliament.*

Which ſaid, He bequeathed, in other Legacies, amongſt the Lords of his Councel, and other of His Principal Officers, whom He had declared for His Executors, the ſum of 6433. *lb.* 6. *s.* 8. *d.* And amongſt other Knights, and Gentlemen, his Domeſtick Servants, and ſuch as were in Ordinary Attendance about the Court, (under which ſtile I find that *Patrick* before remembred) the Sum of 5083. *lb.* 6. *s.* 8. *d.* Both Sums amounting in the total to 11516. *lb.* 13. *s.* 4. *d.* And ſo concludeth with a Revocation of all other Wills and Teſtaments, by Him formerly made; that only this might ſtand in Force, and be effectual, to all Intents and Purpoſes in the Law whatſoever. *Dated* 30 *December, Signed* with His own Hand, and *Witneſſed* by eleven of ſuch of His Phyſicians, and Attendants, as were then about Him.

Such was the Laſt Will, and Teſtament, of this Puiſſant Prince. Of which how little was performed, and how much leſs ſhould have been performed, if ſome Great Perſons (whom He had nominated for his Executours) might have had their Wills; we ſhall hereafter ſhow, in fit time, and place. In the mean ſeaſon we will ſee Him laid into His Grave: which was done with as much convenient ſpeed, as the neceſſary Preparations for a Royal Funeral could of right admit. For, on the fourteenth day of *February* then next following, His Body, being removed in a Solemn and magnificent manner to *Shene*, near *Richmond*, was the next day with like Solemnity, attended to His Caſtle of *Windſor* (one of the Goodlieſt, and moſt Gallant Seats of the *Chriſtian* World) and there Interred in a Vault, prepared for Himſelf, and His Dear Wife, Queen *Jane*; as in His Laſt Will He had deſired. For, though a moſt Magnificent, and coſtly Tomb, had been begun for Him, by Cardinal *Wolſie*, in a by Chappel of that Church, (commonly called, *The Chappel of King Henry the Eighth*;) yet being an unfiniſhed Piece, and the King having other ways diſpoſed of His own Interment, a Vault was opened for Him in the middeſt of the Quire. Into which the Body of the King was no ſooner laid; but all his Officers brake their Staves, and threw them into the Grave, (according to the uſual Ceremonies on the like Occaſions) receiving new ones the next day at the Hands of His Son. Nor were the Funeral Rites performed by His own Subjects only: but a Solemn Obſequie

was

was kept for Him, in the Church of *Noſtre Dame* in *Paris*, by King *Francis the First*; notwithſtanding, that He had been Excommunicated by the *Popes* of *Rome*. So much that Generous Prince preferred his old affections to this King for former Favours: not only above the late diſpleaſures conceived againſt Him, for the taking of *Bulloign*; but even above the Pope's Curſe, and all the Fulminations of the Court of *Rome*, which might follow on it. But long it will not be, before we ſhall diſcharge this debt, in paying the like Duty to the Honour of *Francis*; who dying on the two and twentieth day of *March* next following, had here an Obſequie, as Solemn as the Times could give Him. Of which more hereafter. *An.* 1546.

THE

An. 1546, 7.

THE LIFE and REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE SIXTH.

Anno Reg. 1. *Anno Dom.* 1546, 1547.

HENRY being dead, *EDWARD*, His only surviving Son, at the age of nine years, three moneths, and sixteen days, by the name of King *EDWARD the Sixth*, succeeds His Father in the Throne: *Charles the Fifth* being then Emperour of *Germany* and King of *Spain*; *Francis* of *Angoleſme* (the laſt Branch of the Royal Line of *Valoys*) King of the *French*; and *Paul the Third* (of the Noble Houſe of the *Farnezi*) preſiding in the Church of *Rome*. No ſooner was His Father dead, but *Edward* Earl of *Hartford*, and Sir *Anthony Brown*, Maſter of the Horſe, were by the reſt of the Councel diſpatched in haſt to *Hartford*-Caſtle; where, at that time, He kept His Court, accompanied with His Siſter, the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, about four years elder than Himſelf. Both whom they brought the next day as far as *Enfield*, where they imparted to Them the ſad News of the King's

King's Deceaſe; received by both with ſuch a meaſure of true Sorrow, that it was very hard to ſay, whether Their Tears did more obſcure, or ſet forth Their Beauties. The next day, advancing towards *London*, where he was Proclaimed King with all due Solemnities, He made his Royal Entry into the *Tower*, on the laſt of *January*. Into which he was conducted by Sir *John Gage*, as the Conſtable of it, and there received by all the Lords of the Councel; who, with great Duty and Affection, did attend his comings, and waiting on Him into the Chamber of Preſence, did very chearfully ſwear Allegiance to him. The next day, by the general conſent of all the Councel, the Earl of *Hartford*, the King's Uncle, was choſen Governour of His Perſon; and Protector of His Kingdoms, till He ſhould come unto the age of eighteen years, and was Proclaimed for ſuch in all parts of *London*: Eſteemed moſt fit for this high Office, in regard, that he was the King's Uncle by the Mothers ſide; very near unto Him in Blood, but yet of no capacity to ſucceed in the Crown: by reaſon whereof, his Natural Affection, and Duty, was leſs eaſie to be over-carried by Ambition. Upon which Ground of civil prudence, it was both piouſly and prudently Ordained by *Solon*, in the State of *Athens*; (*) *That no man ſhould be made the* Guardian *unto any* Orphan, *to whom the Inheritance might fall by the Death of his Ward.* For the firſt Handſelling of his Office, he Knighted the young King, on the ſixth of *February*: Who, being now in a capacity of conferring that Order, beſtowed it firſt on *Henry Hobble-Thorn*, Lord Mayor of *London*, and preſently after on Mr. *William Portman*, one of the Juſtices of the *Bench*; being both dubbed with the ſame Sword, with which He had received the Order of Knighthood, at the hands of His Uncle.

An. 1547

* *Ne quis fieret Curator, ad quem poſt Pupillorum obitum ſpectaret hæreditas.* Diog. Laert. *in vita* Solonis, *p.* 38.

Theſe firſt Solemnities being thus paſſed over, the next care was for the Interment of the Old King, and the Coronation of the New. In order to which laſt, it was thought expedient, to advance ſome Confidents, and Principal Miniſters of State to higher Dignities and Titles, than before they had; the better to oblige them to a care of the State, the ſafety of the Kings Perſon, and the preſervation of the Power of the Lord Protector, who chiefly moved in the Deſign. Yet ſo far did Self-Intereſt prevail, above all other Obligations, and ties of State; that ſome of theſe men thus advanced proved his greateſt Enemies: the reſt forſaking him, when he had moſt need to make uſe of their Friendſhip. In the firſt place, having reſigned the Office of Lord *High-Chamberlain*, he cauſed himſelf to be created Lord *Seimour*, and Duke of *Somerſet*. Which laſt Title, (appertaining to the King's Progenitours of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*; and, ſince the expiring of the *Beauforts*, conferred on none, but *Henry*, the Natural Son of the King deceaſed:) was afterwards charged upon him, as an Argument of his aſpiring to the Crown; which paſt all doubt he never aimed at. His own turn being thus unhappily ſerved, the Lord *William Parr*, Brother of Queen *Katharine Parr*, the Relict of the King deceaſed, (who formerly in the thirty fifth of the ſaid King's Reign, had been created Earl of *Eſſex*, with reference to *Ann* his Wife, Daughter and Heir of *Henry Bourchier*, the laſt Earl of *Eſſex* of that Houſe;) was now made Marqueſs of *Northampton*, in reference to her Extraction from the *Bohunes*, once the Earls thereof. *John Dudly* Viſcount *L'iſle*, and Knight of the Garter, having reſigned his Office of Lord *Admiral*, to gratifie the Lord Protector, (who deſired to confer that place of Power and Truſt on his younger Brother,) was, in Exchange, created Lord *High Chamberlain* of *England*, and Earl of *Warwick*. Which Title he affected in regard of his Diſcent from the *Beauchamps*, who for long time had worn that Honour: from whom he alſo did derive the Title of Viſcount *L'iſle*; as being the Son of *Edmond Sutton*, alias *Dudley*, and of *Elizabeth* his Wife, Siſter and Heir of *John Gray* Viſcount *L'iſle*, diſcended, by the Lord *John Talbot* Viſcount *L'iſle*, from *Richard Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, and Dame *Elizabeth* his Wife, the direct Heir of *Waren* Lord *L'iſle*, the laſt of the Male Iſſue of that Noble Family. In the next place comes Sir *Thomas Wriotheſley*, a man of a very new

An. 154{6 / 7} new Nobility; as being Son of *William Wriothſley*, and Grand-Child of *John Wriothſley*: both of them, in their Times, advanced no higher than to the Office of an *Herald*; the Father by the Title of *York*, the Grand-father by that of *Garter, King of Arms*. But this man being planted in a warmer Sun, grew up ſo faſt in the eſteem of King *Henry the Eight*, that he was firſt made Principal Secretary, afterwards created Baron of *Tichfield*, advanced not long after to the Office of Lord *Chancellour*: And finally, by the ſaid King, inſtalled Knight of the Garter, *An.* 1545. For an addition to which Honours, he was now dignified with the Title of the Earl of *South-hampton*, enjoyed to this day by his Poſterity.

Theſe men being thus advanced to the higheſt Titles; Sir *Thomas Seimour*, the new Lord *Admiral*, is Honoured with the Stile of Lord *Seimour* of *Sudeley*, and in the beginning of the next year made Knight of the Garter; prepared by this accumulation of Honours for his following Marriage, which he had now projected, and ſoon after compaſſed. With no leſs Ceremony, though not upon ſuch lofty Ayms, Sir *Richard Rich* (another of the twelve, which were appointed for Subſidiaries, to the great Council of Eſtate, by the King deceaſed, was preferred unto the Dignity of Lord *Rich* of *Leez* in *Eſſex*, the Grand-father of that *Robert* Lord *Rich*, who by King *James* was dignified with the Title of *Earl* of *Warwick*, *Anno* 1618. In the third place came Sir *William Willoughby*, diſcended from a younger branch of the Houſe of *Eresby*, created Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* in the County of *Suſſex*. And in the Rear, Sir *Edmond Sheffield*, advanced unto the Title of Lord *Sheffield* of *Butterwick* in the County of *Lincoln*; from whom the Earls of *Mowlgrave* do derive themſelves. All which Creations were performed with the accuſtomed Solemnities on the ſeventeenth of *February*: and all given out to be deſigned by King *Henry* before his death, the beter to take off the envy from the Lord Protector; whom otherwiſe all underſtanding people muſt needs have thought to be too prodigal of thoſe Honours, of which the greateſt Kings of *England* had been ſo ſparing. For when great Honours are conferred on perſons of no great eſtates, it raiſeth commonly a ſuſpicion amongſt the people: That, either ſome proportionable Revenue muſt be given them alſo, to the impoveriſhing of the King, or elſe ſome way left open for them, to enrich themſelves out of the purſes of the Subject.

Theſe Preparations being diſpatched, they next proceed unto the Coronation of the *King*, performed with the accuſtomed Rites on the twentieth of the ſame Moneth by Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*. The Form whereof we finde exemplified in a Book, called *The Catalogue of Honour*, publiſhed by *Thomas Mills* of *Canterbury*, in the year 1610. In which there is nothing more obſervable, than this following Paſſage. *The King* (ſaith he) *being brought unto the Church of Saint* Peter *in* Weſtminſter, *was placed in the Chair of Saint* Edward *the* Confeſſour, *in the middeſt of a Throne ſeven ſteps high. This Throne was erected near unto the Altar, upon a Stage ariſing with ſteps on both ſides, covered with Carpets and Hangings of* Arras. *Where, after the King had reſted a little, being by certain noble* Courtiers *carried in another* Chair, *unto the four ſides of the Stage*; He *was by the Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury *declared unto the people* (*ſtanding round about him*) *both by God's and Man's Laws to be the Right and Lawful King of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *and proclaimed that day to be Crowned, Conſecrated, and Anointed.* Unto whom He demanded whether they would obey and ſerve, *or* Not? *By whom it was again, with a loud cry, anſwered*; God ſave the King: *and*, Ever live His Majeſty. Which Paſſage I the rather note; becauſe it is obſerved, that, at the Coronation of ſome former Kings, *The Arch-Biſhop went to the four ſquares of the Scaffold, and with a loud voice, asked the Conſent of the People.* But this was at ſuch *Time's* and in ſuch *Caſes* only, when the Kings came unto the Crown by Diſputed Titles; for maintainance whereof the Favour and Conſent of the People ſeemed a matter neceſſary: (as at the Coronations of Kings *Henry the Fourth*, or King *Richard the Third*) and not when it devolved upon them, as it did upon this King, by a Right unqueſtioned.

The

The Coronation was accompanied, as the Cuſtom is, with a general pardon. *An.* 1546, 47
But as there never was a Feaſt ſo great, from which ſome men departed not with empty bellies; ſo, either out of Envy, or ſome former Grudge, or for ſome other cauſe unknown, ſix perſons were excluded from the taſte of this gracious Banquet: that is to ſay, the Lord *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, a condemned Priſoner in the *Tower*; *Edward* Lord *Courtney*, eldeſt Son to the late Marqueſs of *Exeter* beheaded in the laſt times of K. *Henry the Eighth*; Cardinal *Pole*, one of the Sons of *Margaret* Counteſs of *Salisbury*, proſcribed by the ſame King alſo; Doctor *Richard Pate*, declared Biſhop of *Worceſter*, in the place of *Hierome de Nugaticis*, in the year 1534. and by that Name ſubſcribing to ſome of the firſt Acts of the Councel of *Trent*: who, being ſent to *Rome* on ſome publick Imployment, choſe rather to remain there in perpetual Exile, then to take the *Oath of Supremacy* at his coming home; as by the Laws he muſt have done, or otherwiſe have fared no better, than the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who loſt his head on the refuſal. Of the two others, *Forteſcue* and *Throgmorton*, I have found nothing, but the Names: and thereupon can but name them only. But they all lived to better times: the Duke of *Norfolk*, being reſtored by Queen *Mary* to his Lands, Liberty, and Honours; as the Lord *Courtney* was to the Earldom of *Devonſhire*, enjoyed by many of his Noble Progenitours; Cardinal *Pole* admitted firſt into the Kingdom, in the capacity of a *Legate* from the *Pope* of *Rome*, and after *Cranmer*'s death advanced to the See of *Canterbury*; and Dr. *Pate* preferred unto the actual *Poſſeſſion* of the See of *Worceſter*, of which he formerly had enjoyed no more but the empty *Title*.

Theſe Great Solemnities being thus paſſed over, the *Grandees* of the Court began to entertain ſome thoughts of a *Reformation*. In which they found Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*, and ſome other Biſhops, to be as forward as themſelves; but on different ends: endeavoured by the Biſhops, in a pious Zeal for rectifying ſuch things as were amiſs in God's publick Worſhip; but by the Courtiers, on an Hope to enrich themſelves by the ſpoil of the Biſhopricks. To the Advancement of which work the Conjuncture ſeemed as proper, as they could deſire. For Firſt the King, being of ſuch tender age, and wholly Governed by the Will of the Lord Protectour, who had declared himſelf a friend to the *Lutheran* party in the time of King *Henry*, was eaſie to be moulded into any form, which the authority of Power and Reaſon could imprint upon Him. The Lord *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, and Doctor *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, (who formerly had been the greateſt Sticklers at the Council-Table in Maintenance of the Religion of the Church of *Rome*) were not long able to ſupport it: the one of them being a condemned Priſoner in the *Tower*, as before was ſaid; and the other, upon ſome juſt diſpleaſure, not named by King *Henry* amongſt the Councellours of State, who were to have the managing of Affairs in His Son's Minority. *Bonner*, then Biſhop of *London*, was abſent at that time in the Court of the *Emperour*; to whom he had been ſent Embaſſadour by the former King. And no profeſſed Champion for the *Papacy* remained amongſt them, of whom they had cauſe to ſtand in doubt: but the new Earl of *Southampton*. Whom when they were not able to remove from his old Opinions, it was reſolved to make him leſs both in Power and Credit; ſo, that he ſhould not be able to hinder the purſuit of thoſe Counſels, which he was not willing to promote. And therefore on the ſixth of *March*, the *Great Seal* was taken from him by the King's Command, and for a while committed to the cuſtody of Sir *William Pawlet*, Created Lord St. *John* of *Baſing*, and made Great Maſter of the Houſhold by King *Henry the Eighth*.

And on the other ſide it was thought expedient, for the better carrying on of the Deſign, not only to relapſe all ſuch as had been committed unto Priſon; but alſo to recall all ſuch as had been forced to abandon the Kingdom, for not ſubmitting to the Superſtitions and Curruptions of the Church of *Rome*. Great were the Numbers of the firſt, who had their Fetters ſtrucken off by this merci-

An. 1546/7 full Prince, and were permitted to enjoy that Liberty of Conscience; for which they had suffered all Extremities in His Father's time. Onely it is observed of one *Thomas Dobbs*, once Fellow of Saint *John's-colledge* in *Cambridg*, condemned for speaking against the Mass, and thereupon committed to the *Counter* in *Bread-street*; that he alone did take a view of this Land of *Canaan*, into which he was not suffered to enter. It being so ordered by the Divine Providence, that he dyed in Prison, before his pardon could be signed by the Lord Protectour. Amongst the rest, which were in number very many, those of chief note were, Doctour *Miles Coverdale*, after Bishop of *Exeter*; Mr. *John Hooper* after Bishop of *Gloucester*; Mr. *John Philpot*, after Arch-Deacon of *Winchester*; Mr. *John Rogers*, after one of the Prebends of St. *Paul's*; and many others, eminent for their Zeal and Piety: which they declared by preferring a good Conscience before their Lives, in the time of Queen *Mary*.

But the business was of greater Moment, than to expect the coming back of the Learned men: who though they came not time enough to begin the work; yet did they prove exceeding serviceable in the furtherance of it. And therefore, neither to lose time, nor to press too much at once upon the people, it was thought fit to smooth the way to the intended *Reformation*, by setting out some Preparatory *Injunctions*; such as the King might publish by his own Authority, according to the example of His Royal Father in the year 1536. and at sometimes after. This to be done by sending out *Commissioners* into all parts of the Kingdom, armed with *Instructions* to enquire into all Ecclesiastical Concernments, in the manner of a *Visitation*; directed by the King, as Supream Head on earth of the Church of *England*. Which *Commissioners*, being distributed into several Circuits, were accompanied with certain learned, & Godly Preachers, appointed to instruct the people, and to facilitate the work of the *Commissioners*, in all Towns, and Places, where they sate. And, that the people might not cool, or fall off again, in, and from that, which had been taught them by the Learned Preachers; they were to leave some *Homilies* to the same effect with the *Parish-Priest*: which the Arch-Bishop had composed; not onely for the help of unpreaching Ministers, but for the regulating, and instructing even of Learned Preachers. Which *Injunctions* being agreed upon by such of the *Great Council*, as favoured the Design of the *Reformation*; and the *Commissions* drawn in due form of Law by the *Counsel learned*: they were all tendered to the Lord Chancellour *Wriothsley*; that the Authority of the *Great Seal* might be added to them. Which he, who was not to be told what these matters aim'd at refused to give consent unto: and so lost the *Seal*, committed (as before is said) to the Custody of the *Lord Great Master*, by whom the said *Commissioners* were dispatched, and the *Visitours* thereby Authorised in due form of Law. And here it is to be observed, that, besides the points contained in the said *Injunctions*, the Preachers above-mentioned were more particularly instructed to perswade the people from *Praying to the Saints*, from making *Prayers for the dead*, from *Adoring of Images*, from the use of *Beads*, *Ashes*, and *Processions*, from *Mass*, *Dirieges*, *Praying in unknown Languages*, and from some other such like things; whereunto long Custom had brought a Religious Observation. All which was done to this intent; That the people in all places, being prepared by little and little, might with more ease, and less opposition, admit the total Alteration in the face of the *Church*, which was intended in due time to be introduced.

Now, as for the *Injunctions* above-mentioned, although I might exemplifie them, as they stand at large in the *First Edition* of the *Acts and Monuments* (fol. 684.) yet I shall choose rather to present them in a smoother Abstract; as it is done unto my hand by the *Church-Historian*: the Method of them only altered in this manner following.

1. That all Ecclesiastical persons observe, and cause to be observed, the Laws for the abolishing the pretended and usurped Power of the Bishop of *Rome*, and Confirmation of the King's Authority and Supremacy: and four times in the year,

year, at the least, that they teach the people, That the one was now justly taken away, according to the word of God) and that the other was, of most Legal Duty, only to be obeyed by all the Subjects. *An.* 1547

That, once a Quarter, at the least, they sincerely declare the Word of God, dissuading the people from Superstitious Fancies of *Pilgrimages*, *Praying to Images*, &c. exhorting them to the Works of *Faith*, *Mercy*, and *Charity*: 3. And that *Images*, abused with *Pilgrimages*, and *Offerings* thereunto, be forthwith taken down, and destroyed, and that no more *Wax-Candles*, or *Tapers*, be burnt before any Image; but only two lights upon the High Altar, before the *Sacrament*, shall remain still, to signifie, *That Christ is the very Light of the World.* 4.

That every *Holy-Day*, when they have no Sermon, the *Pater-Noster*, *Credo*, and *Ten Commandments*, shall be plainly recited in the Pulpit to the Parishioners. 5. And that Parents, and Masters, bestow their Children, and Servants, either to Learning, or some honest Occupation. 7.

That, within three Moneths after this *Visitation*, the *Bible*, of the Larger Volume, in *English*; and within twelve Moneths *Erasmus* his *Paraphrases on the Gospels*, be provided, and conveniently placed in the Church, for the people to read therein. 20. And that every Ecclesiastical Person, under the Degree of a *Batchelour of Divinity*, shall within three Moneths after this *Visitation*, provide of his own *The New Testament* in *Latine* and *English*, with *Erasmus* his *Paraphrases* thereon. And that Bishops, by themselves, and their Officers, shall Examine them, how much they have profited in the study of *Holy Scripture*. 6.

That such, who in Cases expres'd in the Statute are absent from their Benefices, leave Learned, and expert Curates, to supply their places. 14. That all such Ecclesiastical Persons, not resident upon their Benefices, and able to dispend yearly xx. pounds, and above, shall in the presence of the Church-Wardens, or some other honest men, distribute the fortieth part of their Revenues amongst the poor of the Parish. 15. And that every Ecclesiastical Person shall give competent Exhibition to so many Scholars in one of the Universities, as they have hundred pounds a year in Church-promotions. 14. 15.

That a fifth part of their Benefices be bestowed on their Mansion-Houses, or Chancels, till they be fully repaired. 8. And that no Ecclesiastical Persons haunt Ale-houses, or Taverns, or any place of unlawful Gaming. 16. 8.

That they Examine such as come to Confession in *Lent*, whether they can recite their *Credo*, *Pater-Noster*, and *Ten Commandments* in *English*, before they receive the *Blessed Sacrament of the Altar*; or else they ought not to presume to come to *God's Board*. 9.

That none be admitted to preach, except sufficiently Licensed. 11. That, if they have heretofore extolled *Pilgrimages*, *Reliques*, *Worshipping of Images*, &c. they now openly recant, and reprove the same, as a Common Errour, groundless in Scripture: 12. That they detect, and present such, who are *Lettours* of the Word of God in *English*, and *Fautours* of the Bishop of *Rome* his pretended Power. 10. 11. 12.

That no Person, from henceforth, shal alter any *Fasting-day*, or manner of *Common-Prayer*, or *Divine Service*, (otherwise then is specified in these *Injunctions*) until otherwise ordered by the King's Authority. 21. And, that, in time of *High Mass*, he, that sayeth, or singeth a *Psalm*, shall read the *Epistle* and *Gospel* in *English*, & one Chapter in the New Testament at *Mattens*, & another at *Even-song*; And that, when nine *Lessons* are to be read in the Church, three of them shal be omitted with *Responds*: And at the *Even-song*, the *Responds*, with all the *Memories*. By which last word I understand the *Anniversary Commemoration* of deceased persons on the day of their deaths, which frequently were expres'd by the name *Obits* 19. 21.

That every Dean, Arch-Deacon, &c. being a Priest, Preach by himself, personally, every year at least. 26. That they Instruct their people not obstinately to violate the Ceremonies of the Church, by the King Commanded to be observed, and not as yet abrogated. And on the other side, that whosoever doth Superstitiously abuse them, doth the same to the great peril of his 26. 27.

An. 1547 Souls health: 25. And that no Curate admit to the Communion such, who are in Rancour, and Malice with their Neighbours, till such controversies be reconciled.

That, to avoid Contentions, and strife, which heretofore have risen amongst the King's Subjects, by challenging of places in *Procession*; no *Procession* hereafter be used about the Church, or Church-yard: but, immediately before *High-Mass*, the *Letany* shall be distinctly said, or sung in *English*; none departing the Church without just cause, and all ringing of Bells (save one) utterly forborn.

That they take away, and destroy all *Shrines*, *Covering of Shrines*, *Tables*, *Candlesticks*, *Trindils*, and *Rolls of Wax*, *Pictures*, *Paintings*, and other Monuments of *feigned Miracles*; so that no Memory of them remain in *Walls*, or *Windows*: exhorting their Parishioners to do the like in their several houses.

That the *Holy-day*, at the first beginning *Godly-Instituted and ordained*, be wholly given to God, in hearing the Word of God read and taught, in private and publique Prayers, in acknowledging their Offences to God, and amendment, in reconciling themselves to their Neighbours, receiving the Communion, Visiting the sick, *&c.* Onely it shall be lawful for them, in time of Harvest, to labour upon *Holy* and *Festival* days, and save that thing which God hath sent; and that scrupulosity, to abstain from working upon those days, doth grievously offend God.

That a *Register*-Book be carefully kept in every Parish for *Weddings*, *Christenings*, and *Burials*: 29. That a strong Chest, with an hole in the upper part thereof (with three keys thereunto belonging) be provided to receive the Charity of the People to the poor; and the same, at convenient times, be distributed unto them in the presence of the Parish. And that a comely Pulpit be provided, in a convenient place.

That, because of the lack of Preachers, Curates shall read *Homilies*, which are, or shall be set forth by the King's Authority. 36. That, when any such *Sermon*, or *Homily* shall be had, the *Primes* and *Hours* shall be omitted. 18. That none, bound to pay *Tithes*, detain them, by colour of Duty omitted by their Curates, and so redoub one wrong with another. 33. And whereas many indiscrete persons do incharitably condemn, and abuse Priests having small Learning; His Majesty chargeth His Subjects, That from henceforth they be reverently used, for their Office and Ministration sake: 31. And, that, to avoid the detestable sin of *Symonie*, the Seller shall lose his right of Patronage for that time, and the Buyer to be deprived, and made unable to receive Spiritual promotion.

That, to prevent sick persons in the damnable vice of Despair, *They shall learn, and have always in readiness, such comfortable places, and Sentences of Scripture; as do set forth the Mercies, Benefits, and Goodness of God Almighty towards all penitent, and believing persons*: 30. But that Priests be not bound to go *visit women in Child-bed; except in times of dangerous sickness*: and not to *fetch any Coarse, except it be brought to the Church-yard.* 34. That all persons, not understanding *Latine*, shall pray on no other *Primer*, but what lately was set forth in *English* by King *Henry the Eighth*; and that such, who have knowledge in the *Latine*, use no other also, that all Graces before, and after Meat, be said in *English*; and no *Grammar* taught in Schools, but that which is set forth by Authority. 39. That Chantry-Priests teach Youth to read, and write.

And finally, That these *Injunctions* be read once a Quarter.

Acts, & Mon. fol. 1182. Besides these general *Injunctions* for the whole Estate of the Realm, there were also certain others, particularly appointed for the Bishops onely; which being delivered unto the *Commissioners*, were likewise by them in their *Visitations* committed unto the said Bishops, with charge to be inviolably observed and

and kept, upon pain of the King's Majesties displeasure: the effect whereof is, as in manner followeth. *An.* 154{6 7

1. *That they should, to the utmost of their power, wit, and understanding, see, and cause all, and singular, the King's* Injunctions *heretofore given, or after to be given, from time to time, in, and through their Dioceſs, duly, faithfully, and truly to be kept, observed, and accomplished. And, that they should Personally Preach within their Dioceſs, every Quarter of a year, once at the least: that is to say, once in their Cathedral Churches, and thrice in other several places of their Dioceſses, whereas they should see it most convenient and necessary; except they had a reasonable excuse to the contrary. Likewise, that they should not retain into their Service, or Houshold, any Chaplain, but such as were Learned, and able to Preach the Word of God, and those they should also cause to Exercise the same.*

2. *And Secondly, That they should not give Orders to any Person; but such as were Learned in Holy Scripture: neither should deny them to such, as were Learned in the same, being of honest conversation, or living. And Lastly, That they should not at any time, or place, Preach, or set forth unto the People, any Doctrine contrary, or repugnant to the effect, and intent, contained, or set forth in the King's Highnesse's* Homilies: *neither yet should admit, or give Licence to Preach to any, within their Dioceſs, but to such as they should know (or at least assuredly trust) would do the same: And, if at any time, by hearing, or by report proved, they should perceive the contrary; they should then incontinent not only inhibit that Person so offending, but also punish him, and revoke their Licence.*

There was also a *Form* of *Bidding Prayer* prescribed by the *Visitours*, to be used by all Preachers in the Realm; either before, or in their Sermons, as to them seemed best. Which *Form* of *Bidding Prayer* (or *Bidding of the Beads*, as it was then commonly called) was this, that followeth.

You shall Pray for the whole Congregation of Christ's *Church, and specially for this Church of* England *and* Ireland: *wherein first I commend to your devout Prayers the King's most Excellent Majesty, Supream Head immediately under God of the Spirituality and Temporality of the same Church: And for Queen* Katharine *Dowager, and also for my Lady* Mary, *and my Lady* Elizabeth, *the King's Sisters.*

Secondly, You shall Pray for my Lord Protectour's Grace, with all the rest of the King's Majesty His Councel; for all the Lords of His Realm, and for the Clergy, and for the Commons of the same: beseeching God Almighty, to give every of them, in his degree, grace to use themselves in such wise, as may be to God's Glory, the King's Honour, and the Weal of this Realm.

Thirdly, You shall Pray for all them, that be departed out of this World in the Faith of Christ; that they with us, and we with them, at the day of Judgment, may rest, both body and soul, with Abraham, Isaac, *and* Jacob, *in the Kingdom of Heaven.*

Such were the *Orders*, and *Injunctions*, wherewith the King's *Commissioners* were furnished for their *Visitation*. Most of them such, as had been formerly given out by *Cromwell*, or otherwise published and pursued (but not without some intermissions) by the King deceased, and therefore to be put in Execution with the greater safety. For though the young King, by Reason of his tender Age, could not but want a great proportion of his Father's Spirit, for carrying on a work of such weight and moment; yet he wanted nothing of that power in Church-concernment, which either naturally was inherent in the Crown Imperial,

An. 1547 perial, or had been Legally vested in it by *Acts of Parliament.* Neither could His Being in Minority, nor the Writings in His Name by the Lord Protector, and the Rest of the Council, make any such difference in the Case; as to invalidate the proceedings, or any of the Rest which followed in the *Reformation.* For, if they did, the *Objection* would be altogether as strong against the *Reformation*, made in the Memory of King *Josias*; as against this, in the Minority of the present K. That of *Josias* being made (as *Josephus*(*) telleth us) by the Advice of the *Elders*: as this of King EDWARD *the Sixth* by the Advice of the Council. And yet it cannot be denyed, but that the *Reformation* made under King *Josias*, by Advice of his Council, was no less pleasing unto *God*, nor less valid in the Eys of all his Subjects: then those of *Jehoshaphat*, and *Hezekiah*, in their Riper years; who perhaps acted singly on the strength of their Own Judgments only, without any Advice. Now of *Josias* we are told by the said Historian; That, *When He grew to be twelve years old, He gave manifest Approbation of His Piety, and Justice. For He drew the People to a comfortable Course of Life, and to the Detestation and Abolishing of Idols, that were no Gods, and to the Service of the Onely True God of their Fore-Fathers. And, considering the Actions of His Predecessours, He began to Rectifie them in that, wherein they were deficient, with no less Circumspection, then if He had been an Old Man; And that, which He found to be Correspondent, and Advisedly done by them, that did he both maintain and imitate. All which things He did, both by Reason of His Innated Wisdom, as also by the Admonishment and Council of His Elders: in following orderly the Laws; not onely in matters of Religion, but of Civil Politie.* Which puts the Parallel betwixt the two young Kings, in the Case before us, above all Exception; and the Proceedings of King *Edward*, or His Council rather, beyond all Dispute.

(*) *Antiqu. Jud.* lib. 10. cap. 4.

Now, whereas Question hath been made, whether the twenty fourth *Injunction*, for *Labouring on the Holy-Day in time of Harvest*, extends as well to the *Lord's Day*, as the *Annual Festivals*: The matter seems, to any well-discerning eye, to be out of Question. For in the third Chapter of the *Statute* made in the fifth and sixth years of King *Edward the Sixth*, (when the *Reformation* was much more advanced, then it was at the present) the Names and Number of such *Holy Days*, as were to be observed in this Church, are thus laid down; *That is to say, All Sundaies in the year, the Feasts of the Circumcision of our Lord Jesus Christ, of the Epiphany*, &c. with all the Rest, still kept, and there named particularly. And then it followeth in the Act, *That it shall, and may, be lawful for every Husband-man, Labourer, Fisher-man, and to all, and every other person or persons, of what Estate, Degree, or Condition, he, or they, be, upon the* Holy-Days *afore-said, in Harvest, or at any other times in the year, when necessity shall so require, to Labour, Ride, Fish, or Work any kind of work, at their free-Will and Pleasure; any thing in this Act to the contrary, notwithstanding.* The Law being such, there is no question to be made in point of practice, nor consequently of the meaning of the King's *Injunction.* For further opening of which Truth, we find, that not the Country only, but the Court were indulged the Liberty of attending business on that day; it being Ordered by the King, amongst other things, *That the Lords of the Council should upon Sundays attend the publick Affairs of this Realm, dispatch Answers to Letters for good order of State, and make full dispatches of all things concluded the Week before: Provided always, That they be present at* Common Prayer, *and that on every Sunday-Night the King's Secretary should deliver him a Memorial of such things, as are to be debated by the Privy Council in the week ensuing.* Which Order, being compared with the words of the *Statute*, may serve sufficiently to satisfie all doubts, and scruples, touching the true intent and meaning of the said *Injunction.*

But, as this Question was not startled till the Later Times, when the *Lord's Day* began to be advanced into Reputation of the *Jewish Sabbath*; so was there nothing in the rest of the said *Injunctions*, which required a Commentary. Some words, and Passages therein, which seem absurd to us of this present

preſent Age, being then clearly underſtood by all, and every one, whom they did concern; Publiſhed, and given in charge, by the *Commiſſioners* in their ſeveral Circuits, with great Zeal and Chearfulneſs; and no leſs readily obeyed in moſt parts of the Realms, both by Prieſts and people: who obſerved nothing in them, either new, or ſtrange, to which they had not been prepared in the Reign of the King deceaſed. None forwarder in this Compliance, than ſome Learned men, in, and about the City of *London*; who not long ſince had ſhewed themſelves of a contrary Judgment: Some of them running before Authority, and others keeping even pace with it; but few ſo confident of themſelves as to lagg behind. It was Ordered in the twenty firſt; *That, at the time of high Maſs, the Epiſtle, and Goſpel ſhould be read in the Engliſh Tongue:* and, *That both at the Mattens, and Even-Song, a Chapter out of the New Teſtament ſhould be alſo read.* And, for Example to the reſt of the Land, the *Complime*, being a part of the *Evening Service*, was ſung in the King's Chappel on *Munday* in the *Eaſter*-week (then falling on the eleventh of *April*) in the *Engliſh* Tongue. Doctour *Smith*, Maſter of *Whittington-colledge* in *London*, and Reader in Divinity at the *King's-colledge* at *Oxford*, (afterwards better known by the name of *Chriſt-church*) had before publiſhed two Books: One of them written, *In Defence of the Maſs*; The other endeavouring to prove, *That unwritten Veri-ties ought to be believed, under pain of Damnation.* But, finding that theſe Doctrines did not now beat according to the pulſe of the times, he did voluntarily retract the ſaid Opinions; declaring in a Sermon at Saint *Paul's Croſs*, on *Sunday* the fifteenth of *May*, that his ſaid former Books, and Teachings, were not only erroneous, but Heretical. The like was done in the Month next following by Doctor *Pern*, afterwards Maſter of *Peter-houſe* in *Cambridge*; who, having on Saint *George's* day delivered, in the Pariſh-Church of Saint *Andrew Underſhaft*, for ſound Catholick Doctrine, *That the Pictures of Chriſt, and of the Saints were to be adored*; upon the ſeventeeth day of *June*, declared himſelf in the ſaid Church to have been deceived in that, what he before had taught them, and to be ſorry for delivering ſuch Doctrine to them. But theſe men might pretend ſome Warrant from the King's *Injunctions*, which they might conceive it neither fit, nor ſafe to oppoſe: and therefore, that it was the wiſeſt way, to ſtrike Sail betimes, upon the ſhooting of the firſt Warning-piece to bring them in. But no man was ſo much before hand with Authority, as one Doctor *Glaſier*; who, as ſoon as the Faſt of *Lent* was over, (and it was well he had the patience to ſtay ſo long) affirmed publickly in a Sermon at Saint *Pauls Croſs*; That, *The Lent was not ordained of God to be Faſted, neither the Eating of Fleſh to be forborn; but that the ſame was a Politick Ordinance of men, and might therefore be broken by men at their pleaſure.* For which Doctrine as the Preacher was never queſtioned, the Temper of the Times giving Incouragement enough to ſuch Extravagancies; ſo did it open ſuch a Gap to Carnal Liberty, that the King found it neceſſary to ſhut it up again by a Proclamation on the ſixteenth of *January*, commanding Abſtinence from all Fleſh, for the *Lent* then following.

An. 1547.

But there was ſomething more, then the Authority of a Minor King, which drew on ſuch a General Conformity to theſe *Injunctions*: and thereby ſmoothed the way of thoſe Alterations, both in Doctrine and Worſhip; which the *Grandees* of the Court, and Church, had began to faſhion. The Lord Protectour, and his party were more experienced in Affairs of State; then to be told, That, "All great Counſels, tending to Innovation in the publick Government (eſpe-"cially where *Religion* is concerned therein) are either to be back'd by Arms, or "otherwiſe prove deſtructive to the Undertakers. For this cauſe, he reſolves to put himſelf into the Head of an Army: as well for the ſecurity of His Perſon, and the preſervation of his party; as for the carrying on of the Deſign againſt all Opponents. And, for the Raiſing of an Army, there could not be a fairer Colour, nor a more popular pretence, than a War in *Scotland*: not to

be

An. 1547. be made on any new emergent Quarrel, which might be apt to breed ſuſpicion in the Heads of the people; but in purſuit of the great project of the King deceaſed, for Uniting that Realm (by the Marriage of their young Queen to His only Son) to the Crown of *England*. On this pretenſe Levies are made in all parts of the Kingdom, great ſtore of Arms and Ammunition drawn together to advance the ſervice, conſiderable Numbers of Old Souldiers brought over from *Bulloign*, and the peeces which depend on it, and good proviſion made of Shipping, to attend the Motions of the Army upon all occaſions. He entertained alſo certain Regiments of *Walloons*, and *Germanes*: not out of any great Opinion, which he had of their Valour; (though otherwiſe of good Experience in the Wars) but becauſe they were conceived more likely to enforce Obedience, (if his Deſigns ſhould meet with any Oppoſition) than the Natural *Engliſh*.

But in the firſt place Care was taken, that none of the neighbouring Princes ſhould either hinder his Proceedings, or aſſiſt the Enemy. To which end Doctor *Wotton*, the firſt Dean of *Canterbury*, then Reſident with the Queen *Dowager* of *Hungary*, (who at that time was *Regent* of the Eſtates of *Flanders* for *Charls the Fifth*) was diſpatched unto the *Emperour's* Court: there to ſucceed in the place of Doctor *Bonner*, Biſhop of *London*; who, together with Sir *Francis Bryan*, had formerly been ſent Embaſſadours thither from King *Henry the Eighth*. The principal part of his Employment, beſides ſuch matters as are incident to all Ambaſſadours, was to divert the *Emperour* from concluding any League with *France*, contrary to the Capitulations made between the *Emperour* and the King deceaſed; but to deal with him, above all things, for declaring himſelf an Enemy to all of the *Scotiſh* Nation, but ſuch as ſhould be Friends to the King of *England*.

And, becauſe ſome remainders of hoſtility did ſtil remain between the *Engliſh* and the *French*, (notwithſtanding the late peace made between the Crowns) it was thought fit to ſweeten, and oblige that people, by all the acts of Correſpondence, and friendly Neighbourhood. In Order whereunto it was commanded by the King's Proclamation, That Reſtitution ſhould be made of ſuch Ships and Goods, which had been taken from the *French* ſince the Death of King *Henry*. Which being done alſo by the *French*, though far ſhort in the value of ſuch Repriſals, as had been taken by the *Engliſh*: there was good hope of coming to a better underſtanding of one another: and that, by this Ceſſation of Arms, both Kings might come in ſhort time to a further Agreement. But that which ſeemed to give moſt ſatisfaction to the Court of *France*, was the performance of a ſolemn Obſequie for King *Francis the Firſt*; who left this life on the twenty ſecond day of *March*, and was Magnificently Interred amongſt His Predeceſſours, in the Monaſtery of Saint *Dennis*, not far from *Paris*. Whoſe Funerals were no ſooner Solemnized in *France*: but order was given for a *Dirige* to be ſung in all the Churches in *London*, on the nineteenth of *June*, as alſo in the Cathedral Church of Saint *Paul*; in the Quire whereof, being hung with black, a ſumptuous Herſe had been ſet up for the preſent Ceremony. For the next day the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, aſſiſted with Eight other of the Biſhops, all in their Rich Mitres, and other their Pontificals, did ſing a Maſs of *Requiem*; the Funeral Sermon being preached by Doctor *Ridley*, Lord Elect of *Rocheſter*: who, if he did his part therein, as no doubt he did, could not but magnifie the Prince for His Love to Learning. Which was ſo great, and eminent in Him, that He was called by the *French*, *L'pere des Arts & des Sciences*, and *The Father of the Muſes* by ſome Writers of other Nations. Which Attributes as He well deſerved, ſo did He Sympathize in that Affection (as he did in many other things) with King *Henry the Eighth*: of whoſe Munificence for the Encouragements of Learning we have ſpoke before.

This great Solemnity being thus Honourably performed, the *Commiſſioners* for the *Viſitation* were diſpatched to their ſeveral *Circuits*; and the Army drawn from

from all parts to their *Rendezvous*, for the War with *Scotland*. Of which two Actions, that of the *Viſitation*, as the eaſieſt, and meeting with a People, which had been long trained up in the School of Obedience, was carried on, without any ſhew of Oppoſition; ſubmitted to upon a very ſmall Diſpute, even by ſome of thoſe Biſhops, who were conceived moſt likely to have diſturbed the buſineſs. The firſt, who declared his averſneſs to the King's Proceedings, was Dr. *Stephen Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*: who, ſtomaching his being left out of the Liſt of the Councel, appeared more croſs to all their doings, than other of his Order. For which being brought before their Lordſhips, and not giving them ſuch ſatisfaction as they looked for from him, they ſent him Priſoner to the *Fleet*; where he remained from the twenty fifth of *September*, till the ſeventh of *January*: the King's *Commiſſioners* proceeding in the mean time without any diſturbance. *An.* 1547.

With leſs averſneſs, but with ſucceſs not much unlike, was the buſineſs entertained by Dr. *Edmond Bonner*, then Biſhop of *London*: whom the *Commiſſioners* found more tractable, than could have been expected from a man of ſo rough a Nature, and one ſo cordially affected to the Church of *Rome*. The *Commiſſioners* Authoriſed for this Imployment were, Sir *Anthony Cook*, and Sir *John Godſal*, Knights; *John Godſal*, and *Chriſtopher Nevinſon*, Doctours of the Laws; and *John Madew*, Doctour in Divinity: who ſitting in St. *Paul*'s Church on the firſt day of *September*, called before them the ſaid Biſhop *Bonner*, *John Royſton*, the renowned *Polydore Virgil*, and many other the Dignitaries of the ſaid Cathedral: to whom, the Sermon being done, and their Commiſſion openly read, they miniſtred the *Oath of the King's Supremacy*, according to the Statutes of the thirty firſt of *Henry the Eighth*; requiring them withall to preſent ſuch things as ſtood in need to be Reformed. Which done, they delivered to him a Copy of the ſaid *Injunctions*, together with the *Homilies* ſet forth by the King's Authority; received by him with Proteſtation, that he would obſerve them, if they were not contrary to the Law of God, and the Statutes and Ordinances of the Church. Which Proteſtation he deſired might be enrolled among the *Acts* of the Court. But afterwards, conſidering better with himſelf, as well of his own danger, as of the Scandal and ill Conſequents, which might thence ariſe, he addreſſed himſelf unto the King; revoking his ſaid Proteſtation, and humbly ſubmitting himſelf to His Majeſties Pleaſure, in this manner following.

WHereas I, Edmond *Biſhop of* London, *at ſuch time, as I received the King's Majeſties* Injunctions *and* Homilies *of my moſt Dread and Soveraign Lord, at the Hands of His Highneſs* Viſitours, *did unadviſedly make ſuch Proteſtation; as now, upon better conſideration of my Duty of Obedience, and of the evil Example, that might enſue unto others thereof, appeareth to me neither Reaſonable, nor ſuch as might well ſtand with the Duty of a moſt humble Subject: for ſo much as the ſame Proteſtation, at my Requeſt, was then by the Regiſter of the* Viſitation *Enacted, and put in Record: I have thought it my Duty, not only to Declare beofre your Lordſhips, that I do now, upon better conſideration of my Duty, renounce, and revoke my ſaid Proteſtation; but alſo moſt humbly beſeech your Lordſhips, that this my Revocation of the ſame may be in like wiſe put in the ſame Records, for a perpetual Memory of the Truth: moſt humbly beſeeching your Good Lordſhips, both to take order, that it may take effect; and alſo, that my former unadviſed doings may be by your good Mediations pardoned of the Kings Majeſty.*

Edmond London.

This humble carriage of the Biſhop ſo wrought upon the King, and the Lords of the Councel, that the edg of their diſpleaſure was taken off: though for a terrour unto others, and for the preſervation of their own Authority, he

An. 1547. was by them committed Prisoner to the *Fleet*. During the short time of whose Restraint, (that is to say on the Eighteenth day of the same Moneth of *September*) the *Letany* was sung in the *English* Tongue, in Saint *Paul*'s Church, between the Quire and the High Altar; the Singers, kneeling half on the one side, and half on the other. And the same day the *Epistle* and *Gospel* was also read at the High Mass in the *English* Tongue. And about two Moneths after, (that is to say, on the seventeenth day of *November*, next following) Bishop *Bonner*, being then restored to his former Liberty, the Image of *Christ*, best known in those Times by the Name of the *Rood*, together with the Images of *Mary* and *John*, and all other Images in that Church, as also in all the other Churches of *London* were taken down; as was commanded by the said *Injunctions*. Concerning which we are to note, That, though the Parliament was then sitting, (whereof more anon) yet the Commissioners proceeded only by the King's Authority, without relating any thing to that High Court in this weighty Business. And in the speeding of this Work, as Bishop *Bonner*, together with the Dean and Chapter, did perform their parts in the Cathedral of Saint *Paul*: so *Bellesere*, Arch-Deacon of *Colchester*, and Doctour *Gilbert Bourn*, (being at that time Arch-Deacon both of *London* and *Essex*; but afterwards preferred by Queen *Mary* to the Bishoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*) were no less Diligent and Officious in doing the like in all the Churches of their Respective Jurisdictions, according to the Charge imposed upon them by His Majestie's *Visitours*.

In the mean time, whilest matters were thus calmly Acted on the Stage of *England*; all things went no less fortunately forward with the Lord Protectour in his War with *Scotland*: in which he carried himself with no less Courage, and Success, when it came to blows; than he had done with *Christian* Prudence, before he put himself on the Expedition. For, having taken Order for his Forces to be drawn together, he thought it most expedient to his Affairs, to gain the start in point of Reputation with his very Enemies, by not ingaging in a War, until they had refused all Terms of Peace. And to this end a *Manifest* is dispatched unto them, declaring the *Motives* which induced him to put this Kingdom into a posture of Arms. In which he remembred them of the *Promises, Seals, and Oaths, which by publick Authority had passed for concluding this Marriage*; That, *These, being Religious Bonds betwixt God and their Souls, could not by any Politick Act of State be dissolved, until their Queen should attain unto years of Dissent*: Adding that, *The Providence of God did therein manifestly declare it self, in that, the Male-Princes of* Scotland *failing, the Kingdom was left unto a Daughter; and in that* Henry *left onely one Son to succeed*; That, *These two Princes were agreeable, both for Years, and Princely Qualities, to be joyned in Marriage, and thereby to knit Both Realms into One*; That, *This Union, as it was like to be both easily done, and of firm continuance: so would it be both profitable, and Honourable to both the Realms*; That, *Both the Easiness and Firmness might be conjectured: for that both People are of the same Language, of like Habit and Fashion, of like Quality and Condition of Life, of one Climate; not onely annexed entirely together, but severed from all the World besides*; That, *as these are sure Arguments that both descended from one Original, so (by Reason, that Likeness is a great Cause of Liking and of Love) they would be most forcible Means, both to joyn and hold them in one Body again*; That, *Profit would rise by extinguishing Warres between the two Nations: by Reason whereof, in former times, Victories abroad have been impeached, Invasions and Seditions occasioned, the Confines of both Realms laid Waste, or else made a Nursery of Rapines, Robberies, and Murthers; the Inner Parts often deeply pierced, and made a wretched Spectacle to all Eyes of Humanity and Pity*; That, *The Honour of both Realms would Increase: as well in regard of the Countries, sufficient not onely to furnish the Necessities, but the moderate Pleasures of this Life; as also of the People, great in Multitude, in Body able, assured in Mind: not onely for the*

Safety,

Safety, but the Glory of the Common State: That, *Hereby would follow Aſſurance of Defence, Strength to Enterpriſe, Eaſe in ſuſtaining publick Burthens, and Charges*; That, *Herein the* Engliſh *deſired no Pre-eminence, but offered Equality, both in Liberty and Priviledge, and in capacity of Offices and Imployments*; *and, to that end, the Name of* Britain *ſhould be aſſumed, indifferent to both Nations*: That, *This would be the Compliſhment of their common Felicity*; *in caſe, by their Evil, either Deſtiny, or Advice*) *they ſuffered not the Occaſion to be loſt*. *An.* 1547.

It was no hard matter to fore-ſee, that, either the *Scots* would return no Anſwer to this Declaration, or ſuch an Anſwer at the beſt, as ſhould ſignifie nothing. So that the War began to open, and ſome Hoſtilities to be exerciſed on either ſide; before the *Engliſh* Forces could be drawn together. For ſo it happened, that a ſmall Ship of the Kings, called, *The Penſive*, hovering at Sea, was aſſailed by *The Lion*, a principal Ship of *Scotland*. The fight began afar off, and ſlow; but when they approached, it grew very furious: wherein the *Penſive* ſo applyed her Shot, that therewith the *Lion*'s *Ore-Loop* was broken, her Sails, and Tacklings torn, and laſtly, ſhe was boarded, and taken. But, as ſhe was brought for *England*, ſhe was caſt away by Negligence, and Tempeſt, near *Harwich-Haven*, and moſt of her men periſhed with her. Which ſmall Adventure (as Sir *John Hayward* well obſerves) ſeemed to prognoſticate the ſucceſs of the War: in which the *Engliſh* with a ſmall Army, gained a glorious Victory; but were deprived of the Fruit, and Benefits of it; by the Storms at home.

All thoughts of Peace being laid aſide, the Army draws together at *New-Caſtle*, about the middle of *Auguſt*, conſiſting of twelve or thirteen thouſand Foot, thirteen hundred Men at Arms, and two thouſand Eight hundred light Horſe: Both Men and Horſe ſo well appointed; that a like Army never ſhewed it ſelf, before that time, on the Borders of *Scotland*. Over which Army, ſo appointed, the Lord Protectour held the Office of *General*; the Earl of *Warwick* that of *Lieutenant-General*; the Lord *Gray*, *General* of the *Horſe*; and *Marſhal* alſo of the Field; Sir *Ralph Vane*, Lieutenant of all the *Men at Arms*, and *Demi-Lances*; and Sir *Ralph Sadlier*, *Treaſurer General* for the Wars: inferiour Offices being diſtributed amongſt other Gentlemen of Name and Quality, according to their well deſervings. At *Newcaſtle* they remained till the Fleet arrived, conſiſting of ſixty five Bottoms: whereof one Gally and thirty four tall Ships were well appointed for Fight; the Reſidue ſerved for carriage of Munition and Victuals. The *Admiral* of this Fleet being *Edward* Lord *Clynton*, created afterwards Earl of *Lincoln*, on the fourth of *May* 1572. in the fourteenth year of Queen *Elizabeth*. Making ſome little ſtay at *Berwick*, they entred not on *Scotiſh* Ground, till the third of *September*; keeping their March along the Shore within ſight of the Fleet, that they might be both Aided, and relieved by it, as occaſion ſerved: and making all along the ſhore, they fell, at the end of two days, into a Valley called *The Peuthes*, containing ſix Miles in length, in breadth about four hundred Paſes toward the Sea, and but one hundred toward the Land, where it was ſhut up by a River. The iſſues out of it made into ſeveral Paths, which the *Scots* had cauſed to be cut in divers places with Traverſe Trenches: and thereby ſo incumbred the Army in their marching forwards; till the *Pioneers* had ſmoothed the way) that a ſmall Power of the Enemy (if their Fortune had been anſwerable to the Opportunity) might have given a very good account of them to the reſt of their Nation. Which Difficulty being overcome, and a Paſſage thereby given them unto places of more Advantage, they made themſelves Maſters of three next Caſtles, for making good of their Retreat, if the worſt ſhould happen. *Auguſt* 1547

Upon the firſt News of theſe *Approaches*, enlarged (as the Cuſtome is) by the Voice of Fame, the Earl of *Arran*, being then Lord Governour of *Scotland*, was not meanly ſtartled; as being neither furniſhed with Forreign Aid, nor much

An. 1547. much relying on the Forces, which He had at Home. Yet resuming his accustomed courage, and well acquainted with both Fortunes, He sent His *Heralds* through all parts of the Realm, commanded the *Fire-cross* (that is to say, two Fire-brands, set in fashion of a *Cross*, and pitched upon the point of a Spear) to be advanced in the Field, (according to the ancient Custom of that Country in Important Cases) and therewithall caused *Proclamation* to be made, That *All persons, from Sixteen years of Age to Sixty, should repair to* Muscle-borough, *and bring their Ordinary provision of Victuals with them.* Which *Proclamation* being made, and the Danger in which the Kingdom stood represented to them, the People flocked in such multitudes to their *Rendezvous*; that it was thought fit to make choise of such as were most serviceable, and dismiss the Rest. Out of which they compounded an Army (the Nobility and Gentry, with their Followers being reckoned in) consisting of thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse: but poorly armed, fitter to make Excursions, or to execute some suddain Inroad, than to entertain any strong Charge from so brave an Army.

The Armies drawing near together, the *General* and the Earl of *Warwick*, rode towards the place, where the *Scottish* Army lay, to view the manner of their incamping. As they were returning, an *Herald*, and a *Trumpeter*, from the *Scots* overtook them; and, having obtained Audience, thus the *Herald* began; That, *He was sent from the Lord Governour of* Scotland, *partly to enquire of Prisoners; but chiefly to make offer, that because he was desirous, not only to avoid profusion, but thee least effusion of* Christian *blood; and for that the* English *had not done any unmanlike Outrage, or Spoil, he was content they might return, and should have his Safe-conduct for their peace-able passage.* Which said, *the Trumpeter* spake, as followeth; That, *The Lord* Huntly, *his Master, sent Message by him; that as well for brief Expedition, as to spare expence of* Christian *blood, He would fight upon the whole Quarrel, either with twenty against twenty, or with ten against ten; or, more particularly, by single Combate between the Lord* General *and himself. Which, in regard the* Scots *had advantage, both for Number, and Freshness of men; in regard also, that, for Supply, both for Provision, and Succours, they were at home, he esteemed an Honourable and charitable Offer.*

To the *Herald* the Lord *General* returned this Answer; That, *As his coming was not with purpose, or desire to endamage their Realm: as he was there, he would neither intreat, nor accept of him leave to depart; but would measure his Marches in Advancing or Retiring, as his own Judgement, guided by Advice of his Councel, should deem expedient.*

To the *Trumpeter* he returned this Answer; That, *The Lord* Huntly, *His Master, was a young Gentleman, full of Free Courage, but more desirous of Glory, than Judicious (as it seemed) how to win it*; That, *For number of Combattants, it was not in his power to conclude a bargain; but he was to employ all the Forces, put under his Charge, to the best advantage that he could*; That, *In case this were a particular Quarrel between the Governour and Him, he would not refuse a particular Combate; but, being a difference between the two Kingdoms, it was neither fit, nor in his power, either to undertake the Adventure upon his own Fortune, or bearing a Publick Charge, to hazard himself against a man of private condition.* Which said, and the Earl of *Warwick* offering to take upon himself the Answer to *Huntly's* Challenge: the Lord Protector interposed, and turning again unto the *Herald*; *Herald* (saith he) *tell the Lord* Governour, *and the Lord* Huntly, *that we have entred your Country with a* sober *Company*: (which in the Language of the *Scots*, is *poor* and *mean*) *your Army is both Great and Fresh; but let them appear upon indifferent Ground, and assuredly they shall have fighting enough. And bring me word, that they will so do, and I will reward thee with a thousand Crowns.*

These Braveries thus passed over on either side, the Lord Protector wisely considering with himself the uncertain Issue of Pitched Fields, and minding to preserve

preserve his Army for some other purposes, thought fit to tempt the *Scots*, by another *Missive*, to yield unto his just Demands. In which, he wished them to consider: *An.* 1547.

That, *This War was waged amongst* Christians: And that, *Our Ends were no other, than a just Peace, whereto the endeavours of all good men should tend*; That, *An Occasion not only of a League, but of a perpetual Peace was now happily offered, if they would suffer the two differing and Emulous Nations, by uniting the Head, to grow together*; That, *As this had formerly been sought by us, so it had been generally Assented to by the Estates of* Scotland; That, *Therefore he could not but wonder, why they should rather Treacherously recur to Arms (The events of War being usually, even to the Victour, sufficiently unfortunate) than to maintain inviolate, their Troth plighted to the Good of both Nations*: That, *They could not in reason expect, that their Queen should perpetually live a Virgin-life*; That, *If she married, where could She bestow her self better, than on a Puissant* Monarch, *inhabiting the same Island, and speaking the same Language*? That, *they could not choose, but see, what Inconveniences were the consequents of Foreign Matches. Whereof they should rather make Trial by the Examples of others, than at their Own Peril*; That, *Though he demanded nothing but Equity, yet he so far abhorred the Effusion of* Christian *blood, That, if he found the* Scots, *not utterly averse from an Accord, he would endeavour, that some of the Contentions should be remitted*; That, *He would also consent, that the Queen should abide and be brought up amongst them, until Her Age made Her Marriageable: at what time She should, by the Consent of the* Estates, *Her self make choise of an Husband*; That, *In the mean time, there should be a Cessation of Arms: neither should the Queen be transported out of Her Realm, nor entertain Treaty of Marriage with the* French, *or any other Forreigner*; That, *If this they would Faithfully promise, he would forthwith peaceably depart out of* Scotland; And that, *Whatsoever Dammages the Country had suffered by this Invasion, he would, according to the esteem of indifferent Arbitratours, make Ample Satisfaction.*

What effect this Letter might have produced, if the Contents thereof had been communicated to the Generality of the *Scottish* Army, it is hard to say. Certain it is, that those, who had the Conduct of the *Scot's* Affairs, (as if they had been totally carried on to their own Destruction,) resolved not to put it to the venture: but, on the contrary, caused it to be noised abroad; That, *Nothing would content the* English, *but to have the young Queen at their disposal*: And, *under colour of a Marriage, to subdue the Kingdom; which was to be reduced for ever to the form of a Province.* This false report did so exasperate all sorts of people; that they were instant for the Fight. Which was as chearfully accepted by the Chief Commanders of the *English* Army; in regard of some Intelligence, which was brought unto them, that the *French* were coming with twelve Galleys and fifty Ships, to fall upon them in the Rear. So as both Parties being resolved to try their Fortune, they ranged their Armies in this manner. The *English*, having gained an Hill, which was near their Shipping, disposed their Army in this order. The *Avant-Guard*, consisting of between three and four thousand *Foot*, one hundred *Men at Arms*, and six hundred light *Horsemen*, was Conducted by the Earl of *Warwick*. After which followed the *Main-Battail*, consisting of about six thousand *Foot*, six hundred *Men at Arms*, and about one thousand light *Horsemen*; Commanded by the Lord *Protectour* himself. And, finally, the *Arrear*, consisting of between three and four thousand *Foot*, one hundred *Men at Arms*, and six hundred *Light-Horse*, was led by the Lord *Dacres*; an *Active*, though an *Aged* Gentleman. The rest of the *Horses* was either cast into the *Wings*, or kept for a *Reserve* against all Events. And so the Battail being disposed; the Lord *General*, in few words, but with no small Gravity, (which to a *Souldier* serves in stead of Eloquence) puts them in mind of *the Honour*,

which

An. 1547. *which their Anceſtours had acquired in that Kingdom, of their own extream Diſgrace, and Danger, if they fought not well*: That, *The juſtneſs of their Quarrel ſhould not ſo much encourage, as enrage them; being to revenge the diſhonour done to their King, and to chaſtiſe the deceitful dealings of their Enemies*: That, *The multitude of their Enemies ſhould nothing diſmay them; becauſe they, who come to maintain their own Breach of Faith, (beſides that the Check of their Conſciences much breaketh their ſpirit) have the Omnipotent Arm of God moſt furious againſt them.*

The *Scots* at the ſame time having improvidently croſſed the *Esk*, to find their Graves on this ſide of the water, diſpoſed their Army in this manner. In the *Avant-guard* were placed about fifteen thouſand, Commanded by the Earl of *Angus*; about ten thouſand in the *Main-battail*, of whom the Lord *Governour* took the Conduct; and ſo many more in the *Arrear*, Led by the Valiant *Gourdon*, Earl of *Huntly*. And being ready to fall on (on a falſe hope that the *Engliſh* were upon the flight) the Lord *Governour* put them in remembrance, how "They could never yet be brought under by the *Engliſh*, but were always able, "either to beat them back, or to weary them out; bidding them look upon them- "ſelves, and upon their enemies: themſelves dreadful, their enemies gorge- "ous, and brave: on their ſide men, on the other ſpoil; in caſe either through "flowneſs, or cowardiſe, they did not permit them to eſcape, who (lo, now) "already had began their flight. And to ſay truth, the *Engliſh* having changed their Ground, to gain the Hill which lay near their Shipping, and which alſo gave them the advantage both of Sun and Wind, wrought an opinion in the *Scots*; that they diſlodged to no other end than to recover their Ships that they might ſave themſelves, though they loſt their Carriages. In confidence whereof, they quitted a place of great ſtrength, where they were encamped, and from which the whole Army of *England* was not able to force them.

But the old *Engliſh* Proverb telleth us, that, *They that reckon without their Hoſt, are to reckon twice*; and ſo it fared with this infatuated People. For on the tenth of *September*, the Battails being ready to joyn, a Piece of Ordnance, diſcharged from the Galley of *England*, took off five and twenty of their men; amongſt whom the eldeſt Son of the Lord *Graham* was one. Whereupon four thouſand Archers, terrified with ſo unexpected a ſlaughter, made a ſtand, and could never after be brought on: ſo, that they ſtood like men amazed; as neither having Hearts to Fight, nor Opportunity to Fly. Which conſternation notwithſtanding, the Lord *Gray*, being ſent with a ſtrong Party of Horſe to give the Onſet, found the *Main-Body* ſo well Embattailed, and ſuch a Valiant Oppoſition made by a ſtand of *Pikes*; that they were almoſt as impenetrable as a Rock of Adamants: till being terrified by the *Engliſh* Ordnance, which came thundering on them from the top of the Hill, and galled by the Great-ſhot from the Ships, they began to brangle. Which being perceived by the *Engliſh*, they gave a loud ſhout, crying; *They Fly, They Fly*: and thereby ſo aſtoniſhed the affrighted Enemy; that they began to fly indeed, and preſently throwing down their Arms, betook themſelves unto their Heels. Many were ſlain upon the Place, more executed in the *Chaſe*, and not a few in the *Esk*; which ſo improvidently they had paſſed the day before: ſo that the number of the ſlain was thought to have amounted to fourteen thouſand. About fifteen hundred of both ſorts were taken priſoners, among which the daring Earl of *Huntly* was one of the Chief; who, being after asked, How he liked the Marriage, is ſaid to have returned this Anſwer, That, *He could well enough brook the Wedding, but that he did not like that kind of Woing*. Amongſt the number of the ſlain were found good ſtore of *Monks* and *Friers*: ſome thouſands of which had put themſelves into the Army, which had been raiſed eſpecially by their Power and Practices.

The Greatneſs of the Booty, in Arms, and Baggage, was not the leaſt cauſe, that the *Engliſh* reaped no better Fruit from ſo great a Victory, and did not

proſecute

profecute the War to an abſolute Conqueſt. For, being intent in pillaging the dead, and gathering up the Spoils of the field, and ſolacing themſelves in *Leith*, for five days together; they gave the *Scots* time to make Head again, to fortifie ſome ſtrong places on the other ſide of the *Fryth*, and to remove the Queen to *Dunbritton*-Caſtle, from whence they conveyed her into *France* in the year next following. And, though the loſs, rather than neglect, of this opportunity is to be attributed in the firſt place to God's ſecret pleaſure; who had reſerved the Union of the Kingdoms till an happier time: yet were there many *Second Cauſes* and *ſubordinate Motives*, which might prevail upon the Lord *Protectour* to return for *England*, without advancing any further. For either he might be taken off by the Earl of *Warwick*, who then began to caſt an envious eye on his Power and Greatneſs. Or, might be otherwiſe unwilling, of his own accord, to tempt his fortune any further; by hazarding that Honour in a ſecond Battail, which he had acquired in the firſt. Or, he might think it more conducible to his Affairs, to be preſent at the following *Parliament*; in which he had ſome work to do, which ſeemed more needful to him, than the War with *Scotland*. The good Succeſs whereof would be aſcribed to his Officers and Commanders; but the Misfortunes wholly reckoned upon His account. Or finally, (which I rather think) he might conceive it neceſſary to preſerve his Army, and quarter it in the moſt convenient places near the *Engliſh* Borders: that it might be ready at Command upon all occaſions; if his Deſigns ſhould meet with any oppoſiton, as before was ſaid. And this may be believed the rather; becauſe that, having fortified ſome Iſlands in the Mouth of the *Fryth*, he Garriſoned the greateſt part of his Army in *Roxborough*, *Haddington*, *Hume*-Caſtle; and other Pieces of importance; moſt of them lying near together, and the furtheſt not above a dayes March from *Berwick*. *An.* 1547.

Now as concerning the Day, in which this Victory was obtained, I find two notable miſtakes. The one committed by the Right Reverend Biſhop *Godwin*: and the other by the no leſs learned Sir *John Hayward*. By Biſhop *Godwin* it is placed exceeding rightly, on the tenth of *September*; but then he doth obſerve it, as a thing remarkable; That this memorable Victory was obtained on the very ſame day, in which the Images which had been taken out of the ſeveral Churches, were burned in *London*. Whereas we are informed by *John Stow*, a diligent obſerver of Days, and Times; That the *Images* in the Churches of *London* were not taken down before the ſeventeenth of *November*. And we are told by Sir *John Hayward*, that the day of this Fight was the tenth of *December*, which muſt be either a miſtake of the Preſs, or a ſlip of the Pen; it being noted in the words next following, That on the ſame day, thirty four years ago, the *Scots* had been defeated by the *Engliſh* at *Flodden*-field. Which though it pointeth us back to the Moneth of *September*; yet the miſtake remaineth as unto the Day: that Battail being fought, not on the tenth, but the ninth of *September*; as all our Writers do agree. But, leaving theſe Miſtakes behind us, let us attend the Lord *Protectour* to the Court of *England*. Towards which he haſtened with ſuch ſpeed; that he ſtayed but twenty five dayes upon *Scottiſh* ground from his firſt *Entrance* to his *Exit*. And being come unto the Court, he was not only welcomed by the King for ſo great a Service, with a Preſent of 500*l. per Ann.* to him, and to his Heirs for ever; but highly honoured by all ſorts of people: the rather, in regard, that he had bought ſo great a Victory at ſo cheap a Rate; as the loſs of ſixty Horſe onely, and but one of his Foot.

And now 'tis high time to attend the *Parliament*, which took beginning on the fourth of *November*; and was Prorogued on the twenty fourth of *December* following. In which the *Cards* were ſo well packed by Sir *Ralph Sadler*; that there was no need of any more ſhuffling till the end of the *Game*: this very *Parliament*, without any ſenſible alteration of the Members of it, being continued by Prorogation, from Seſſion to Seſſion; until at laſt it ended by the Death of the King. For a Preparatory whereunto, *Richard* Lord *Rich* was made Lord *Chancellour*

An. 1547. *Chancellour*, on the twenty fourth of *October*; and Sir *John Baker*, Chancellour of the Court of *Firſt-Fruits* and *Tenths*, was nominated *Speaker* for the *Houſe of Commons*. And, that all things might be carried with as little oppoſition and noiſe as might be, it was thought fit, that Biſhop *Gardiner* ſhould be kept in Priſon, till the end of the Seſſion: and that Biſhop *Tonſtal* of *Durham* (a man of a moſt even, and moderate Spirit) ſhould be made leſs in Reputation, by being deprived of his Place at the Councel-Table. And though the *Parliament* conſiſted of ſuch Members, as diſagreed amongſt themſelves, in reſpect of Religion: yet they agreed well enough together in one Common Principle; which was, to ſerve the preſent Time, and to preſerve themſelves. For, though a great part of the Nobility, and not a few of the Chief Gentry in the *Houſe of Commons*, were cordially affected to the Church of *Rome*: yet were they willing to give way to all ſuch *Acts* and *Statutes*, as were made againſt it, out of a fear of loſing ſuch Church-Lands, as they were poſſeſſed of, if that Religion ſhould prevail and get up again. And for the reſt, who either were to make, or improve their Fortunes; there is no queſtion to be made, but that they came reſolved to further ſuch a *Reformation*, as ſhould moſt viſibly conduce to the advancement of their ſeveral Ends. Which appears plainly by the ſtrange mixture of the *Acts* and *Reſults* thereof: ſome tending ſimply to God's Glory, and the Good of the Church; ſome to the preſent Benefit and enriching of particular Perſons; and ſome again being deviſed of purpoſe to prepare a way for expoſing the Revenues of the Church unto Spoil and Rapine. Not to ſay any thing of thoſe *Acts*, which were merely Civil, and tended to the Profit and Emolument of the Common-Wealth.

Of the firſt Sort, was *The Act for repealing ſeveral Statutes concerning Treaſon*. Under which head, beſides thoſe many bloody Laws which concerned the Life of the Subject in Civil Matters, and had been made in the diſtracted Times of the late King *Henry*, there was a Repeal alſo of ſuch *Statutes*, as ſeemed to touch the Subject in Life, or Liberty, for matter of Conſcience: ſome whereof had been made, in the Times of King *Richard the Second*, and *Henry the Fourth*, againſt ſuch, as, diſſenting in Opinion from the Church of *Rome*, were then called *Lollards*. Of which ſort alſo was another, made in the twenty fifth of the King Deceaſed, together with that terrible Statute of the *Six Articles* (commonly called *The whip with ſix ſtrings*,) made in the thirty firſt year of the ſaid King *Henry*. Others were of a milder Nature, (but ſuch as were thought inconſiſtent with that Freedom of Conſcience, which moſt men coveted to enjoy;) that is to ſay, *The Act for Qualification of the ſaid Six Articles*; 35. H. 8. cap. 9. *The Act inhibiting the reading of the Old and New Teſtament in the* Engliſh *Tongue, and the Printing, Selling, Giving, or Delivering of any ſuch other Books or Writings*, as are therein mentioned and condemned; 34 *H.* 3. *cap.* 1. But theſe were alſo Abrogated as the others were, together with all, and every *Act*, or *Acts of Parliament*, concerning *Doctrine* and *matters of Religion*; and all, and every Article, Branch, Sentence, and Matter, Pains, and Forfeitures in the ſame contained. By which Repeal all men may ſeem to have been put into a Liberty of Reading Scripture, and being in a manner their own Expoſitours; of entertaining what Opinions in Religion beſt pleaſed their Fancies; and promulgating thoſe Opinions, which they entertained. So that the *Engliſh* for a time enjoyed that Liberty, which the *Romans* are affirmed by *Tacitus* (*) to have enjoyed without comptrol in the Times of *Nerva*; that is to ſay, *A liberty of Opening whatſoever they pleaſed, and ſpeaking freely their Opinions whereſoever they liſted.* Which whether it were ſuch a great Felicity, as that Authour makes it, may be more than queſtioned.

(*) *Ubi & ſentire quæ velis, & quæ velis loqui liceat.* Tacit. *Hiſt.* lib. 1.

Of this Sort alſo was the *Act*, entituled *An Act againſt ſuch, as ſpeak againſt the Sacrament of the Altar; and for the receipt thereof in both kinds*: cap. 1. In the firſt part whereof it is Provided with great Care and Piety; That, (*) *Whatſoever perſon, or perſons, from, and after the firſt day of* May *next coming, ſhall deprave, deſpiſe,*

(*) 1 *Edw.* 6. cap. 1.

deſpiſe, or contemn the moſt Bleſſed Sacrament, by any contemptuous words, or by any words of depraving, deſpiſing, or reviling, &c. *that then he, or they, ſhall ſuffer Impriſonment, and make Fine, and Ranſome, at the King's Pleaſure.* And, to ſay Truth, it was but time, that ſome proviſion ſhould be made to ſuppreſs that Irreverence and Profaneneſs, with which this Bleſſed *Sacrament* was at that time handled by too many of thoſe, who ſeemed moſt ignorantly Zealous of a *Reformation*. For, whereas the *Sacrament* was in thoſe Times delivered unto each Communicant in a ſmall round *Wafer*, called commonly by the name of *Sacramentum Altaris*, or *The bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar*; and that ſuch parts thereof, as were reſerved from time to time, were hanged up over the *Altar* in a *Pix*, or Box: thoſe zealous ones, in hatred to the Church of *Rome*, reproached it by the odious Names of *Jack-in-a-box*, *Round-Robbin*, *Sacrament of the Halter*, and other Names, ſo unbecoming the Mouths of *Chriſtians*; that they were never taken up by the *Turks*, and *Infidels*. And though Biſhop *Ridley*, a right Learned, and Religious Prelate, frequently in his Sermons had rebuked the irreverent behaviour of ſuch light and ill-diſpoſed Perſons; yet neither he, nor any other of the Biſhops were able to Reform the Abuſe: (the Quality, and Temper of the Times conſidered) which therefore was thought fit to be committed to the power of the Civil Magiſtrate; the Biſhop being called in, to aſſiſt at the Sentence. *An.* 1547.

In the laſt branch of the *Act*, it is Firſt declared, *According to the Truth of Scripture, and the Tenour of approved Antiquity; That it is moſt agreeable both to the Inſtitution of the ſaid Sacrament, and more conformable to the common Uſe, and Practice, both of the Apoſtles, and of the Primitive Church, by the ſpace of five hundred years after* Chriſt's *Aſcenſion; that the ſaid Bleſſed Sacrament ſhould rather be miniſtred unto all* Chriſtian *people under both the Kinds of* Bread *and* Wine; *then under the form of* Bread *only*. And thereupon it was Enacted, That, *The ſaid moſt Bleſſed Sacrament ſhould be hereafter commonly delivered, and miniſtred unto the People, within the Church of* England, *and* Ireland, *and other the King's Dominions, under both the Kinds; that is to ſay, of* Bread *and* Wine. With theſe *Proviſoes* notwithſtanding, *If neceſſity did not otherwiſe require*: as in the Caſe of *ſuddain Sickneſs*; and other ſuch like Extremities, in which it was not poſſible, that Wine could be provided for the Uſe of the Sacrament, nor the Sickman depart this life in peace without it. And Secondly, That the permitting of this Liberty to the people of *England*, and the Dominions of the ſame, ſhould not be conſtrued to the *condemning of any other Church*, or *Churches, or the Uſages of them*, in which the contrary was obſerved. So far the Parliament Enacted, in relation to the thing it ſelf to the ſubject Matter; that the Comunion ſhould be delivered in both Kinds to all the good people of the Kingdoms. But for the Form, in which it was to be adminiſtred, that was left wholly to the King, and by the King committed to the Care of the Biſhops: (of which more hereafter) the Parliament declaring only, *That a Godly Exhortation ſhould be made by the Miniſters, therein expreſſing the great Benefit and Comfort promiſed to them, which worthily receive the ſame; and the great Danger threatned by God to all ſuch perſons, as ſhould unworthily receive it.*

Now, That there is not any thing, either in the Declaration of this Parliament, or the Words by which it was Enacted, which doth not every way agree with *Chriſt's* Inſtitution: appears moſt plainly by this paſſage of Biſhop *Jewel*. *I would demand* (ſaith he) *of Maſter* Harding, *what things he would require to* Chriſt's *Inſtitution. If Words*, Chriſts *Words be plain; If Example*, Chriſt *Himſelf Miniſtred in both Kinds; if Authority*, Chriſt *commanded His Diſciples, and in them all other Miniſters of His Church to do the like; If Certainty of His Meaning, the Apoſtles, endued with the* Holy Ghoſt, *ſo practiſed the ſame, and underſtood He meant ſo; If Continuance of Time, He had the ſame to be continued, till His Coming again.* Jewel *againſt* Harding, *Art.* 2. *Sect.* 4. Which ſaid, he thus proceedeth in the eighth Sect. (that is to ſay) *Some ſay, that the*

An. 1547. *Prieſts in* Ruſſia, *for lack of Wine, uſed to Conſecrate in* Metheglin. *Others, That* Innocent the Eighth, *for the like want, diſpenſed with the Prieſts of* Norway, *to Conſecrate without Wine. It were no Reaſon to binde the Church to the Neceſſity, or Imbecillity of a few. For, otherwiſe the ſame Want, and Imbecillity, which Maſter* Harding *hath here found for the one part of the Sacrament, may be found for the other. For* Arrianus, De Rebus Indicis, *and* Strabo, *in his* Geography, *have written, That, There be whole Nations and Countries, that have no Bread. Therefore it ſhould ſeem neceſſary by this Concluſion, that, in Conſideration of them, the whole Church ſhould alſtain from the other Portion of the Sacrament alſo, and ſo have no Sacrament at all.* But, becauſe he may be ſuſpected to be over-partial, in favour of the Church of *England*, let us ſee next what is confeſſed by Doctor *Harding*, the firſt who took up Arms againſt it in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time: who doth acknowledge in plain Terms; That, *The Communion was delivered in both kinds at* Corinth, *as appeareth by Saint* Paul; *and in many other places alſo, as may moſt evidently be found in the Writings of many Ancient Fathers: And finally, that it was ſo uſed for the ſpace of ſix Hundred years, and after.* Art. 2. Sect. 8, 28.

But, becauſe *Harding* leaves the point at 600, and after, I doubt not, but we may be able, on an eaſie ſearch, to draw the Practice down to ſix hundred more, and poſſibly ſomewhat after alſo. For *Haymo* of *Halberſtadt*, who flouriſhed in the year 850. informs us, that, (*) *The Cup is called the* Cup of the Communion *of the Bloud of Chriſt; becauſe all Communicate thereof.* And we are certified in the Hiſtory of *Antonius*, Arch-Biſhop of *Florence*; that *William* Duke of *Normandy*, immediately before the Battail near *Haſtings*, *Anno* 966; cauſed His whole Army to communicate in both Kinds; as the uſe then was. And finally, It is obſerved by *Thomas Aquinas*, who lived in, and after the year 1260. That, In ſome Churches of his Time the Cup was not given unto the people. Which though he reckoneth for a (*) *Provident* and *Prudent Uſage*: yet, by reſtraining it only to ſome few Churches, he ſhews the General Uſage of the Church to have been otherwiſe at that time, as indeed it was. So that the Parliament in this Caſe appointed nothing, but what was conſonant to the Inſtitution of our Lord and Saviour, and to the practce of the Church for 1260 years, and upwards: which is ſufficient to diſcharge it from the Scaldal of an *Innovation*. Nor probably had the Parliament appointed this, but that it was adviſed by ſuch Godly Biſhops, as were deſirous to Reduce the Miniſtration of that moſt Bleſſed Sacrament to the firſt Inſtitution of it, and the Primitive practice: the Convocation of that year not being enpowered to act in any publick buſineſs; for ought appearing on Record.

(*) *Appellatur* Calix communionum; *quia omnes communicant ex illo.* Haymo *in* 1. *ad* Cor. *cap.* 11.

(*) *In quibusdam Eccleſiis provide obſervatur; ut populo Sanguis non detur.* Sect. 3. qu. 80. Art. 11.

The next great Buſineſs was the Retriving of a Statute made in the 27th year of King *Henry the Eighth*: by which all *Chanteries, Colleges, Free-Chappels*, and *Hoſpitals*, were permitted to the Diſpoſing of the King for Term of His Life. But the King dying, before He had taken many of the ſaid *Colleges, Hoſpitals, Chanteries*, and *Free-Chappels*, into his Poſſeſſion, and the Great Ones of the Court not being willing to loſe ſo Rich a Booty; it was ſet on Foot again, and carryed in this preſent Parliament. In, and by which it was Enacted, That, *All ſuch Colledges, Free-Chappels, and Chanteries, as were in Being within five years of the preſent Seſſion, which were not in the Actual Poſſeſſion of the ſaid late King, &c. other than ſuch, as by the King's Commiſſions ſhould be altered, tranſported, and changed; together, with all Manours, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Tithes, Penſions, Portions, and other Hereditaments, to the ſame belonging: after the Feaſt of* Eaſter *then next coming, ſhould be adjudged, and deemed, and alſo be, in the Actual and Real Poſſeſſion, and Seiſin of the King, His Heirs, and Succeſſours for ever.* And though the *Hoſpitals*, being at that time an hundred and ten, were not included in this Grant, as they had been in that to the King deceaſed: yet the Revenue, which by this Act was deſigned to the King, His Heirs, and Succeſſours, muſt needs have been a great Improvement to the Crown;

Crown; if it had been carefully kept together, as it was first pretended: there being accounted 90. Colleges within the Compass of that Grant, (those in the Universities not being reckoned in that Number) and no fewer than 2374. Free-Chapels and Chanteries: the Lands whereof were thus conferred upon the King by Name, but not intended to be kept together for His Benefit only. In which respect it was very stoutly insisted on by Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, that the dissolving of these Colleges, Free-Chapels, and Chanteries, should be deferred until the King should be of Age; to the intent that they might serve the better to furnish and maintain His Royal Estate, than that so great a Treasure should be consumed in his Nonage, as it after was. Of this we shall speak more in the following year, when the Grant of the said Chanteries, Free-Chapels, *&c.* came to take Effect. *An.* 1547.

In the mean time, It will not be amiss to shew, that these Chanteries consisted of *Salaries*, allowed to one or more Priests to say daily Mass, for the souls of their deceased Founders, and their Friends. Which, not subsisting on themselves, were generally Incorporated, and United to some Parochial, Collegiate, or Cathedral Church. No fewer than 47. in Number, being found, and Founded, in Saint *Paul's* Free-Chappels, though Ordained for the same Intent, were Independent of themselves, of stronger Constitution, and Richer Endowment, than the Chanteries severally were; though therein they fell also short of the Colleges, which far exceeded them, both in the Beauty of their Building, the number of Priests, maintained in them and the proportion of Revenue allotted to them. All which Foundations, having in them an Admixture of Superstition, (as pre-supposing *Purgatory*, and prayers to be made for deliverance of the soul from thence) were therefore now suppressed upon that account, and had been granted to the late King upon other pretences. At what time it was preached at *Mercers-Chappel*, in *London*, by one Doctor *Cromer*, (a Man that wished exceeding well to the *Reformation*) That, *If* Trentals, *and* Chantery-Masses, *could avail the Souls in Purgatory, than did the Parliament not well, in giving away Colleges, and Chanteries; which served principally for that purpose. But if the Parliament did well in dissolving and bestowing them upon the King: (which he thought that no man could deny) then was it a plain Case, that such Chanteries, and private Masses did confer no Relief on the Souls in Purgatory.* Which *Dilemma*, though it were unanswerable: yet was the matter so handled by the Bishops, seeing how much the Doctrine of the Church was concerned therein, that they brought him to a Recantation at Saint *Paul's* Cross, in the *June* next following: (this Sermon being preach'd in *Lent*) where he confessed himself to have been seduced by naughty books, contrary to the Doctrine then received in the Church. But the Current of these Times went the other way, and *Cromer* might now have Preached that safely, for which before he had been brought into so much trouble.

But that, which made the greatest Alteration, and threatned most danger to the State Ecclesiastical, was the *Act*, entituled *An Act for Election of Bishops, and what Seals, and Styles, shall be used by Spiritual Persons*, &c. In which it was Ordained, (for I shall only repeat the Sum thereof) That, *Bishops should be made by the King's Letters Patents, and not by the Election of the Deans and Chapters*: That *all their Processes, and Writings, should be made in the King's Name onely, with the Bishop's* Teste *added to it: and sealed with no other Seal, but the King's, or such, as should be Authorised and Appointed by Him.* In the Compounding of which Act there was more Danger couched, then at first appeared. By the last Branch thereof it was plain and evident, that the Intent of the Contrivers was, by degrees to weaken the Authority of the Episcopal Order, by forcing them from their Strong-hold of Divine Institution, and making them no other, than the King's Ministers only, His Ecclesiastical *Sheriffs* (as a man might say) to execute His Will, and disperse His Mandates. And of this *Act* such use was made, (though possibly beyond the true intention of it) that the Bishops of those Times were not in a Capacity of conferring Or-

An. 1547. ders: but as they were thereunto enpowered by ſpecial Licence. The Tenour whereof (if *Sanders* be to be believed) was in theſe words following: *viz. The King to* ſuch a Biſhop *Greeting. Whereas all, and all manner of Juriſdiction, as well Eccleſiaſtical, as Civil, flows from the King, as from the Supream Head of all the Body, &c. We therefore give, and grant to thee full Power, and Licence, to continue during Our Good Pleaſure, for holding Ordination within thy Dioceſs of* N. *and for promoting fit Perſons unto Holy Orders, even to that of the Prieſt-hood.* Which being looked on by Queen *Mary*, not only as a dangerous Diminution of the Epiſcopal power; but as an Odious Innovation in the Church of *Chriſt*: She cauſed this *Act* to be repealed in the firſt Year of Her Reign; leaving the Biſhops to depend on their former claim, and to act all things, which belonged to their Juriſdiction, in their own Names, and under their own Seals, as in former Times. In which Eſtate they have continued, without any Legal Interruption, from that time to this.

But in the firſt branch there was ſomewhat more, than what appeared at the firſt ſight. For, though it ſeemed to aim at nothing; but that the Biſhops ſhould depend wholly on the King, for their preferment to thoſe great and eminent places: yet the true Drift of the Deſign was to make Deans and Chapters uſeleſs for the time to come, and thereby to prepare them for a Diſſolution. For, had nothing elſe been intended in it, but that the King ſhould have the ſole Nomination of all the Biſhops in his Kingdoms, it had been only a Reviver of an Antient Power: which had been formerly inveſted in His Predeceſſours, and in all other *Chriſtian* Princes. Conſult the Stories, and Records, of the Elder Times, and it will readily appear, not only that the *Romane* Emperours of the Houſe of *France*, did nominate the *Popes* themſelves: but that, after they had loſt that Power, they retained the Nomination of the Biſhops in their own Dominions. The like done alſo by the *German* Emperours, by the Kings of *England*, and by the Antient Kings of *Spain*: the Inveſture being then performed *Per Annulum & Baculum*, as they uſed to phraſe it; that is to ſay, by delivering of a *Ring*, together with a *Croſier*, or *Paſtoral Staff*, to the party nominated. Examples of which practice are exceeding obvious in all the Stories of thoſe Times. But the Popes, finding at the laſt, how neceſſary it was in order to that abſolute Power, which they ambitiouſly affected over all *Chriſtian* Kings, and Princes, that the Biſhops ſhould depend on none but them, challenged this power unto themſelves: declaring it in ſeveral Petit Councels for no leſs than *Simony*, if any man ſhould receive a Biſhoprick from the Hands of his own Natural Prince. From hence thoſe long and deadly Quarrels begun between Pope *Hildebrand* and the Emperour *Henry the Fourth*, and continued by their Succeſſours for many years after. From hence the like Diſputes in *England*, between Pope *Urban the Second* and King *William Rufus*; between Pope *Innocent* and King *John*: till in the end the Popes prevailed both here and elſewhere, and gained the point unto themſelves. But ſo: that, to diſguiſe the matter, the Election of the future Biſhop was committed to the Prior and Convent, or to the Dean and Chapter of that Cathedral, wherein he was to be Inſtalled. Which, paſſing by the Name of Free Elections, were wholly, in a manner, at the Pope's Diſpoſing.

The point thus gained, it had been little to their Profit, if they had not put the ſame in execution. Which being done by Pope *Innocent the Fourth*, in Conſecrating certain *Engliſh* Biſhops at *Lyons* in *France*, without the King's Knowledge & conſent: it was obſerved by *Matthew Paris*(*) to be diſhonorable to the King, and of great Dammage to the Kingdom. So much the more, by how much the Miſchief grew more common, & the Deſign, concealed under that Diſguiſe, became more apparent: which plainly was (*) that being bound unto the Pope in the ſtricter Bonds, and growing into a Contempt of their Natural King, they might the more readily be inclined to work any Miſchief in the Kingdom. The Danger whereof being conſidered by King *Edward the Firſt*, He came at laſt to this

(*) Matt. Pariſ. *in* Hen. 3. *An.* 1245.

(*) *ut magis ei tenerentur obligati, &, contempto Rege, ſierent in damnum Regni promptiores.* pag. 192.

this Concluſion with the Popes then being; that is to ſay, That the ſaid Priors and Convents, or the ſaid *Deans* and *Chapters*, as the Caſe might vary, before they proceeded to any Election, ſhould demand the King's Writ of *Conge-D'-ſliere*: and, after the Election made, to crave his *Royal Aſſent* unto it, for Confirmation of the ſame. And ſo much was avowed by the Letters of King *Edward the Third* to Pope *Clement the Fifth*. In which it was declared; That all the Cathedral Churches in *England* were Founded, and Endowed by his Progenitors; (*) and that therefore, as often as thoſe Churches became void of a Biſhop, they were filled again with fit perſons by His ſaid Progenitours, as in their own Natural and proper Right. The like done by the *French* Kings to this very day, partly by vertue of the *Pragmatical Sanction*, eſtabliſhed at the Councel of *Baſil*, and partly by the *Concordate* between King *Francis the Firſt*, and Pope *Leo the Tenth*. And the like alſo challenged by the State of *Venice*, within the Verge, and Territories of that Republick. For which conſult the *Engliſh* Hiſtory of that State, *Decad.* 5. *lib.* 9. *fol.* 229. So that, upon the whole matter, there was no Innovation made, as to this particular: but a Reſtoring to the Crown an antient Power, which had been Naturally and Originally in the Crown before. But howſoever, having the appearance of an Alteration from the received manner of Electings in the Church of *Rome*; and that, which was Eſtabliſhed by the late King for the Realm of *England*: it was repealed by Queen *Mary*, and put into the former Chanel by Queen *Elizabeth*. *An.* 1547.

(*) *Quas Eccleſias dicti Progenitores noſtri dudum, ſingulis vacationibus earundem, perſonis idoneis, jure ſuo Regio, libere conferebant.* Apud *Maſon. De Miniſt. Anglic.* lib. 4. cap. 13. pag. 497.

But from this Alteration, which was made in Parliament, in reference to the manner of Making Biſhops, and the way of Exerciſing their Authority, when they were ſo made, let us proceed unto ſuch Changes, as we find made amongſt the Biſhops themſelves. The firſt whereof was the Election of Doctor *Nicholas Ridley* to the See of *Rocheſter*: to which he had been nominated by King *Henry the Eighth*, when *Holbeck*, who preceded him, was deſigned for *Lincoln*. But, the King dying ſhortly after, the Tranſlation of *Holbeck* was deferred till the Time of King *Edward*: which was no ſooner done, but *Ridley* was choſen to ſucceed him; although not actually Conſecrated till the fifth of *September*. A man of great Learning, as the Times then were, and for his excellent way of preaching highly eſteemed by the late King; whoſe Chaplain he had been for many years before His death: and upon that only deſigned to this Preferment, as the reward of his Service. Being well ſtudyed in the Fathers, it was no hard matter for him to obſerve; That, as the Church of *Rome* had erred in the point of the Sacrament: ſo, as well the *Lutheran*, as the *Zuinglian* Churches, had run themſelves into ſome errour, by oppoſing the *Papiſts*: the one being forced upon the Figment of Conſubſtantiation; the other to fly to Signs, and Figures, as if there had been nothing elſe in the bleſſed *Euchariſt*. Which being obſerved, he thought it moſt agreeable to the Rules of Piety, to frame his Judgment to the Dictates of the Antient Fathers: and ſo to hold a *Real Preſence* of *Chriſt's* Body and bloud in the Holy Sacrament; as to exclude that corporal eating of the ſame, which made the *Chriſtian Faith* a ſcorn both to the *Turks* and *Moors*. Which Doctrine as he ſtoutly ſtood to in all his Examination at *Oxford*, when he was preparing for the Stake, ſo he maintained it conſtantly in his Sermons alſo: in which it was affirmed; That, *In the Sacrament were truly and verily the Body and Bloud of Chriſt, made forth effectually by Grace, and Spirit.* And, being ſo perſwaded in his own Opinion he ſo prevailed by Diſcourſe and Argument with Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*, as to bring him alſo to the ſame; (for which conſult the *Acts and Mon.* fol.) a man of a moſt even and conſtant ſpirit, as he declared in all his actions: but in none more, than in the oppoſition, which he made againſt Biſhop *Hooper* in maintenance of the Rites, and Ceremonies, then by Law Eſtabliſhed: of which we ſhall have opportunity to ſpeak more hereafter.

In the next place, we are to look upon the Preferment of Doctor *Barlow*, to the Biſhoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*; ſucceeding in the place of *Knight*,

An. 154{7 8 *Knight*, who dyed on the twenty ninth of the ſame *September*. He had been once *Prior* of the Monaſtery of *Biſham*, in the County of *Berks*: from whence preferred to the See of *Aſaph*, in the end of *Feb. An.* 1535. And, in the *April* following, Tranſlated to the Church of St. *David's*. During his ſitting in which See, he fell upon an honeſt and convenient project, for removing the Epiſcopal See from the decayed City of St. *David's*, moſt incommodiouſly Scituate in the remoteſt Angle of all the Dioceſs, to the rich Borough of *Caer-marthen*, in the midſt thereof; in the Chief Church whereof, being a Monaſtery of *Grey-Friars*, the body of *Edmond* Earl of *Richmond*, the Father of K. *Henry the Seventh* received Interment. Which project he preſented to *Cromwel*, being then Vicar General, endearing it by theſe Motives and propoſitions; that is to ſay, That, being ſcituate in the midſt of the Dioceſs, it was very opportune for the profiting of the King's Subjects, for the Preferment of God's Word, for aboliſhing all *Antichriſtian* Superſtition, and ſetling in the Dioceſs the King's Supremacy; That it was furniſhed with all things neceſſary for the convenience of the Canons, & might be done without any prejudice to the *Friars*: for every one of which he offered to provide a ſufficient Maintenance. And, to advance the work the more, he offered to remove his Conſiſtory thither, to found therein a *Grammar-School*, and ſettle a daily Lecture in Divinity there, for the reducing of the *Welſh* from their ancient Rudeneſs to the Civility of the Time. All which I find in the Memorials of Sir *Robert Cotton*. And unto theſe he might have added, That he had a fair Epiſcopal Houſe at *Abbergnilly*, very near that Town: in which the Biſhops of that Dioceſs have for the moſt part made their Dwelling. So that all parties ſeemed to have been provided for in the propoſition: and therefore the more to be admitted; That, in a Time ſo much addicted unto Alterations, it ſhould ſpeed no better. For, notwithſtanding all theſe Motives, the See remained where it was, and the Biſhop continued in that See till this preſent year; in which he was made uſe of, amongſt many others, by the Lord Protectour, for Preaching up the War againſt *Scotland*. For which and many other good Services already paſſed, but more to be performed hereafter, he was tranſlated to this See on the death of *Knight*: but the preciſe Day, and Time thereof, I have no where found. But I have found, that, being Tranſlated to this See, he gratified the Lord Protectour with a Preſent of eighteen or nineteen Manours, which anciently belonged unto it; and lying, all, or moſt part of them, in the County of *Somerſet*, ſeemed very conveniently diſpoſed of, for the better maintainance of the Dukedom, or rather of the Title of the Duke of *Somerſet*; which he had took unto himſelf. More of which ſtrange Donations we ſhall find in others: the more to be excuſed, becauſe there was no other means (as the Times then were) to preſerve the whole; but by advancing ſome part thereof to the ſpoil of others.

Anno Regni Edw. Sexti 2. *An. Dom.* 1547, 1548.

THE *Parliament* ending on the twenty fourth day of *December* (as before was ſaid,) ſeems to have put a ſtop to all publique Buſineſs; as if it had been done of purpoſe to give the great Miniſters of State a time of breathing. But no ſooner was the year begun, (I mean the ſecond year of the King) but that a Letter is ſent from the Arch-Biſhop to Doctor *Bonner*, Biſhop of *London*; requiring him in the name of His Majeſty, and the Lords of his Council, to proceed unto the Reformation of ſuch Abuſes, as were therein mentioned, and to give Order for the like to the reſt of the Suffragans. By antient Right, the Biſhops of *London* are accounted *Deans* of the Epiſcopal College; and, being ſuch, were by their place to ſignifie the pleaſure of their Metropolitan to all the Biſhops

Bishops of the Province, to execute his Mandates, and dispers̃e his Missives, on all Emergency of Affairs: as also to preside in Convocations, or Provincial Synods; during the vacancy of the See, or in the necessary absence of the Metropolitane. In which Capacity, and not out of any Zeal he had to the Reformation, Bishop *Bonner*, having received the Arch-Bishop's Letters, communicateth the Contents thereof to the rest of the Suffragan-Bishops, and amongst others to Doctor *Thomas Thirlby*, then Bishop of *West minster*, in these following words. *An.* 154[7/8]

My very Good Lord,

AFter my most hearty Commendations, These are to Advertise your Good Lordship, that my Lord of Canterburys' *Grace, this present* 28*th. of* January, *sent unto me his Letters Missive, containing this in Effect; That my Lord Protectour's Grace, with advice of other the King's Majestie's Honourable Privy Council (for certain Considerations them moving) are fully resolved, that no* Candles *shall be born upon* Candlemas-*day; nor also from henceforth,* Ashes, *or* Palms, *used any longer; requiring Me thereupon by his said Letters, to cause Admonition, and Knowledge thereof, to be given unto your Lordship, and other Bishops, with celerity accordingly. In consideration whereof, I do send at this present these said Letters to your Good Lordship, that you thereupon may give Knowledge, and Advertisement thereof, within your Dioces̃, as appertaineth. Thus committing your Good Lordship to Almighty God, as well to fare, as your Good heart can best desire.*

Written in haste at my House in *London*, the
said 28th. of *January*, 154[7/8].

Such was the Tenor of this Letter: the Date whereof doth very visibly declare, that the Counsel was as suddain, as the Warning short. For, being Dated on the 28th. of *January*, it was not impossible, that any Reformation should be made in the first particular; but only in the Cities of *London*, and *West minster*, and the parts adjoyning: the Feast of *Purification* following within five days after. But yet the Lords drove on so fast; that, before this Order could be published, in the remote parts of the *Kingdom*, they followed it with another, (as little pleasing to the main body of the people) concerning Images; which in some places of the Realm were either not taken down at all, as was required the year before by the King's *Injunctions*; or had been re-advanced again assoon as the first Heats of the Visitation had began to cool. Which, because it cannot be expressed more clearly, than in the Letters of the Council to the Lord Arch-Bishop, and that the Reader be not troubled with any Repetitions; I shall commit the Narrative thereof to the Letters themselves: which are these that follow.

AFter Our Right Hearty Commendations to Your Good Lordship, where now of late, in the King's Majestie's Visitations, amongst other Godly Injunctions, *Commanded generally to be observed through all parts of this His Highness Realm, One was set forth for the taking down of such Images, as had at any time been abused with Pilgrimages, Offerings, or Censes; albeit that this said* Injunction *hath in many parts of the Realm been quietly obeyed, and executed; yet, in many other places, much strife and contention hath risen, and daily riseth, and more and more increaseth, about the execution of the same. Some men being so Superstitious, or rather Wilful; as they would, by their good Wills, retain all such Images still, though they have*

been

An. Reg. 2.
An. 1548.

been most manifestly abused. And almost in every place is Contention for Images whether they have been abused, or not. And whilst these men go on on both sides contentiously to obtain their minds, contending whether this Image, or that Image hath been Offered unto, Kissed, Censed, and otherwise abused; Parts have in some places been taken in such sort, as further Inconveniencies be like to ensue, if remedy be not found in time. Considering therefore, that almost in no place of this Realm is any sure quietness; but where all Images be clean taken away, and pulled down already: to the intent, that all Contention, in every part of this Realm, for this matter, may be clearly taken away; and the lively Image of Christ *should not contend for the dead Images, which be things not necessary; and without the which the Churches of* Christ *continued most Godly many years: We have thought good to signifie unto you, that his Highness Pleasure, with the Advice, and Consent of Us, the Lord Protector, and the rest of the Council, is, That immediately, upon sight hereof, with as convenient diligence as you may, you shall not only give Order, that all the Images, remaining in any Church, or Chappel, within your Dioces, be removed, and taken away; but also, by your Letters, signifie unto the rest of the Bishops, within your Province, this his Highness pleasure, for the like Order to be given by them, and every of them, within their several Dioceses. And in the Execution hereof We require both you, and the rest of the said Bishops, to use such foresight, as the same may be quietly done, with as Good satisfaction of the People, as may be.*

Your Lordship's assured Loving Friends,

From *Sommerset*-Place, the 11th. of *Febr.* 1547.

Edw. *Sommerset*, Anth. Wingfield, Thomas Seimour,
Hen. *Arundel*, John Russell, William Paget.

These quick Proceedings could not but startle those of the *Romish* Party, though none so much, as Bishop *Bonner*; who, by his place, was to disperse those unwelcome Mandates in the Province of *Canterbury*. And though he did perform the service with no small Reluctancy, yet he performed it at the last; his Letter to the Bishop of *Westminster* (his next neighbouring Bishop) not bearing Date until the twentieth of that Moneth. Nor was Bishop *Gardiner* better pleased, when he heard the News: who thereupon signified, in his Letter to one Mr. *Vaughan*, his great dislike of some proceedings had at *Portsmouth*, in taking down the Images of *Christ*, and his Saints; certifying him withall, *not onely, that with his own eyes he had seen the Images standing in all Churches, where* Luther *was had in Estimation; but that* Luther *himself had purposely written a Book against some men, which had defaced them.* And therefore it may well be thought, that Covetousness spurred on this business, more than Zeal: there being none of the Images so poor and mean, the Spoil whereof would not afford some Gold and Silver (if not *Jewels* also) besides *Censers*, *Candlesticks*, and many other rich Utensils appertaining to them. In which Respect, the *Commissioners* hereto Authorised were entertained in many places with scorn, and railing: and the further they went from *London*, the worse they were handled. Insomuch, that one of them, called *Body*, as he was pulling down Images in *Cornwal*, was stabbed into the body by a Priest. And though the principal Offender was hanged in *Smithfield*, & many of his chief Accomplices in other parts of the Realm, which quieted all Matters for a time; yet, the next year the storm broke out more

more violently than before it did: not only to the endangering of the Peace of thoſe *Weſtern* Counties, but in a manner of all the Kingdom. *An. Reg.* 2. 1548.

Which great Commotions the Councel could not but fore-ſee, as the moſt probable conſequents of ſuch alterations: eſpecially when they are ſuddain, and preſſed too faſt. There being nothing, of which people commonly are ſo tender, as they are of Religion: on which their happineſs dependeth, not only for this World, but the World to come. And therefore it concerned them, in point of prudence, to let the people ſee, that there was no intention to aboliſh all their ancient ceremonies; which either might conſiſt with Piety, or the profit of the Common-Wealth. And, in particular, it was held expedient to give the generality of the Subjects ſome contentment, in a Proclamation for the ſtrict keeping of *Lent*, and the example of the Court in purſuance of it. For Doctour *Glaſier* having broke the Ice, (as before was ſaid) there was no ſcarcity of thoſe, that cried down all the Obſervations of Days, and Times; even to the Libelling againſt that ancient and Religious Faſt, in moſt ſcandalous Rhythms. Complaint whereof being made by Biſhop *Gardiner*, in a Letter to the Lord Protectour; a Proclamation was ſet out, bearing Date in *January*, by which all people were commanded to abſtain from Fleſh in the time of *Lent*; and the King's *Lenten*-Diet was ſet out, and ſerved, as in former Times.

And now comes Biſhop *Latimer* on the Stage again: being a man of parts and Learning, and one that ſeemed inclinable enough to a Reformation. He grew into eſteem with *Cromwel*: by whoſe Power and Favour with the King, he was made Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *An.* 1535. continuing in that See, till on the firſt of *July*, 1539. he choſe rather willingly to reſign the ſame, than to have any hand in paſſing the *Six Articles*, then agitated in the Convocation, and Confirmed by Parliament. After which time, either upon command, or of his own accord, he forbore the Pulpit for the ſpace of eight whole years, and upwards; betaking himſelf to the retiredneſs of a private life: but welcome at all times to Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*; to whom the piety, and plainneſs of the Man was exceeding acceptable. And poſſible enough it is, that being ſequeſtred from Preaching, and all other publick Acts of the *Miniſtration*, he might be uſeful to him in compoſing the *Homilies*; having much in them of that plain and familiar Stile, which doth ſo viſibly ſhew it ſelf in all his Writings. On *New-Years* day laſt paſt, being *Sunday*, he preached his firſt Sermon at St. *Paul's-croſs*: (the firſt, I mean, after his re-Admiſſion to his former *Miniſtry*) and, at the ſame place again, on that day ſeven-night, and on the Sunday after alſo; and, finally, on the day of St. *Paul's* Converſion, the twenty fifth of that Moneth. By meanes whereof he became ſo famous, and drew ſuch multitudes of people after him to hear his Sermons; that, being to preach before the King on the firſt *Friday in Lent*, it was thought neceſſary, that the Pulpit ſhould be placed in the King's Privy-Garden; where he might be heard of more than four times as many Auditours, as could have thronged into the Chappel. Which, as it was the firſt *Sermon*, which was preached in that place; ſo, afterward, a fixed, and ſtanding Pulpit was erected for the like Occaſions: eſpecially for *Lent-Sermons* on *Sundays* in the After-noon, and hath ſo continued ever ſince, till theſe later Times.

Now, whil'ſt Affairs proceeded thus in the Court and City, ſome Godly Biſhops, and other Learned and Religious men, were no leſs buſily imployed in the Caſtle of *Windſor*; Appointed by the King's command to conſult together about one *Uniform Order for Adminiſtring the Holy* Communion *in the* Engliſh *Tongue*, *under both Kinds of Bread and Wine*, according to the Act of Parliament made in that behalf. Which perſons ſo convened together (if at the leaſt they were the ſame, which made the firſt *Liturgy* of this Kings time, as I think they were) were theſe, who follow: That is to ſay, *Thomas Cranmer*, Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury; *Thomas Goodwick*,

An. Reg. 2. 1547. 1548. Biſhop of *Ely*, and afterwards Lord Chancellour; *Henry Holbeck*, Biſhop of Lincoln; *George Day*, Biſhop of Chicheſter; *John Skip*, Biſhop of Hereford; *Thomas Thirlby*, Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*; *Nicholas Ridley*, Biſhop of Rocheſter; *Richard Cox*, Almoner to the King, and Dean of Chriſt-Church; Doctour *May* Dean of St. *Paul's*; Doctor *Taylor*, then Dean (after Biſhop) of Lincoln; Doctour *Heyns*, Dean of Exeter; Doctour *Robertſon*, afterwards Dean of *Durham*; Doctour *Ridley*, Maſter of Trinity-Colledge in Cambridge. Who, being thus Convened together, and taking into conſideration as well the right rule of the Scripture, as the uſage of the Primitive Church, agreed on ſuch a Form, and Order; as might comply with the intention of the King, and the Act of Parliament, without giving any juſt Offence to the *Romiſh* Party. For they ſo Ordered it; that the whole *Office of the Maſs* ſhould proceed, as formerly, in the *Latine* Tongue; even to the very end of the Canon, and the receiving of the Sacrament by the Prieſt himſelf. Which being paſſed over, they began with an *Exhortation* in the *Engliſh* Tongue, directed to all thoſe, which did intend to be partakers of the Holy Communion. Which Exhortation, beginning with theſe Words, *Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye coming to this Holy Communion*, &c. is in effect the laſt of thoſe, which afterwards remained in the *Publick Liturgie*. Then followed the *Invitation* thus; *You, that do truly, and earneſtly repent you of your ſins*, &c. proceeding to the general Confeſſion, the *Abſolution*, the *comfortable Sentences out of Holy Scripture*; and ſo unto the *Prayer of humble Addreſs*; *We do not preſume to come to this Table*, &c. the *Diſtribution of the Sacrament* to the People preſent, continuing ſtill upon their knees, and finally diſmiſſing them, *In the Peace of God*. Which Godly Form, being preſented to the King, and the Lords of the Councel, and by them exceeding well approved; was publiſhed on the eighth of *March*, together with His Majeſtie's Proclamation, Authoriſing the ſame, and Commanding all His Loving Subjects to conform unto it, in this Manner following.

By the King.

EDWARD, *By the Grace of God, King of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith; and of the Church of* England, *and* Ireland, *in Earth the Supreme Head: To All, and Singular, Our Loving Subjects, Greeting. For ſo much, as in Our High Court of* Parliament, *lately holden at* Weſtminſter, *it was by Us, with the conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons there Aſſembled, moſt Godly, and agreeable to Chriſt's Holy Inſtitution, Enacted; That the moſt Bleſſed Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt ſhould from henceforth be commonly Delivered, and Miniſtred unto all Perſons, within Our Realm of* England, *and* Ireland, *and other Our Dominions, under both Kinds, that is to ſay, of Bread and Wine; (except neceſſity otherwiſe require) leſt, every man fantaſying and deviſing a ſundry way by himſelf in the Uſe of this moſt Bleſſed Sacrament of Unity, there might thereby ariſe any unſeemly, or ungodly Diverſity: Our pleaſure is, by the Advice of Our moſt Dear Uncle the Duke of* Somerſet, *Governour of Our Perſon, and Protectour of Our Realms, Dominions, and Subjects, and other Our Privy Councel; that the ſaid Bleſſed Sacrament be Miniſtred unto Our People, onely after ſuch Form, and Manner; as hereafter by Our Authority, with*

with the advice before mentioned, is set out, or declared; Willing every man with due Reverence, and Christian Behaviour, to come to this Holy Sacrament, and most Blessed Communion; lest that, by the unworthy receiving of such high Mysteries, they become guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord, and so eat and drink their own Damnation: but rather diligently trying themselves, that they so come to this Holy Table of Christ, and so be partakers of this Holy Communion; that they may dwell in Christ, and have Christ dwelling in them: And also, with such Obedience and Conformity, to receive this Our Ordinance, and most Godly Direction; that we may be incouraged from Time to Time further to travail for the Reformation, and setting forth of such Godly Orders, as may be most to God's Glory, the Edifying of Our Subjects, and for the Advancement of true Religion; which is the thing We (by the help of God) most earnestly endeavoured to bring to effect; Willing all Our Loving Subjects in the mean time to stay, and quiet themselves, with this Our Direction; as men content to follow Authority (according to the bounden Duty of Subjects) and not enterprising to run before: and so by their Rashness become the greatest hinderers of such things, as they, more arrogantly than Godly, would seem (by their own Private Authority) most hotly to set forward. We won'd not have Our Subjects so much to mistake Our Judgement, so much to mistrust our Zeal; as though we either would not discern what were to be done, or would not do all things in due time: God be praised, We know both what by his Word is meet to be redressed, and have an earnest mind by the Advice of Our most Dear Uncle, and other of Our Privy Council, with all diligence and convenient speed, so to set forth the same, as it may most stand with God's Glory, and edifying and quietness of Our People: Which We doubt not but all Our Obedient and Loving Subjects will quietly and reverendly tarry for. An. Reg. 2. 1547, 8

The next Care was, to see the said Order put in execution: of which the Lords of the Councel discharged the King, and took the whole burthen on themselves. For, causing a sufficient Number of the Printed Copies to be sent to each Bishop in the Realm, they there withall directed Letters to them; *Requiring, and in His Majestie's Name Commanding them, and every of them, to have an earnest Diligence, and careful Respect, both in their own Persons, and all their Officers, and Ministers, for causing the said Books to be so delivered to every Parson, Vicar, and Curate in their several Dioceses; that they may have sufficient time well to instruct and advise themselves for the Distribution of the most Holy Communion, according to the Order of the said Book, before* Easter *following: and that, by the good Means of them (the said Bishops) they may be well directed to use such Good, Gentle, and Charitable Instructions, to their simple and unlearned Parishioners; as may be to their good Satisfaction: Letting them further know, that, as the said Order was set forth, to the intent there should be in all parts of this Realm, and among all men, one Uniform manner quietly used; so that the Execution thereof did very much stand in the Diligence of them, and others of their Vocation, who therefore were again required to have a diligent respect unto it: as they tendred the King's pleasure, and would answer the contrary.* Which Letter, bearing Date on the thirteenth of *March*, was subscribed by the Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, the Lord Chancellour *Rich*, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord St. *John* and *Russel*, Mr. Secretary *Petre*, Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, Sir *Edward North*, and Sir *Edward Wotton*. In Obedience unto whose Commands, as all the Bishops did not perform their parts alike: (*Gardiner* of *Winchester*, *Bonner* of *London*, *Voysie* of *Exeter*, and *Sampson* of *Coventry* and *Lich-field*, being more backward than the rest) so many Parish-Priests, not being willing to Advance so good a Work, laboured to disaffect the people to the present Government. And to that end it was endeavoured in their *Sermons*, to possess their Auditors with an *ill* opinion of the King; as if he did intend to lay strange Exactions on the Subject,

An. Reg. 2. 1547 1548 by forcing them to pay half a Crown a piece for every one, who should be Married, Christened, or Buried. For Remedy whereof it was Ordered by Proclamation, bearing Date the twenty fourth of *April*; That none should be permitted to preach; but such as were licensed under the Seals of the Lord *Protectour*, or the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*.

In the next place we must attend the King's *Commissioners*, dispatched in the beginning of *March*, into every Shire throughout the Realm, to take a Survey of all Colledges, Free-Chappels, Chanteries, and Brother-Hoods, within the compass of the Statute, or Act of Parliament. According to the return of whose Commissions, it would be found no difficult matter to put a just estimate and value on so great a Gift, or to know how to parcel out, proportion, and divide the Spoil betwixt all such, who had before in hope devoured it. In the first place, as lying neerest, came in the Free-Chappel of Saint *Stephen*, Originally founded in the Palace at *Westminster*, and reckoned for the Chappel-Royal of the Court of *England*. The whole Foundation consisted of no fewer, than thirty eight persons; *viz.* one Dean, twelve Canons, thirteen Vicars, four Clerks, six Choristers, besides a Verger, and one that had the charge of the Chappel. In place of whom a certain number were appointed for Officiating the daily Service in the Royal-Chappels: (*Gentlemen of the Chappel* they are commonly called) whose Salaries, together with that of the Choristers, and other Servants of the same, amounts to a round yearly sum: and yet the King, if the Lands belonging to that Chappel had been kept together, and honestly laid unto the Crown, had been a very rich gainer by it; the yearly Rents thereof being valued at 1085 l. 10. s. 5. d. As for the Chappel it self, together with a Cloyster of curious Workmanship, built by *John Chambers*, one of the King's Physicians, and the last Master of the same; they are still standing as they were: the Chappel having been since fitted, and imployed for an House of Commons, in all times of Parliament.

At the same time also fell the Colledge of St. *Martins*, commonly called St. *Martins le grand*, scituate in the City of *London*, not far from *Aldersgate*: first founded for a Dean, and secular Canons, in the time of the *Conquerour*, and afterwards, priviledged for a Sanctuary: the Rights whereof it constantly enjoyed without interruption, till all priviledg of Sanctuary was suppressed in this Realm by King *Henry the Eigth*. But the Foundation it self being now found to be superstitious, it was surrendred into the hands of King *Edward the Sixth*: who after gave the same, together with the remaining Liberties and Precincts thereof, to the Church of *Westminster*: and they to make the best of the King's Donation, appointed, by a Chapter held the seventh of *July*, that the Body of the Church, with the Quire and Isles, should be Leased out for fifty years at the Rent of five Marks *per Annum* to one *H. Keeble* of *London*; excepting out of the said Grant, the Bells, Lead, Stone, Timber, Glass and Iron, to be sold and disposed of, for the sole use and benefit of the said Dean and Chapter. Which foul Transaction being made, the Church was totally pulled down; a Tavern built in the East part of it: the rest of the site of the said Church and Colledge, together with the whole Precinct thereof, being built upon with several Tenements, and let out to Strangers; who very industriously affected to dwell therein (as the natural *English* since have done) in regard of the Priviledges of the place, exempted from the Jurisdiction of the Lord *Mayor*, and *Sheriffs* of *London*; and governed by such Officers amongst themselves, as are appointed thereunto by the Chapter of *Westminster*.

But for this Sacriledge the Church of *Westminster* was called immediately in a manner to a sober Reckoning. For the Lord *Protectour*, thinking it altogether unnecessary, that two Cathedrals should be founded so near one another, and thinking, that the Church of *Westminster*, (as being of a late foundation) might best be spared, had cast a longing eye upon the goodly Patrimony, which remained unto it. And being then unfurnished of an House, or Pallace, proportionable

tionable unto his Greatneſs, he doubted not to finde room enough, upon the Diſſolution and Deſtruction of ſo large Fabrick, to raiſe a Palace, equal to his vaſt Deſigns. Which coming to the ears of *Benſon*, the laſt Abbot, and firſt Dean of the Church, he could bethink himſelf of no other means to preſerve the whole, but by parting for the preſent with more than half the Eſtate, which belonged unto it. And thereupon a Leaſe is made of 17 Manours, and good Farms, lying almoſt together in the County of *Gloceſter*, for the term of ninety nine years; which they preſented to the Lord *Thomas Seimour*, to ſerve as an Addition to his Manour of *Sudely*: humbly beſeeching him to ſtand their *Good Lord* and *Patron*, and to preſerve them in a fair eſteem with the Lord *Protectour*. Another Preſent of almoſt as many Manours, and Farms, lying in the Counties of *Gloceſter*, *Worceſter*, and *Hereford*, was made for the like Term to Sir *John Maſon*, a ſpecial Confident of the Duke's: not for his own, but for the uſe of his Great Maſter; which, after the Duke, all came to Sir *John Bourn*, principal Secretary of Eſtate, in the time of Queen *Mary*. And yet this would not ſerve the Turn, till they had put into the Scale their Manour of *Iſlip*, conferred upon that Church by King *Edward the Confeſſour*, to which no fewer than two hundred Cuſtomary Tenants owed their Soil and Service: and, being one of the beſt Wooded things in thoſe parts of the Realm, was to be granted alſo without Impeachment of Waſt, as it was accordingly. By means whereof the *Deantry* was preſerved for the later Times; how it ſucceeded with the Biſhoprick, we ſhall ſee hereafter. Thus *Benſon* ſaved the *Deanery*, but he loſt himſelf: for, calling to remembrance, that formerly he had been a means to ſurrender the Abby, and was now forced on the neceſſity of Dilapidating the Eſtate of the *Deanery*, he fell into a great diſquiet of mind, which brought him to his death within few Moneths after. To whom ſucceeded Doctour *Cox*, being then *Almoner* to the King, Chancellour of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and Dean of *Chriſts-Church*: and afterwards by Queen *Elizabeth* preferred to the See of *Ely*.

An. Reg. 2. 1547, 8

I had not ſingled theſe two, (I mean St. *Martin's*, and St. *Stephen's*) out of all the reſt: but that they were the beſt, and the richeſt in their ſeveral kinds; and that there was more depending on the ſtory of them, than of any others. But *Bad examples ſeldom end where they firſt began.* For the Nobility, and inferiour Gentry, poſſeſſed of *Patronages*, conſidering how much the Lords, and Great men of the Court had improved their Fortunes, by the ſuppreſſion of thoſe Chanteries, and other Foundations, which had been granted to the King; conceived themſelves in a capacity of doing the like, by taking into their hands the yearly Profits of thoſe *Benefices*, of which by Law they only were entruſted with the *Preſentations*. Of which abuſe complaint is made by Biſhop *Latimer*, in his Printed *Sermons*. In which we find, *That the Gentry of that Time invaded the Profits of the Church; leaving the Title only to the Incumbent*: and *That Chantery Prieſts were put by them into ſeveral Cures, to ſave their Penſions*; pag. 38. *That many Benefices were let out in Fee-Farms*, (pag. 71.) *or given unto Servants, for keeping of Hounds, Hawks, and Horſes, and for making of Gardens*; pag. 91, 114. And finally, *That the poor Clergy, being kept to ſome ſorry Pittances, were forced to put themſelves into Gentlemens houſes, and there to ſerve as Clerks of the Kitchin, Surveyours, Receivers*, &c. pag. 241. All which Enormities (though tending ſo apparently to the Diſhonour of God, the Diſſervice of the Church, and the Diſgrace of Religion) were generally connived at, by the Lords, and others; who only had the power to reform the ſame: becauſe they could not queſtion thoſe, who had ſo miſerably invaded the Churches Patrimony, without condemning of themſelves.

Thus leaving *England* for a while, we are to take a ſhort ſurvey of Affairs in *Scotland*, into which the *French* had put ten thouſand Souldiers; three thouſand of them being *Almains*, under the command of *Mounſieur D' Eſſie*, who, joyning with the *Scots*, laid Siege before the Town of *Haddington*, on *St. Peter's*-Eve. For the Relief whereof a ſtrength of one thouſand three hundred

An. Reg. 2. 1548

dred Horſe was ſent from *Berwick*, under the Conduct of Sir *Robert Bowes*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*; who falling very unfortunately into the hands of the Enemy, were for the moſt part ſlain or taken. The *Engliſh* notwithſtanding made good the Town, and held it out ſo long; that in the end the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, with a power of ſixteen thouſand men, (of which there were four thouſand *Lanſquenets*, or *Germane* Souldiers) appeared in ſight. On whoſe approach, the Enemy withdrew themſelves, and raiſed their Siege on or about the twentieth day of *Auguſt*; giving great commendation to the *Engliſh* Gariſon, for the notable Service they had done in defence of the Town. The Siege being raiſed, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* with his Forces returned for *England*; leaving the Town well ſtored with Victuals, and plentifully furniſhed with all manner of Ammunition, which put the Souldiers of the Gariſon into ſo good heart; that they made many Sallies out, and frequently skirmiſhed with the *French* and *Scots*, whom they found Quartered in the Villages and Towns adjoyning. But, the matter being taken into debate by the Councel of *England*, it was Reſolved, eſpecially by thoſe, who ſecretly envied at the Power and Greatneſs of the Lord *Protector*; That the keeping of the Town would not quit the coſt; as being fartheſt from the Borders, and not to be relieved, if it were diſtreſſed, without the raiſing and imploying of a Royal Army. And thereupon the Earl of *Rutland* was ſent thither with three thouſand of the *Lanſquenets*, and as many Borderers: who, coming to the Town on the twentieth of *September*, ſleighted the Works; and, having deſtroyed the Houſes, cauſed all the Ordnance, and Carriages, to be ſent to *Berwick*, and returned without Battail. The voluntary quitting of which Town drew after it the loſs of all the Peeces, which we held in *Scotland*.

The *Engliſh* Forces being removed from the Town of *Haddington*, the *French* immediately peepared for their going home-wards: carying a richer Lading with them; than all the Arms, and Ammunition, which they brought at their coming. For, while the Army lay at the Siege at *Haddington*, the Miniſters of the *French* King were buſied in Treaty with the *Scots*, for putting the Young Queen into their Power, tranſporting her into *France*, and Marrying her unto the *Daulphin*. But in this point they found the Councel much divided. Some thought, That the conditions, offered by the Lord *Protector*, (not till then generally known) were to be embraced; in regard it gave them an aſſurance of ten years Peace at the leaſt; and that, if either of the Princes died within that time, they ſhould be left at liberty, to Order the affairs of that Kingdom, to the moſt advantage. But againſt this it was alledged by thoſe of the oppoſite Party; (whom the *French* King had bought with ready mony, and annual Penſions.) That, as long as the Queen remained amongſt them, they ſhould never be free from the Pretenſions of the *Engliſh*. From which, there was no queſtion, but they would deſiſt; when they ſaw the Ground thereof to be taken away by the Queens Removal. Of which Party, (beſides thoſe, which were corrupted by the Gold of *France*) were the *Biſhops* and *Clergy*; who, being zealous for the preſervation of their Old Religion, abominated nothing more, than the Alliance with *England*. And ſo the matter being carried in behalf of the *French*, and there being now no further need of them for defence of the Country, they gave Order to make ready their Shipping, and nominated a ſet day for their departure. Which day being come, they coaſted about *Scotland*, by the Iſles of *Orkney*, took in the young Queen at *Dun-britton* Caſtle, and paſſing through St. *George's Channel*, arrived in *Bretaigne*; whileſt a ſtrong Squadron of the *Engliſh* attended for their coming in the *Narrow-Seas*.

But this Departure of the *French*, though it much weakened, did not diſanimate the *Scots*, for making trial of their fortune againſt the *Engliſh*. *Hume*-Caſtle, and *Faſt*-Caſtle, remained (amongſt ſome others) as Thorns in their ſides, but they regained them both this year. *Hume*-Caſtle they ſurpriſed by means of ſome of their own Nation; who, being reputed Friends, and ſuffered to have free and frequent Acceſs unto it, had Opportunity, both to diſcover the

Weakneſſes

Weakneſſes of it, and by what ways it might moſt eaſily be taken. And, being more cordially affected to their Old Country-men, than their New Acquaintance, they directed a ſelect number of ſouldiers to ſome ſecret paſſages; by which, having firſt climbed up a very ſteep Rock, they found an entrance into the Caſtle, put the ſecure Gariſon to the Sword, and poſſeſſed the place, leaving a fair warning unto all others; *Never to truſt the courteſies, or ſervices of thoſe, whom they have provoked to be their Enemies.* *Faſt*-Caſtle they ſurpriſed by a Warlike Stratagem. For the Governour having commanded the Neighbouring Villages, at a prefixed day, to bring in their contribution of Corn, and other neceſſary proviſion; the Enemy makes uſe of this Opportunity. Souldiers, habited like Peaſants, came at the day, fraught with their burthens; whereof having eaſed their Horſes, they carry them on their ſhoulders over the Bridg, (which joyned two Rocks together) and ſo gained Entrance: the Watch-word being given, they caſt down their Burthens, till the Sentinels open the Gates to their fellows; and become Maſters of the place. The News of which ſurpriſals, together with that of the Queens Removal, being brought into the Court of *England*, which then began to be divided into Sides and Factions; there was no further care taken for the proſecution of the *Scottiſh* War: which for the preſent much refreſhed that impoveriſhed Kingdom. *An. Reg. 2.* 1548.

Now while theſe Traverſes of War were made in *Scotland*, there was no ſolid Peace, though no open Diſcord in the Church of *England*. It hath been ſhewed; that Biſhop *Gardiner*, having long lain priſoner in the *Fleet*, was, on the morrow after *Twelfth-Day* laſt, reſtored to liberty; and permitted to return unto his Dioceſs. Where, contrary to the promiſe made at his Enlargement, he began to ſhew himſelf diſpleaſed with the King's Proceedings in the caſe of *Images*. Concerning which he wrote a long Letter to the Lord Protector, on the twenty firſt of *May*, and backed it with another of the ſixth of *June*: and otherwiſe appeared ſo croſs to the King's Deſigns; that he was ſent for to the Court, and after ſome reproofs diſmiſſed unto his Houſe in *South-Wark*; where he was commanded to remain until further Order. But there alſo he behaved himſelf with much unquietneſs, medling in many matters, which concerned the King; for which he had neither *Warrant* nor *Commiſſion*: whereof being once again admoniſhed by their *Lordſhips*, he did not only promiſe to conform himſelf like a good Subject; but to declare his Conformity to the World, in an open *Sermon*, in ſundry Articles agreed upon; that ſuch, as were offended, might be ſatisfied in him. St. *Peter's* day, then near at hand, was given him for the day, whereon he was to preach this *Sermon*. In which though he allowed the *Sacrament* to be Adminiſtred in both Kinds, and ſhewed his Approbation of the King's proceedings in ſome other points: yet in the reſt he gave ſuch little ſatisfaction to the King and Councel; that the next day he was ſent priſoner to the *Tower*, where he remained till his Enlargement by *Queen Mary*.

The puniſhment of this great Prelate did not ſo much diſcourage thoſe of the *Romiſh* party: as his Example animated, and emboldened them to ſuch Inconformity; as gave no ſmall Diſturbance to the King's proceedings. For notwithſtanding his great care to ſet forth one *Uniform Order of Adminiſtring the Holy Communion in both Kinds*; yet ſo it happened, that, (through the perverſe Obſtinacy, and froward diſſembling of many of the inferiour Prieſts, and Miniſters, of Cathedral, and other Churches of this Realm) there did ariſe a marvailous Schiſm, and Variety of Factions, in celebrating the *Communion-Service*, and *Adminiſtration of the Sacraments*, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church. For ſome, zealouſly allowing the King's proceedings, did gladly follow the *Order* thereof; and others, though not ſo willingly admitting them, did yet diſſemblingly and patchingly uſe ſome part of them: but many, cauſleſly contemning them all, would ſtill continue in their former *Popery*. Beſides, it is obſerved in the *Regiſter*-Book of the Pariſh of *Petworth*; "That many at "this time affirmed the moſt Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar to be of little re-

gard

An. Reg. 2. 1548. "gard; that in many places it was irreverently uſed, and caſt out of the Church, "and many other great Enormities committed: which they ſeconded by op- "pugning the eſtabliſhed Ceremonies; as *Holy Water*, *Holy Bread*, and divers "other uſages of the ſeven *Sacraments*.

And yet theſe were not all the Miſchiefs, which the Time produced. For, in Purſuance of this Schiſm, and to confirm the people in their former wayes, many of thoſe which had been Licenſed in Form, and Manner preſcribed by the Proclamation of the twenty fourth of *April*, appeared as active in Preaching againſt the King's Proceedings; as any of the Unlicenſed Preachers had been found to be. Which being made known unto the King, and the Lords of the Councel, it was adviſed: That a *publick Liturgy* ſhould be drawn, and confirmed by Parliament: with ſeveral penalties to be inflicted on all thoſe, who ſhould not readily conform to the Rules, and Appointments of it. For though ſome ill-affected men might look upon the late *Order for Adminiſtring the Holy Sacrament in the* Engliſh *Tongue*, as the Act of ſome few Perſons about the King; and not proceeding really from the King himſelf: yet, when the King's pleaſure came to be declared by *Act of Parliament*, it was to be preſumed; that (all ſuch Subterfuges and Evaſions being taken away) the Subjects would conform unto it without further trouble. Which being thus reſolved upon, He cauſed thoſe Godly *Biſhops*, and other Learned *Divines*, whom He had formerly imployed in drawing up the *Order for the Holy Communion*, to attend His pleaſure on the firſt day of *September* then next following. Attending at the day appointed, it pleaſed His Majeſty to commend unto them the framing of a *publick Liturgy*, which ſhould contain the *Order of Morning and Evening Prayer*, together with a *Form of miniſtring the Sacraments and Sacramentals*, and *for the celebrating of all other publick Offices*; which were required by the Church, of good Chriſtian people. Which as His Majeſty commanded out of a moſt Religious zeal to the Honour of God, the Edification of His Subjects, and to the Peace and Happineſs of His Dominions; ſo they (who knew no better *Sacrifice*, than *Obedience*) did chearfully apply themſelves to the Undertaking.

And, that they might proceed therein, not only with the leſs Diſquiets, but with the greater Hope of gaining their deſired End; it pleaſed His Majeſty to declare by His Proclamation, bearing Date the twenty third day of the ſaid Moneth of *September*, into what courſe he had put this buſineſs: letting them know, *That for the ſetling of an Uniformity and Order throughout his Realm, and for putting an End to all Controverſies in Religion, He had cauſed certain Godly Biſhops, and other notable Learned men to be congregated, or called together.* And thereupon doth infer, *That, notwithſtanding many of the Preachers, formerly Licenſed, had behaved themſelves very diſcreetly, and wiſely; to the Honour of God, and the contentation of His Highneſs: yet till ſuch time, as the ſaid Order ſhould be generally ſet forth throughout the Realm, His Majeſty did thereby inhibit all manner of perſons, whatſoever they be, to Preach in open Audience, in the Pulpit, or otherwiſe, by any ſought colour, or fraud, to the diſobeying of His Commandement.* And this he did to this intent; *That the whole Clergy in the mean ſpace might apply themſelves, to Prayer to Almighty God, for the better atchieving of this ſame Godly intent and purpoſe; not doubting, but that all His loving Subjects in the mean time would occupy themſelves to God's Honour, with due Prayer in the Church, and patient hearing of the Godly* Homilies, *heretofore ſet forth by His Highneſs* Injunctions: *and ſo endeavour themſelves, that they may be the more ready, with thankful Obedience, to receive a moſt quiet, Godly and Uniform Order, through all His ſaid Realms, and Dominions. And to the end, that His Majeſtie's pleaſure in the premiſſes, ſhould be the more punctually obeyed, He willeth and requireth all His Loving Officers and Miniſters, as well Juſtices of the Peace; as Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Conſtables, or any other His Officers, of what State, Degree, and Condition ſoever they be, to be attendant upon this Proclamation,*

mation, and Commandment: and to see the Infringers, and Breakers thereof, to be Imprisoned; and His Highness, or the Lord Protector's *Grace, or His Majestie's Council, to be certified thereof immediately, as they tendred His Majestie's Pleasure, and would answer to the contrary at their perils.* *An. Reg.* 2. 1548.

And here it is to be Observed; That those, who had the chief directing of this weighty Business, were before-hand resolved, that none but *English* Heads, or Hands, should be used therein: lest otherwise it might be thought, and perhaps Objected; that they rather followed the Example of some other Churches, or were swayed by the Authority of those Foreign Assistants; then by the Word of God, and the most uncorrupted practice of the *Primitive* Times. Certain it is, that, upon the very first Reports of a *Reformation* here intended, *Calvin* had offered his Assistance to Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*; as himself confesseth. But the Arch-Bishop knew the Man, and refused the Offer. And it appears in one of Bishop *Latimer's Sermons*, that there was report, about this time, of *Melanchon's* coming; but it proved only a Report. And, though it was thought necessary, for the better seasoning of the *Universities* in the *Protestant Reformed Religion*; that *Martin Bucer*, and *Peter Martyr*, two eminent *Divines* of the Foreign Churches, should be invited to come over: yet the Arch-Bishop's Letter of *Invitation*, sent to *Martin Bucer*, was not written till the twelfth day of *October*. At what time the *Liturgy* then in hand, being the chief Key to the whole Work of *Reformation*, was in very good forwardness: & must needs be compleatly finished, before he could so settle, and dispose his Affairs in *Germany*; as to come for *England*. And though *Peter Martyr*, being either more at Leasure, or less engaged, or otherwise more willing to accept of the Invitation, came many Months before the other: yet neither do we find him here, till the end of *November*; when the *Liturgy* had been approved of by the King and Council, if it had not also passed the Approbation of both *Houses* of *Parliament*. Nor was it likely, that they should make use of such a Man in composing a *Liturgy*; wherein they were resolved to retain a great part of the Antient *Ceremonies*: who, being made *Canon* of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, and frequently present at *Divine Service* in that Church, could never be prevailed with, to put on the *Surplice*.

Being left therefore to themselves, they were at the more liberty for following the King's most Godly, and most Wise *Directions*: having in the first place an eye, and respect, to the most sincere, and *Pure Religion*, taught by the *Scripture*; and, in the second, to the *Usages* of the *Primitive Church*: and making, out of both, one convenient and meet *Order*, *Rite*, and Fashion of *Common-Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments*, to be had, and used in the Realm of *England*, and the Principality of *Wales*. Which being finished, they all subscribed their Names unto it; but (*) *Day* of *Chichester*: who would by no means have his Hand in the Subscription; as is related in the *Register-Book* of the Parish of *Petworth*. But, being subscribed by all the rest, it was by them, with all due Reverence, humbly presented to the King: by whom it was received *to His great Comfort, and Quietness of mind*; as the Statute (*) telleth us. And being by him commended to the *Lords*, and *Commons*, then Assembled in *Parliament*; (which *Parliament* took beginning on the fourth day of *November*) they, did not only *give His Highness most hearty and lowly thanks, for his Care therein*: but, on perusal of the Book, declared *it to be done by the aid of the Holy Ghost*. And thereupon, *considering the* Godly Prayers, Orders, Rites, *and* Ceremonies, *in the said Book mentioned; and also the reasons of Altering of those things, which be altered, and the retaining of those things, which be retained; together with the Honour of God, and the great Quietness, which by the Grace of God, was likely to ensue on such an* Uniform Order, *in* Common Prayer, Rites, *and External* Ceremonies *to be used in all* England, *and* Wales, *in* Calice, *and the* Marches *of the same*: it was Enacted; *That all, and singular Ministers, in any Cathedral, or Parish-Church, or other Place, within this Realm of* England, Wales, Calice,

(*) *Sed* Richardus Cisestriensis (*ut ipse mihi dixit*) *non subscripsit*; Lib. *Petw.*

(*) *Act.* 2. Edw. 6. 1.

An. Reg. 2. 1548. *and the* Marches *of the same, or other the King's Dominions, should from, and after the Feast of* Pentecost, *next coming,* (that *Interval* being given for the Printing of it) *be bounden to say, and use the* Mattens, Even-songs, Celebration of the Lord's Supper, *commonly called* The Mass, *and* Administration *of each of the* Sacraments, *and all their* Common *and* Open Prayer, *in such Order, and Form, as is mentioned in the same Book, and no otherwise:* with several Penalties therein mentioned, to be imposed on all such in their several places, as either should wilfully refuse to *Officiate* by it; or hinder the lawful Execution of it; or speak any thing in Derogation of the said Book, or any thing therein contained.

The passing of this *Act* gave great Offence to those of the *Romish* party: not, that they could except against it, in regard either of the *Manner*, or *Matter* of it; (which they acknowledged to be Consonant to the *Antient Forms*) but because it was communicated to the people in the *Vulgar* Tongue. And this they charged, as a great Errour in those Men; who had the chief Hand in the Conduct of that Affair: because that, by the *Rules* thereof, the *Scriptures* were to be read publickly in the *English* Tongue. *Which, what else was it,* (as they said) *but the committing so much Heavenly Treasure unto Rotten Vessels? the trusting so much Excellent Wine to such Musty Bottles?* And, being that there are many things in the *Divine Offices* of the Church, *quæ secreta esse debent,* as the *Cardinal* telleth us, *which ought to have been kept as Secrets* from all Vulgar knowledge; it must needs be of very ill Consequence, to communicate them to all sorts of people. But certainly the Holy Ghost was able to direct the Church in a better way; then such, as should be subject unto Man's Exceptions. And he directs the Service of the Church to be Officiated in such a Language, to which the ignorant, and unlearned, may say *Amen*; 1 *Cor.* xiv. 9, 16. Upon which *Words* it is observed by *Lyra*, and *Aquinas*; two as great Clerks as any in the Church of *Rome*: That, *The Publick Service of the Church, in the Primitive Times, was in the Common Vulgar Language.* The like affirmed by Doctor *Harding*, as great a Stickler for that Church, and the Doctrines of it, as any other of his Time: adding withall; *That it was necessary in the Primitive Times, that it should be so:* and granting also; *That it were still better, that the people had their Service in their own Vulgar Tongue, for their better understanding of it.* So he, in *Answer to the Challenge* made by Bishop *Jewel.* Art. 3. *Sect.* 28, and 33. And therefore having the confession, and acknowledgment of the very Adversary; not only as to the *Antiquity*, but the *Fitness* also of Celebrating *Divine Offices* in the *Vulgar* Language: it may be thought a loss both of Time and Travail, to press the Argument any further.

Which notwithstanding, for the more perfect clearing of the point in question, it will be found upon a very easie search, that the *Jews* did Celebrate their *Divine Offices, Tractatus*, and *Oblationes* (as the *Father* hath it) most commonly in the *Syriack*, and sometimes in the *Hebrew* Tongue, the natural Languages of that people; as is affirmed by St. *Ambrose*, upon 1 *Cor. cap.* 14. and out of him by *Durand*, in his *Rationale*. *Eckius*, a great Servant of the *Popes*, affirmeth in his *Common Places*; That the *Indians* have their Service in the *Indian* Tongue; and that St. *Hierom*, having translated the whole Bible into the *Dalmatick*, procured that the Service should be celebrated in that Language also. The like St. *Hierom* himself, in his Epistle to *Heliodorus*, hath told us of the *Bessi*, a *Sarmatian* people. The like St. *Basil*, in his Epistle to the *Neo-Cæsarians*, assures us for the *Egyptians, Libyans, Palestinians, Phœnicians, Arabians, Syrians*, and such as dwell about the Bank of the River *Euphrates*. The *Æthiopians* had their *Missal*, the *Chaldeans* theirs, each in the Language of their Countries; which they still retain: so had the *Moscovites* of old, and all the scattered Churches of the *Eastern* parts; which they continue to this day. Nay, rather than the people should be kept in Ignorance of the Word of God, and the Divine Offices of the Church, a signal *Miracle* should be wrought to command the contrary.

trary. For we are told of the *Sclavonians*, by *Æneas Sylvius*, (who, being afterwards Pope, was called *Pius the Second*) that having converted unto the faith, they made ſuit unto the Pope, then being, to have their publick Service in their Natural tongue: but ſo[illegible] delay being made therein by the *Pope* and *Cardinals*, a voice was heard, ſeeming to have come from Heaven, ſaying in the *Latine* tongue *Omnis Spiritus laudet Dominum, & omnis lingua confiteatur Ei*: that is to ſay, *Let every Soul praiſe the Name of God, and every Tongue or Language make Profeſſion of it*; whereupon their Deſires were granted without more delay. Which probably might be a chief Inducement to *Innocent the Third*, to ſet out a Decree in the *Lateran Councel*, importing. That in all ſuch Cities, in which there was a Concourſe of divers Nations, and conſequently of Different Languages (as in moſt Towns of Trade there doth uſe to be) the *Service* ſhould be ſaid, and *Sacraments* adminiſtred, *Secundum diverſitates Nationum, & Linguarum*; that is, *According to the Difference of their Tongues and Nations*. So that, if we conſider the *Direction* of the Holy Ghoſt, the practice of the *Primitive Times*, the *General Uſage* of all Nations not inthralled to the *Popes* of *Rome*, the *Confeſſion* of the very *Adverſary*, the *Act* and *Approbation* of the *Pope* himſelf, and finally, the Declaration of God's pleaſure by ſo great a *Miracle*: The Church did nothing in this caſe, but what was juſtifiable in the ſight, both of God and Man. *An. Reg.* 2. 1548.

But then again it is Objected on the other ſide, That neither the undertaking was adviſed, nor the Book it ſelf approved, in a *Synodical* Way, by the Biſhops and Clergy: but that it was the *Act* only of ſome few of the Prelates, imployed therein by the *King*, or the *Lord Protector*, without the Privity, and Approbation of the reſt. The conſideration whereof ſhall be referred to another place: when we ſhall come to ſpeak of the King's Authority for the compoſing, and impoſing of the (*) *Scotiſh Liturgy*.

In the mean time, we muſt take notice of another *Act*, of as great importance for the Peace, and Honour of the *Church*, and the Advancing of the Work of *Reformation*: which took away thoſe poſitive Laws, by which all men in Holy Orders were reſtrained from Marriage. In which Statute it is firſt declar'd, That *It were much to be deſired, that Prieſts, and all others in Holy Orders, might abſtain from Marriage, that, thereby being freed from the Cares of Wed-lock; and abſtracted from the Troubles of Domeſtical Buſineſs, they might more diligently attend the Miniſtery, and apply themſelves unto their Studies*. But, then withall it is conſidered, That as all men have not the Gift of Continence, ſo many great Scandals, and other notable Inconveniencies, have been occaſioned in the Church by the enforced neceſſity of a ſingle life, in thoſe admitted unto Orders. Which ſeeing it was no more impos'd on them, then on any other, by the word of God, but only ſuch poſitive Laws and Conſtitutions, as had been made to that Effect by the Church of *Rome*: It was therefore Enacted by the Authority of the preſent Parliament; That, *All ſuch Poſitive Laws, and Ordinances, as prohibited the Marriages of Prieſts, or any other in Holy Orders, and Pains and Forfeitures therein contained, ſhould be utterly void*. Which *Act*, permitting them to marry, but looked on as a matter of permiſſion only, made no ſmall paſtime amongſt thoſe of the *Romiſh* party: reproaching both the Prieſts, and much more their Wives, as not lawfully marryed: but only ſuffered to enjoy the Company of one another, without Fear of puniſhment. And thereupon it was Enacted in the Parliament of the fifth or ſixth of *Edw. 6. cap.* 12. that, *The Marriages of the Prieſts ſhould be reputed lawful, themſelves being made Capable of being Tenants by Courteſie, their Wives to be endowed, as others, at the Common Law, and their Children Heritable to the Lands of their Fathers, or Mothers. Which Priviledges, or Capacities rather*, (notwithſtanding the Repeal of this Statute in the Time of Queen *Mary*) they, and their Wives, and Children, ſtill enjoyed without Diſturbance, or Diſpute.

(*) See the Book called *Cyprianus Anglicus*, lib. 4. *An.* 1637.

And to ſay truth, it was an *Act*, not only of much *Chriſtian* piety; but more Civil *Prudence*: the Clergy by this means being taken off from all dependance

An. Reg. 2. 1548. on the Popes of *Rome*, & rivited in their Dependance on their Natural Princes, to whom their Wives & Children serve for so many Hostages. The Consequents whereof was so well known to those of *Rome*: that when it was desired by the Ambassadours of the Emperour, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, in the Councel of *Trent*, That Marriage might be permitted to the Priests in their several Territories, it would by no means be admitted. The Reason was; Because that having Houses, Wives, and Children, they would depend no longer upon the Pope, but only on their several Princes: that the love to their Children would make them yield to many things, which were prejudicial to the Church, and in short time confine the Pope's Authority to the City of *Rome*. For otherwise if the Pope's were not rather governed in this business by *Reason of State*, than either by the *Word of God*, or the *Rules of Piety*, they had not stood so stiffly on an *Inhibition*, accompanied with so much *Scandal*, and known to be the only Cause of too much *Lewdness* and *Impurity* in the *Roman* Clergy. If they had looked upon the *Scriptures*, they would have found, that *Marriage* was a Remedy ordained by God, for the preventing of Incontinencies, and wandring Lusts, extending generally to *all*, as much to those in *Holy Orders*, as to any others; as being subject all alike to humane Infirmities. If they had ruled the Case by the proceedings of the Councel of *Nice*, or the Examples of many good, and Godly men in the Primitive Times; they would have found, that, when the single Life of Priests was moved at that great Councel, it was rejected by the general consent of all the Fathers there assembled, as a Yoke intollerable: that *Eupsychius*, a *Cappadocian* Prelate, was marryed after he had taken the Degree of a Bishop: the like observed of one *Phileus*, an *Egyptian* Prelate: and that it is affirmed by *Hierom*, That many Priests in his Time had their proper Wives. Had they consulted with the Stories of the middle Times, when Priests were forced to put away their Wives, by the Pope's Commandment, or else to lose the Benefices, which they were possessed of; they would have found what horrible Confusions did ensue upon it in all the Kingdoms of the *West*, what Tragical Exclamations were made against the Popes, for so great a tyranny. Or finally, If they had looked upon the scandalous effects, which this forced *Cœlibate* produced, they could not but have heard some News of *Pope Gregory*'s Fish-Pond: and must have been informed in their own *Panormitan*, that the greatest part of the Clergy were given over to prohibited Lusts; and by others of their Canonists, that Clerks were not to be deprived for their Incontinency: considering, how few there were to be found without it; so universal was the Mischief, that it was thought uncapable of any Remedy.

If we desire to be further informed in it, as a matter Doctrinal, we shall find many eminent men in the Church of *Rome*, to state the point in favour of a marryed Clergy. By *Gratian* it is said, That the Marriage of Priests is neither prohibited by the Law, or any precept in the *Gospel*, or any Canon of the Apostles. By Cardinal *Cajetan*, That it can neither be proved by Reason, nor good Authority, that a Priest committeth any sin by being marryed. By the same *Cajetan*, That Orders neither in themselves, nor as they are accompanied by the Title of *Holy*, are any Hinderances, or Obstructions in the Way of Marriage. By *Panormitan*, The *Cœlibate*, or the single Life of Priests, is neither of the Essence of Holy Orders, nor required by the Law of God. By *Antonius*, That there is nothing in the Episcopal Function, which can disable the Bishop from the marryed life. By the Author of the *Gloss* upon the *Decrees*, That the *Greek* Priests neither explicitely, nor implicitely, do bind themselves to chastity or a single life. By Pope *Pius* himself in the Councel of *Basil*, That many might be saved in a marryed Priesthood, which are in danger to be damned by living unmarryed. By *Durand*, That it would be profitable to the Church, if Marriage were allowed to Priests, from whom it hath been found a very vain thing to look for chastity. And finally by *Martinus*, (*) That it seemed fit to many good, and Godly men, that all Laws for compelling a single life should be wholly abrogated

(*) *Multis piis visum est, ut leges de Cœlibatu tollerentur propter Scandalum.*

rogated, for the avoiding of those Scandals, which ensued upon it. For all which passages, together with the words of the several Authors in the *Latine* Tongue, I shall refer the Reader to the Learned and Laborious Works of Bishop *Jewel*, in the Defence of his Challenge of Doctor *Harding*, cap. 8. 1, 3. And so I shut up this Discourse, and therewith the Defence of this Act of *Parliament*, with the most memorable Apophthegm of the said Pope *Pius*, viz. *That the Law had taken away Priests Wives, and the Devil had given them Concubines to supply their places.* *An. Reg.* 2. 1548.

Two other Acts were passed in this present *Parliament*, exceeding necessary for the preservation of the Churches patrimony, and the Retaining of good Order. The first was made for the Encouragement and Support of the Parochial Clergy, in the true payment of their Tithes, lately invaded by their Patrons, and otherwise in danger to be lost for ever, by the avaritiousness of the Parishioners, as before was said. For Remedy whereof, it was Enacted, *That no Person, or Persons, should from thenceforth take, or carry away, any Tithe, or Tithes, which had been received, or paid, within the space of fourty years next before the Date thereof, or of Right ought to have been paid, in the place, or places, tithable in the same, before he hath justly divided, or set forth for the Tithe thereof, the tenth part of the same, or otherwise agree, for the same Tithes, with the Parson, Vicar, or other Owner, Proprietary, or Farmer of the same, under the pain of Forfeiture of the treble Value of the Tithes, so taken, or carryed away.* To which a Clause was also added, enabling the said Parsons, Vicars, *&c.* to enter upon any man's Land, for the due setting out of his Tithes, and carrying away the same without Molestation; with other Clauses no less beneficial to the injured Clergy. And because the Revenue of the Clergy had been much diminished by the Loss of such Offerings, and Oblations, as had been accustomably made at the Shrines of Certain Images, now either defaced, or removed; it was thought meet, to make them some amends in another way. And thereupon it was Enacted, *That every Person exercising Merchandises, Bargaining, and Selling, Cloathing, Handy-Craft, and other Art, and Faculty, being such kind of Persons, and in such Places, as heretofore, within the space of forty years then before passed, have accustomably used to pay such Personal Tithes, or of right ought to pay. (other then such as the Common Day-Labourers shall yearly, at or before the Feast of* Easter,*) shall pay for his Personal Tithes, the tenth part of his clear Gains; his Charges, and Expences, according to his Estate, and Condition, or Degree, to be there allowed, abated and deducted*; with a *Proviso* for some Remedy to be had therein before the *Ordinary*, in the Case of Tergiversation, or Refusal. But the Power of the Bishops, and other Ordinaries, growing less and less; and little, or no execution, following in that behalf, this last Clause proved of little benefit to those, whom it most concerned: who, living for the most part in Market-towns, and having no Predial Tithes to trust to, are thereby in a far worse condition, than the Rural Clergy.

There also passed another Act, for abstinence from Flesh upon all such days as had been formerly taken, & reputed for fasting-days. By which it was enjoyn'd; That for the better subduing of the body to the soul, and the Flesh to the Spirit, as also for the preservation of the breed of Cattel, the Encouragement of Mariners, & increase of Shipping; all manner of persons should abstain from eating Flesh, upon the days there named; that is to say, all *Frydays* and *Saturdays* in the year, the Time of *Lent*, the *Ember-Days*, the *Eves*, or *Vigils*, of such Saints, as had been anciently used for Fasts by the Rules of the Church. An act, or Ordinance, very seasonable, as the case then stood, the better to beat down the neglect of all Days and Times of publick Fastings: which Doctor *Glasier* had cryed up, and his Followers had pursued in contempt of Law. And here I should have closed this year, but that I am to remove some Errors about the Time of Doctor *Farra's* Consecration to the See of Saint *David's*; put off by Bishop *Godwin* to the following year 1549. and ante-Dated by the *Acts and Mon-*

An. Reg. 2. 1548. *Monuments* to the fifth day of *December*, in the year fore-going, *An.* 1547. But by neither rightly. For first, I find on good Record, that *Knight* departed not this life till *Michaelmas*-Day, *An.* 1547. At what time, and for some time after, Doctor *Barlow*, who succeeded *Knight*, was actually Bishop of St. *David's*; & therefore *Farrars* could not be Consecrated to that See some weeks before. I find again in a very good Author, that Doctor *Farrar* was the first Bishop made by Letters Patents, without Capitular Election: which could not be till after the end of the last years *Parliament*; because till then the King pretended not to any such Power of making Bishops. And Thirdly, if Bishop *Barlow* had not been Translated to the See of *Wells*, till the year 1549. as Bishop *Godwin* saith he was not; it must be *Barlow*, and not *Farrars*, who first enjoyed the benefit of such Letters Patents: because *Barlow* must first be removed to *Wells*, before the Church of St. *David's* was made void for *Farrars*. So that the Consecration of *Farrars*, to the See of St. *David's*, being placed by the *Canons* of that Church, (in an Information made against him) on the fifth of *September*; it must be on the fifth day of *September*, in this present year: and neither in the year 1547. as the *Acts* and *Monuments* make it; nor in the year 1549. as in Bishop *Godwin*.

Anno Regni Edw. Sexti 3. *An. Dom.* 1548, 1549.

An. Reg. 3. 1548, 1549. THere remains yet one Act of this *Parliament*, which we have not spoke of; but of a different nature from all the rest: I mean the Act for the Attainder of the Lord *Thomas Seimour*; whose Tragedy came on but now, though the Ground thereof was laid in the former year. The occasion, much like that of the two great Ladies in the *Roman* Story. Concerning whom it is related by *Herodian*: that, when the Emperour *Commodus* was unmarryed, he permitted his Sister *Lucilla*, whom he had bestowed on *Pompeianus*, a Right Noble Senator, to have a Throne erected for Her on the publick Theater; Fire to be born before Her when she walked abroad; and to enjoy all other priviledges of a prince's Wife. But when *Commodus* had Married *Crispina*, a Lady of as great a Spirit, though of lower Birth; *Lucilla* was to lose her place, and to grow less in Reputation, then before she was. This so tormented her proud heart, when she perceived that nothing could be gained by disputing the point: that she never left practicing one mischief on the neck of another, till she had endangered the young Emperour's life; but utterly destroyed her self, and all those friends, whom she had raised to advance her Interest. Which Tragedy (the Names of the Actors being only changed) was now again played over in the Court of *England*.

Thomas Lord *Seimour*, being a man of lofty Aims, and aspiring Thoughts, had Married Queen *Katharine Parr*, the Relict of the King deceased; who looking on him as the Brother of the Lord *Protector*, and being looked on as Queen *Dowager* in the eye of the Court, did not conceive, that any Lady could be so forgetful of her former Dignity, as to contend about the place. But therein she found her self deceived: for the *Protectour's* Wife, a Woman of most infinite Pride, and of a Nature so imperious, as to know no rule but her own Will; would needs conceive her self to be the better Woman of the two. For if the one were widow to the King deceased; the other thought her self to stand on the higher ground, in having all advantages of Power above her.

anne Stanhope Her Speeches

For what said She within Her self; *Am not I Wife to the* Protectour, *who is King in* Power, *though not in* Title; *a* Duke *in Order and Degree*; *Lord* Treasurer, *and* Earl Marshal, *and what else he pleaseth*; *and one, who hath Ennobled His*

His highest Honours by his late great Victory? And did not Henry, *Marry,* Katharine Parr *in His doting Days: when he had brought himself to such a Condition by His Lusts, and Cruelty; that no Lady, who stood upon Her Honour, would adventure on Him? Do not all Knees bow before Me, and all Tongues celebrate My Praises, and all Hands pay the Tribute of Obedience to Me, and all Eyes look upon Me, as the first in State; through whose Hand the Principal Offices in the Court, and chief Preferments in the Church, are observed to pass? Have I so long Commanded him, who Commands two Kingdoms? And shall I now give place to Her; who, in her former best Estate, was but* Latimer's *Widow, and is now fain to cast Her self, for Support and Countenance, into the despised Bed of a younger Brother? If Mr.* Admiral *teach his Wife no better Manners; I am She, that will: and will choose rather to remove them both, (whether out of the Court, or out of the World; shall be no great matter) than be out-shined in my own Sphere, and trampled on within the Verge of my Jurisdiction.* *An. Reg.* 2. 154

In this Impatiency of Spirit, she rubs into the Head of the Duke her Husband (over whom she had obtained an absolute Mastery) How much he was despised by the Lord *Admiral* for his Mildness and Lenity: What secret practices were on foot, in the Court, and Kingdom, to bring him out of Credit with all sorts of people. What store of Emissaries were imployed to cry up the Lord *Admiral*, as the Abler man: and finally, that, if he did not look betimes about him, he would be forthwith dispossessed of his place and power; and see the same conferred on one of his own preferring. This first begat a diffidence in the Duke of his Brother's purposes; which afterwards improved it self to an estranging of affection, and at last into an open breach. But before matters could proceed to the last Extremity, the Queen died in Child-birth, (which happened *September* last, 1648.) being delivered of a Daughter; who afterwards was Christened by the name of *Mary*. A Lady of a mild and obliging Nature, honoured by all the Court for her even behaviour, and one, who in this quarrel had been meerly passive; rather maintaining what she had, than seeking to invade the place, which belonged not to her.

And here the breach might have been closed, if the Admiral had not ran himself into further Dangers, by practicing to gain the good Affections of the Princess *Elizabeth*. He was (it seems) a man of a strange Ambition in the choice of Wives, and could not level his Affections lower, than the Bed of a Princess. For an Essay whereof he first addressed himself to the Lady *Mary*, Dutchess of *Richmond* and *Sommerset*, Daughter of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, and Widow of Duke *Henry* before mentioned, the King's Natural Brother. But, she being of too high a Spirit to descend so low, he next applyed himself to the Widow-Queen: whom he beheld, as double Jointured, one, who had filled her Coffers in the late King's Time; and had been gratified with a Legacy of four thousand pounds in Plate, Jewels, and Money: which he had Means enough to compass; though all other Debts and Legacies should remain unpaid. And on the other side She looked on him, as one of the Peers of the Realm, Lord *Admiral* by Office, Uncle to the King, and Brother to the Lord *Protectour*, with whom she might enjoy all Content and Happiness, which a vertuous Lady could desire. And that they might appear in the greater Splendour, he took into his hands the Episcopal House, belonging to the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*: which, being by him much Enlarged, and Beautiful, came afterwards to the possession of the Earls of *Arundel*, best known of late Times, by the name of *Arundel-House*. And so far all things went on smoothly betwixt him and his Brother; though afterwards there were some distrust between them: but this last practice gave such an hot *Alarum* to the Dutchess of *Sommerset*; that nothing could content her, but his absolute Ruin. For what hope could she have of Disputing the Precedence with any of King *Henry*'s Daughters; who, if they were not married out of the Realm, might

Create

An. Reg. 2. 1548 Create many troubles, and disturbances in it? nor was the Lord *Protector* so insensible of his own condition, as not to fear the utmost danger; which the effecting of so great an enterprise might bring upon him: so that the Rupture which before had began to close, became more open than before, made wider by the artifices of the *Earl of Warwick*; who, secretly playing with both hands, exasperated each of them against the other, that so he might be able to destroy them both.

The plot being so far carried on, the *Admiral* was committed to the *Tower*, on the sixteenth of *January*, but never called unto his Answer, it being thought safer to attaint him by *Act of Parliament*, where Power and Faction might prevail, then put him over to his *Peers* in a Legal way. And, if he were guilty of the Crimes, which I find charged upon him in the *Bill of Attainder*, he could not, but deserve as great a punishment, as was laid upon him. For, in that *Act*, he stands condemned, for *Attempting to get into his Custody the person of the King, and the Government of the Realm: for obtaining many Offices, retaining many Men into his Service, for making great provision for Money, and Victuals: for endeavouring to marry the Lady* Elizabeth *the King's Sister, and for perswading the King, in His Tender Age, to take upon Him the Rule, and Order, of Himself.* But *Parliaments* being governed by a fallible spirit, the business still remaineth under such a cloud: that he may seem rather to have fallen a Sacrifice to the private malice of a Woman; then the publick justice of the State. For, the *Bill of Attainder* passing at the End of the Parliament, which was on the fourteenth day of *March*, he was beheaded at *Tower-Hill*, on the sixth day after, (the Warrant for his Execution coming under the hand of his own Brother,) at what time he took it on his Death: That, *he had never committed, or meant any Treason against King or Kingdom.* Thus, as it is affirmed of the Emperour *Valentinian*; that, by causing the right Noble *Ætius* to be put to Death, he had cut off his Right Hand with his Left: so might it be affirmed of the Lord *Protector*; that, when he signed that unhappy Warrant, he had with his Right Hand robbed himself of his greatest Strength. For as long as the two Brothers stood together, they were good support unto one another: but now, the one being taken away, the other proved not substantive enough to stand by himself, but fell into his Enemies hands within few Months after. Comparing them together, we may find the *Admiral* to be Fierce in Courage, Courtly in Fashion, in Personage Stately, in Voice Magnificent; the *Duke* to be Mild, Affable, Free, and Open, more easie to be wrought upon, and no way Malicious: the *Admiral* generally more esteemed amongst the Nobles; the *Duke* Honored by the Common people: the Lord *Protector*, to be more desired for a Friend; the Lord *Admiral*, to be more feared for an Enemy. Betwixt them both, they might have made one excellent man; if, the Defects of each being taken away, the Virtues only had remained.

The *Protector*, having thus thrown away the chief Prop of his House, hopes to repair that Ruin, by erecting a Magnificent Palace. He had been bought out of his purpose for building on the *Deanery* and *Close* of *Westminster*, and casts his Eye upon a piece of Ground in the *Strand*; on which stood three Episcopal Houses, and one Parish-Church: the Parish-Church Dedicated to the *Virgin Mary*; the Houses belonging to the Bishops of *Worcester*, *Lichfield*, and *Landaff*. All these he takes into his Hands; the Owners not daring to oppose, and therefore willingly consenting to it. Having cleared the place, and projected the intended Fabrick, the Workmen found, that more Materials would be wanting to go thorough with it, then the Demolished Church and Houses could afford unto them. He thereupon resolves for taking down the Parish-Church of Saint *Margarets* in *Westminster*, and turning the Parishioners, for the celebrating of all *Divine Offices*, into some part of the *Nave*, or main Body of the *Abby*-Church, which would be marked out for that purpose. But the Workmen had no sooner advanced their Scaffolds; when the Parishioners gathered together in great Multitudes, with Bows, and Arrows, Staves, and Clubs, and other such

ſuch offenſive Weapons; which ſo terrified the Workmen, that they ran away in great Amazement, and never could be brought again upon that Imployment. *An. Reg.* 3. 1549.

In the next place, he is informed of ſome ſuperfluous, or rather ſuperſtitious Buildings on the North-ſide of Saint *Paul's*, that is to ſay, a goodly *Cloyſter*, environing a goodly piece of Ground, called *Pardon-Church-Yard*, with a *Chappel* in the midſt thereof, and beautified with a piece of moſt curious Workmanſhip, called the *Dance of Death*, together with a fair *Charnel-Houſe*, on the South-ſide of the Church, and a Chappel thereunto belonging. This was conceived to be the ſafer undertaking, the Biſhop then ſtanding on his good behaviour, and the Dean and Chapter of that Church, (as of all the reſt) being no better in a manner by reaſon of the Act of Parliament) then *Tenant at Will* of their great Landlords. And upon this he ſets his Workmen, on the tenth of *April*: takes it all down, converts the Stone, Timber, Lead and Iron, to the uſe of his intended Palace, and leaves the Bones of the dead bodies to be buryed in the fields in unhallowed ground. But, all this not ſufficing to compleat the Work, the ſteeple, and moſt parts of the Church of Saint *John's* of *Jeruſalem*, not far from *Smithfield*, moſt beautifully built not long before by *Dockwray*, a late *Priour* thereof, was blown up with *Gunpowder*; and all the ſtone thereof imployed, to that purpoſe alſo. Such was the Ground, and ſuch were the Materials of the *Duke's* New Palace, called *Sommerſet-Houſe*: which either he lived not to finiſh, or elſe it muſt be very ſtrange; that having pulled down two Churches, two Chappels, and three Epiſcopal Houſes, (each of which may be probably ſuppoſed, to have had their *Oratories*) to find Materials for this Fabrick, there ſhould be no room purpoſely erected for Religious Offices.

According unto this beginning, all the year proceeds; in which there was nothing to be found; but Troubles, and Commotions, and Diſquiets, both in Church and State. For about this Time there ſtarted up a ſort of men, who either gave themſelves, or had given by others, the Name of *Goſpellers*: of whom Biſhop *Hooper* tells us, in the *Preface* to his Expoſition on the *Ten Commandments*; That, *They be better Learned than the Holy Ghoſt: for they wickedly attribute the Cauſe of Puniſhment, and Adverſity to God's Providence, which is the Cauſe of no Ill, as he himſelf can do no ill; and of every Miſchief that is done, they ſay it is God's Will.* And at the ſame time, the *Anabaptiſts*, who had kept themſelves unto themſelves in the late King's Time, began to look abroad, and diſperſe their Dotages. For the preventing of which Miſchief, before it grew unto a Head, ſome of the Chiefs of them were convented, on the ſecond of *April*, in the Church of Saint *Paul*, before the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*, Doctor *Cox*, *Almoner* to the King, Doctor *May*, Dean of that Church, Doctor *Cole*, Dean of the *Arches*, and one Doctor *Smith*, afterwards better known by the Name of Sir *Thomas Smith*. And, being convicted of their Errours, ſome of them were diſmiſſed only with an Admonition, ſome ſentenced to a Recantation, and others condemned to bear their Faggots at St. *Paul's Croſs*. Amongſt which laſt, I find one *Campneys*: who, being ſuſpected to incline too much to their Opinions, was condemned to the bearing of a Faggot, on the *Sunday* following, (being the next *Sunday* after *Eaſter*,) Doctor *Miles Coverdale*, who afterwards was made Biſhop of *Exeter*, then preaching the Rehearſal Sermon; which puniſhment ſo wrought upon him, that he relinquiſhed all his former Errors, & entred into *Holy Orders*, flying the Kingdom for the better keeping of a good conſcience in the Time of Queen *Mary*, and coming back again with the other Exiles, after Her Deceaſe. At what time he publiſhed, a Diſcourſe, in the way of a Letter, againſt the *Goſpellers* above mentioned. In which he proves them to have laid the blame of all ſins, and wickedneſs, upon God's divine Decree of *Predeſtination*, by which men were compelled unto it. His Diſcourſe anſwered not long after by *John Veron*, one of the Prebends of Saint *Paul's*, and *Robert Cromley*, Parſons of Saint *Giles's* near *Cripple-*

An. Reg. 3. 1549. *gate*; but answered with scurrility and Reproach enough, according to the Humour of the *Predestinarians*.

And now the Time draws on for putting the *New Liturgy* in Execution, framed with such Judgment out of the Common principles of *Religion*, wherein all parties do agree, that even the Catholicks might have resorted to the same without scruple, or scandal; if Faction more then Reason did not sway amongst them. At *Easter*, some began to officiate by it, followed by others as soon as Books could be provided. But on *Whitsunday*, being the day appointed by *Act* of *Parliament*, it was solemnly executed in the Cathedral Church of Saint *Paul*, by the Command of Doctor *May*, for an example unto all the rest of the Churches in *London*: and consequently of all the Kingdom. In most parts whereof, there was at the first a greater forwardness than could be rationally expected; the Learned men amongst the *Papists* conforming to it, because they found it differed little, in the main (no not so much as in the Canon of the Mass) from the *Latine Service*. And the unlearned had good reason to be pleased therewith, in regard that all Divine Offices were Celebrated in a Tongue which they understood, whereby they had means and opportunity to become acquainted with the chief Mysteries of their Religion, which had been before kept secret from them. But then withall; many of those, both Priests and Bishops, who openly had Officiated by it, to avoid the penalty of the Law, did Celebrate their private *Masses* in such secret places, wherein it was not easie to discover their doings. More confidently carryed in the Church of St. *Paul*: in many Chappels whereof, by the Bishop's sufferance, the former Masses were kept up; that is to say, *Our Ladies Mass*, the *Apostles Mass*, &c. performed in *Latine*, but Disguised by the *English* names of the *Apostles Communion*, and *Our Ladies Communion*. Which coming to the knowledge of the Lords of the Council, they addressed their Letters unto *Bonner*: Dated the twenty fourth of *June*; and Subscribed by the Lord *Protectour*, the Lord Chancellour *Rich*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Lord St. *John*, Chief Justice *Monntague*, and Mr. *Cecil*, made not long after one of the Secretaries of State. Now the Tenour of the said Letters was as followeth.

> *After Hearty Commendations; having very credible notice, that within that your Cathedral Church, there be as yet the* Apostles Mass, *and Our* Ladies Mass, *and other Masses of such peculiar name, under the defence and nomination of Our* Ladies Communion, *and the* Apostles Communion, *used in private Chappels, and other remote places of the same, and not in the Chancel, contrary to the King's Majesties Proceedings: the same being for that misuse displeasing unto God; for the place,* Pauls, *in example not tolerable; for the fondness of the name, a scorn to the Reverence of the Communion of Christ's Body and Blood: We, for the Augmentation of God's Glory, and Honour, and the Consonance of His Majestie's Laws, and the avoiding of Murmur, have thought good, to will and Command you, that from henceforth no such Masses in this manner be in your Church any longer used; but that the Holy Blessed Communion, according to the* Act of Parliament, *be Administred at the High* Altar *of the Church, and in no other places of the same; and only at such time as your* High Masses *were wont to be used: except some number of people desire (for their necessary business) to have a Communion in the Morning, and yet the same to be executed at the Chancel on the High Altar; as it is appointed in the Book of the Publick Service; without Cautele, or Digression from the Common Order. And herein you shall not only satisfie Our Expectation of your conformity in all Lawful things; but also avoid the murmur of sundry, that be therewith justly offended. And so We bid your Lordship farewell,* &c.

These Commands being brought to *Bonner*, he commits the Execution of them to the *Dean* and *Chapter*; not willing to engage himself too far upon either

ther ſide, till he had ſeen the Iſſue of ſuch commotions, as were then raiſed in many parts of the Kingdom on another occaſion. Some Lords and Gentlemen, who were poſſeſſed of Abbey-Lands, had cauſed many incloſures to be made of the waſte Grounds in their ſeveral Mannours; which they conceived to be (as indeed it was) a great advantage to themſelves, and no leſs profitable to the Kingdom. Only ſome poor and indigent people were offended at it, in being thereby abridged of ſome liberty, which before they had in raiſing to themſelves ſome inconſiderable profit from the Grounds encloſed. The Lord *Protector* had then loſt himſelf in the love of the Vulgar, by his ſevere, if not unnatural proceedings againſt his Brother; and ſomewhat muſt be done for his reſtoring to their good opinions, though to the prejudice of the publick. Upon this ground he cauſed a Proclamation to be publiſhed in the beginning of *May*, commanding, that they who had incloſed any Lands, accuſtomed to be common, ſhould upon a certain pain, before a day ſigned, lay them open again. Which ſo encouraged the rude Commons, in many parts of the Realm, that without Expecting the time limited by the Proclamation, they gathered together in a riotous, and tumultuous manner; pulled up the Pales, flung down the Banks, and filled the Ditches, laying all open as before. For which, ſome of them had been ſet upon, and ſlain in *Wiltſhire*, by Sir *William Herbert*; others ſuppreſſed by force of Arms, conducted by the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, as were thoſe in *Oxfordſhire*; and ſome again reduced to more moderate, and ſober courſes, by the perſwaſion of the Lords and Gentlemen; as in *Kent*, and *Suſſex*. But the moſt dangerous commotions, which held ſo long, as to entitle them to the name of Rebellions, were thoſe of *Devonſhire*, and *Norfolk*; places remote from one another, but ſuch as ſeemed to have communicated Counſels, for carrying on of the deſign. *An. Reg.* 3. 1549.

The firſt of theſe in courſe of time, was that of *Devonſhire*, began (as thoſe in other places) under pretence of throwing open the encloſures, but ſhortly found to have been chiefly raiſed, in maintenance of their old Religion. On *Whitſon*-Munday, *June* the tenth, being next day after the firſt exerciſing of the publick *Liturgy*. Some few of the Pariſhioners of *Samford Courtney*, compelled their Pariſh-Prieſt, who is ſuppoſed to have invited them to that compulſion, to let them have the *Latine Maſs*, as in former times. Theſe being ſeconded by ſome others; and finding that many of the better ſort were more like to engage in this quarrel, then in the other; prevailed with thoſe which before had declared only againſt Incloſures, to pretend Religion for the cauſe of their coming together. And that being done, they were firſt Headed by *Humphrey Arundel* Eſquire, Commander of St. *Michaels Mount*, and ſome other Gentlemen, which ſo increaſed the Reputation of the cauſe, that in ſhort time they had made up a body of ten thouſand men. Of this Commotion, there was but little notice taken at the firſt beginning, when it might eaſily have been cruſhed; the Lord *Protector* not being very forward to ſuppreſs thoſe Riſings, which ſeemed to have been made by ſome incouragement from his Proclamations. In which Reſpect, and that his good fortune now began to fail him, when the miſchief did appear with a face of danger, and could not otherwiſe be redreſſed but by force of Arms; inſtead of putting himſelf into the Head of an Army, the Lord *Ruſſel* is ſent down with ſome ſlender Forces, to give a ſtop to their proceedings. But whether it were, that he had any ſecret Inſtructions to drill on the time, or that he had more of the States-Man, than the Souldier in him; or that he had not ſtrength enough to encounter the Enemy, he kept himſelf aloof, as if he had been ſent to look on, at a diſtance, without approaching near the danger.

The Rebels in the mean time increaſing as much in confidence, as they did in numbers; ſent their Demands unto the King. Amongſt which, one more ſpecially concerned the *Liturgy*, which therefore I have ſingled out of all the reſt, with the King's Anſwer thereunto, in the words that follow. It was demanded

An. Reg. 3. 1549.

by the Rebels; *That, for as much as we conſtantly believe, that after the* Prieſt *hath ſpoken the words of Conſecration, being at* Maſs *there Celebrating, and Conſecrating the ſame; there is very really the Body and Blood of our Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt, *God and Man; and that no ſubſtance of Bread and Wine remaineth after, but the very ſelf-ſame Body, that was born of the* Virgin Mary, *and was given upon the* Croſs *for our Redemption: therefore we will have* Maſs Celebrated as it was in Times paſt, *without any man communicating with the* Prieſts; *for as much as many, preſuming unworthily to receive the ſame, put no difference between the* Lord's Body, *and other kind of meat; ſome ſaying, that it is Bread both before and after; ſome ſaying, that it is profitable to no man, except he receive it, with many other abuſed Terms.*

To which Demand of theirs the King thus Anſwered; *viz. That for the* Maſs, *I aſſure you, no ſmall ſtudy, nor travail hath been ſpent, by all the Learned* Clergy *therein, and, to avoid all contention,* it is brought even to the very uſe as *Chriſt* left it, as the *Apoſtles* uſed it, as the holy *Fathers* delivered it; *indeed ſomewhat altered from that, to which the* Popes *of* Rome, *for their Lucre, had brought it. And, although* (ſaith He) *ye may hear the contrary from ſome Popiſh evil men, yet Our Majeſty, which for Our Honour may not be blemiſhed and ſtained, aſſureth you, that they deceive, abuſe you, and blow theſe Opinions into your heads, to finiſh their own purpoſe.*

But this Anſwer giving no content, they Marched with all their Forces to the Siege of *Exeter*; carrying before them in their March (as the *Jews* did the *Ark* of God, in the Times of old) the *Pix*, or *Conſecrated Hoſt*, born under a Canopy, with *Croſſes*, *Banners*, *Candleſticks*, *Holy-Bread*, and *Holy-Water*, &c. But the Walls of *Exeter* fell not down before this *Falſe Ark*; as *Dagon* did before the *True*. For the Citizens were no leſs gallantly reſolved to make good the Town; then the Rebels were deſperately bent to force it. To which Reſolution of the Citizens, the natural defences of the City (being round in form, ſcituate on a riſing hill, and enyironed with a good old wall,) gave not more Encouragement: then ſome inſolent ſpeeches of the Rebels; boaſting, that they would ſhortly meaſure the Silks, and Sattens therein, by the length of their Bows. For forty days the Siege continued, and was then ſeaſonably raiſed; the Rebels not being able to take it ſooner, for want of Ordnance: and the Citizens not able to have held it longer, for want of Victuals; if they had not been ſuccoured, when they were. One fortunate Skirmiſh the Lord *Ruſſel* had with the daring Rebels about the paſſing of a Bridge, at which he ſlew ſix hundred of them: which gave the Citizens the more Courage to hold it out. But the coming of the Lord *Gray*, with ſome Companies of *Almain*-Horſe, ſeconded by three hundred *Italian*-ſhot under the Command of *Baptiſta Spinoli*, put an end to the Buſineſs. For, joyning with the Lord *Ruſſel*'s Forces, they gave ſuch a ſtrong Charge upon the Enemy: that they firſt beat them out of their Works; and then compelled them, with great ſlaughter, to raiſe their Siege. Bleſſed with the like Succeſs in ſome follow Fights, the Lord *Ruſſel* entreth the City on the ſixth of *Auguſt*; where he was joyfully received by the half-ſtarved Citizens: whoſe Loyalty the King rewarded with an encreaſe of their Privileges; and giving to their Corporation the Manour of *Eviland*. The ſixth of *Auguſt*, ſince that Time, is obſerved amongſt them for an Annual Feaſt, in perpetual Gratitude to Almighty God, for their Deliverance from the Rebels; with far more Reaſon, then many ſuch Annual Feaſts have been lately Inſtituted in ſome Towns, and Cities, for not being gained unto their King. But, though the Sword of *War* was ſheathed, there remained work enough for the Sword of *Juſtice*; in Executing many of the Rebels, for a Terrour to others. *Arundel*, and the reſt of the Chiefs, were ſent to *London*, there to receive the recompenſe of their Deſerts; moſt of the Raskal Rabble Executed by *Martial Law*; and the *Vicar* of St. *Thomas*, one of the Principal Incendiaries, hanged on the Top of his own Tower, apparalled in his *Popiſh Weeds*, with his *Beads* at his Girdle.

The

The *Norfolk* Rebels brake not out, till the twentieth of *June*; beginning first at a place called *Ail-borough*: but not considerable, either for Strength, or Number, till the sixth of *July*; when mightily encreased by *Ket*, a *Tanner* of *Windham*: who took unto himself the conducting of them. These men pretended only against *Enclosures*: and, if *Religion* was at all regarded by them, it was rather kept for a *Reserve*; then suffered to appear in the *Front* of the Battail. But, when their Numbers were so vastly multiplyed, as to amount to twenty thousand; nothing would serve them, but the suppression of the *Gentry*, the placing of *New Councellours* about the King, and somewhat also to be done in favour of the *Old Religion*. Concerning which they thus Remonstrate to the King, or the people rather; First, *viz. That the Free-born Commonalty was oppressed by a small Number of Gentry: who glutted themselves with Pleasure; whilest the poor Commons, wasted with daily Labour, did, like Pack-Horses, live in extream Slavery.* Secondly, *That* Holy Rites, *Established by Antiquity, were abolished, New ones Authorised, and a New Form of Religion obtruded; to the subjecting of their Souls to those Horrid Pains, which no Death could terminate. And therefore,* Thirdly, *That it was necessary for them, to go, in person, to the King, to place new Councellours about him, during his Minority; removing those, who, ruling as they list, confounded things Sacred and Profane, and regarded nothing, but the enriching of themselves with the Publick Treasure, that they might Riot it amidst these Publick Calamities.* *An. Reg.* 3. 1549.

Finding no satisfactory Answer to these proud Demands, they March directly towards *Norwich*; and possess themselves of *Mousehold-Hill*: which gave them not only a large Prospect over: but a full Command upon that City: which they entred, and re-entered as they pleased. For what could a weak City do in Opposition to so Great a Multitude: being neither strong by Art, nor Nature; and therefore not in a capacity to make any Resistance. Under a large Oak, on the top of this Hill, (since called *The Oak of Reformation*) *Ket* keeps his Courts, of *Chancery*, *King's Bench*, &c. forcing the neighbouring Gentry to submit to his lawless Ordinances; & committing many huge enormities, under pretense of rectifying some Abuses. The King sends out his Gracious pardon; which the proud Rebels entertain with Contempt, and Scorn. Whereupon it was resolved; that the *Marquess* of *Northampton* should be sent against them, accompanied with the Lords *Sheffield*, and *Wentworth*, and divers Gentlemen of Note, assisted by a Band of *Italians* (under the Command of *Mala-testa*, an Experienced Souldier.) The *Marquess* was an excellent Courtier; but one more skilled in Leading a *Measure*, then a *March*: so that being beaten out of *Norwich* (into which he had peaceably been admitted) with lose of some Persons of principal Quality, and the firing of a great part of the City, he returns ingloriously to *London*.

Yet all this while, the Lord *Protectour* was so far from putting himself upon the Action, that he suffered his most dangerous Enemy, the Earl of *Warwick*, to go against them, with such Forces, as had been purposely provided for the War of *Scotland*. Who, finding the City open for him, entertained the Rebels with divers skirmishes; in most of which he had the better: which put them to a Resolution of forsaking the *Hill*, and trying their Fortune in a Battail, in a place called *Dussing-dale*, where they maintained a bloudy Fight. But, at the last, were broken by the *Earl's* good conduct, and the valiant loyalty of his Forces. Two thousand of the rebels are reported to have been slain in the fight and Chase, the residue of them scattered over all the Country, the principals of them taken, and deservedly Executed: *Robert Ket* hanged on *Norwich*-Castle; *William*, his Brother, on the top of *Windham*-Steeple; nine of his chief Pollwers on as many Boughs of the Oak, where *Ket* held his Courts. Which great deliverance was celebrated in that City by a pubick Thanksgiving on the twenty seventh of *August*: and hath been since perpetuated Annually on that day, to these present Times. The like Rising happened about this time in *York-shire*, began by *Dale*, and

An. Reg. 3. 1549. and *Ombler* two seditious persons, and with them it ended, for being taken in a Skirmish, before their number had amounted to three thousand men, they were brought to *York*, where they were executed, with some others, on the twenty first of *September*, then next following.

The breaking out of these Rebellions, but most especially that of *Devonshire*, quickned the Lords of the Council to a sharper course, against all those whom they suspected not to favour the King's proceedings, nor to advance the Execution of the publick *Liturgy*, amongst whom, none was more distrusted than *Bonner* of *London*, concerning whom it was informed, that by his negligence, not only many people within his Diocess, were very forgetful of their Duty to God, in frequenting the Divine Service, then by Law established, but divers others utterly despising the same, did in secret places often frequent the Popish Mass. For this he is Commanded to attend the Lords of the Council on the eleventh of *August*, by whom he was informed of such Complaints as were made against him, and so dismissed with certain private Injunctions to be observed by him for the time to come. And for a further trial to be made of his zeal and loyalty (if it were not rather for a snare to entrap him in) he was Commanded to preach against the Rebels, at Saint *Paul's* Cross, on the first of *September*, and there to shew the unlawfulness of taking Arms on pretence of Religion. But on the contrary, he not only touched not upon any thing which was enjoyned him by Council, but spent the most part of his Sermon in maintenance of the Gross, Carnal, and Papistical presence of Christs Body and Bloud, in the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar. Complaints whereof, being made by *William Latimer*, Parson of St. *Laurence Poultney*, and *John Hooper*, sometimes a *Cister'ian* Monk; a Commission is issued out to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Rochester* and *Peterborough*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, and Doctor *May*, before whom he was convented at *Lambeth*, on the tenth of the Month, where after many shifts on his part, and much patience on theirs, he is taken *pro confesso*, on the twenty third, and in the beginning of *October* deprived of his Bishoprick. To whom succeeded Doctor *Nicholas Ridley*, Bishop of *Rochester*, a Learned, Stout, and Resolute Prelate, as by the sequel will appear: not actually translated till the twelfth of *April*, in the year next following, and added not long after to the Lords of the Council.

The necessary Execution of so many Rebels, and this seasonable Severity against Bishop *Bonner*, did much facilitate the King's proceedings in the Reformation. As certainly the Opposition to Authority when it is suppressed, both makes the Subject, and the Prince more absolute. Howsoever to make sure Work of it, there passed an act of Parliament in the following Session, (which also took beginning on the fourth of *November*) for taking down such Images, as were still remaining in the Churches; as also for the bringing in of all *Antiphonaries, Missalls, Breviaries, Offices, Horaries, Primers, and Processionals*, with other Books of false and Superstitious Worship. The Tenour of which Act was signified to the Subject by the King's Proclamations, and seconded by the Missives of Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, to the Suffragan Bishops, requiring them to see it put in execution with all Care and Diligence. Which so secured the Church on that side, that there was no further Opposition against the Liturgy by the *Romish* party, during the rest of this King's Reign. For what can any workman do when he wants his Tools, or how could they advance the service of the Church of *Rome*, when the Books by which they should officiate it, were thus taken from them.

But then there started up another Faction, as dangerous to the Church, as opposite to the publick *Liturgy*, and as destructive of the Rules of the Reformation, then by Law established, as were those of *Rome*. The Arch-Bishop and the rest of the Prelates, which co-operated with him in the Work, having so far proceeded in abolishing many superstitions, which before were used, resolved

ſolved in the next place to go forwards with a Reformation in a point of Doctrine. In Order whereunto *Melanthon*'s coming was expected the year before, but he came not then. And therefore Letters were directed by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* to *Martin Bucer*, and *Peter Martyr*, two Great and Eminent Divines, but more addicted to the *Zuinglian*, than the *Lutheran* Doctrines, in the point of the Sacrament. *Martyr* accordingly came over in the end of *November*, and, having ſpent time with the Arch-Biſhop in his Houſe at *Lambeth*, was diſpatched to *Oxford*, where he was made the King's Profeſſor for Divinity, and about two years after made Canon of *Chriſt-Church*. In his firſt Lectures he is ſaid by *Sanders* (if he may be credited) to have declared himſelf ſo much a *Zuinglian* in that point, as to give great offence to *Cranmer*, and the reſt of the Biſhops; but afterwards, upon notice of it, to have been more moderate, and to conform his judgment to the ſenſe of thoſe learned Prelates: which whether it be true or not, certain it is, that his Readings were ſo much diſliked by ſome of that Univerſity, that a publick Diſputation was ſhortly had, betwixt him, and ſome of thoſe who diſliked his doings: in which he publickly maintained theſe two Propoſitions: 1. *That the Subſtance of the Bread and Wine was not changed*; and 2. *That the Body and Bloud of Chriſt was not Carnally and Bodily in the Bread and Wine; but united to the ſame Sacramentally.* And for the better Governing of the Diſputation, it was appointed by the King, that Doctor *Cox*, Chancellour of that Univerſity, aſſiſted by one Mr. *Morriſon*, a right Learned man, ſhould preſide as Judges, or Moderatours, as we call them; by whom it was declared in the open Schools, that *Martyr* had the upper hand, and had ſufficiently anſwered all Arguments, which were brought againſt him. But *Chadſey* the chief of the Opponents, and the reſt of thoſe who diſputed with him, acknowledged no ſuch ſatisfaction to be given unto them; their party noiſing it abroad (according to the Fate of ſuch Diſputations) that they had the Victory. *An. Reg.* 3. 1549.

But *Bucer* not coming over at the ſame time alſo, he was more earneſtly invited by *Pet. Alexander*, the Arch-biſhop's Secretary, whoſe Letters bear date *March* 24. which ſo prevailed with him at the laſt, that in *June* we find him here at *Canterbury*, from whence he writes to *Peter Martyr*, who was then at *Oxford*. And being here, he receives Letters from *Calvin*, by which he was adviſed to take heed of his old fault (for a fault he thought it) which was to run a (*) moderate courſe in his Reformations. The firſt thing that he did at his coming hither (as he ſaith himſelf) was to make himſelf acquainted with the *Engliſh Liturgy*; tranſlated for him into *Latine*, by *Alexander Aleſius*, a Learned *Scot*, and generally well approved of by him, as to the main frame, and Body of it, though not well ſatisfied perhaps in ſome of the particular branches. Of this he gives account to *Calvin*, & deſires ſome letters from him to the Lord *Protector* (with whom *Calvin* had already began to tamper) that he might find the greater favour, when he came before him, which was not till the Tumults of the time were compoſed and quieted. Having received a courteous entertainment from the Lord *Protector*, and being right heartily welcomed by Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*, he is ſent to take the Chair at *Cambridge*. Where his firſt Readings gave no ſuch diſtaſt to the Learned Academicks, as to put him to the neceſſity of challenging the Diſſentients to a Diſputation: though in the Ordinary Form, a Diſputation was there held at his firſt coming thither, concerning the Sufficiency of Holy Scripture, the Fallibility of the Church, and the true nature of Juſtification. But long he had not held the place, when he left this life, deceaſing on the nineteenth of *January*, 1550. according to the computation of the Church of *England*, to the great loſs and grief of that Univerſity. By the chiefeſt Heads whereof, and moſt of the Members of that Body, he was attended to his Grave with all due ſolemnity: of which more hereafter.

(*) *Mediis conſiliis vel Authorem eſſe, vel approbatorem.* Calv. *Epiſt. ad* Bucer.

But ſo it was, that the Account which he had given to *Calvin* of the *Engliſh Liturgy*, and his deſiring of a Letter from him to the Lord *Protector*, wrought proved,

An. Reg. 3. 1549.

proved the occaſions of much trouble to the Church, and the Orders of it. For *Calvin*, not forgetting the repulſe he found at the hands of *Cranmer*, when he firſt offered his Aſſiſtance, had ſcrewed himſelf into the Favour of the Lord *Protectour*. And thinking nothing to be well done, which either was not done by him, or by his Direction (as appears by his Letters to all Princes, which did but caſt an eye towards a Reformation) muſt needs be medling in ſuch Matters, as belonged not to him. He therefore writes a very long Letter to the Lord *Protectour*; in which, approving well enough of ſet forms of Prayer, he deſcends more particularly to the *Engliſh Liturgy*, in canvaſing whereof, he there excepted againſt *Commemoration of the Dead* (which he acknowledgeth however to be very Antient) as alſo againſt *Chriſm*, and *Extreme Unction*; the laſt of which being rather allowed of, than required by the Rules of that Book: which ſaid, he maketh it his Advice, that all theſe Ceremonies ſhould be abrogated, and that withall he ſhould go forwards to Reform the Church without fear or wit, without regard of Peace at home, or correſpondence abroad: ſuch Conſiderations being only to be had in *Civil Matters*: but not in *Matters of the Church*; (*) wherein not any thing is to be exacted, which is not warranted by the word, and in the managing whereof, there is not any thing more diſtaſtful in the eys of God, than Worldly Wiſdom, (*) either in moderating, cutting off, or going backwards, but meerly as we are directed by his Will revealed.

(*) *In quo nihil non ad Dei Verbum exigi fas eſt.* Epiſt. *ad* Prot.

(*) *ut vel moderemur, vel reſcindamus*, &c. ibid.

In the next place, he gives a touch on the Book of *Homilies*, which *Bucer*, (as it appears by his Epiſtle to the Church of *England*) had right-well approved of. Theſe very faintly he permits for a ſeaſon only, but by no means allows of them for a long continuance, or to be looked on as a Rule of the Church, or conſtantly to ſerve for the inſtruction of the people: and thereby gave the hint to the *Zuinglian Goſpellers*, who ever ſince almoſt have declaimed againſt them.

And whereas ſome Diſputes had grown by his ſetting on, or the Pragmatick Humour of ſome Agents, which he had amongſt us, about the Ceremonies of the Church, then by Law eſtabliſhed, he muſt needs trouble the *Protectour* in that buſineſs alſo. (*) To whom he writes to this effect, That the *Papiſts* would grow inſolenter every day than other, unleſs the differences were compoſed about the Ceremonies. But how? not by reducing the Opponents to Conformity, but by encouraging them rather in their Oppoſition: which cannot but appear moſt plainly to be all he aimed at, by ſoliciting the Duke of *Sommerſet*, in behalf of *Hooper*, who was then fallen into ſome troubles upon that; of which more hereafter.

(*) *Niſi maturè compoſitum eſſet Diſſidium de ceremoniis.* p. 98.

Now in the Heat of theſe Imployments, both in Church and State, the *French* and *Scots* lay hold on the Opportunity, for the Recovering of ſome Forts, and pieces of Conſequence, which had been taken from them by the *Engliſh* in the former War. The laſt year *Bulloign*-Siege was attempted by ſome of the *French*, in hope to take it by ſurprize, and were couragiouſly repulſed by the *Engliſh* Gariſon. But now they are reſolved to go more openly to work, and therefore ſend an *Heraild* to defie the King, according to the Noble manner of thoſe Times, in proclaiming War, before they entred into Action againſt one another. The *Herald* did his Office on the eighth of *Auguſt*, and preſently the *French*, with a conſiderable Army, invade the Territory of *Bulloign*. In leſs than three weeks, they poſſeſs themſelves of *Blackneſs*, *Hamiltue*, and *New-Haven*, with all the Ordnance, Ammunition, and Victuals in them. Few of the Souldiers eſcaped with Life: but only the Governour of *New-Haven*, (a Baſtard Son of the Lord *Sturton*'s,) who was believed to have betrayed that Fort unto them, becauſe he did put himſelf immediately into the ſervice of the *French*. But they ſped worſe in their Deſigns by Sea, then they did by Land: for giving themſelves no ſmall Hopes in thoſe broken Times, for taking in the Iſland of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, they made toward them with a great Number of Gallies: but they were ſo manfully encountred with the King's Navy, which lay then hovering on thoſe Coaſt's; that, with the loſs of a Thouſand men, and great

ſpoil

ſpoil of their Gallies, they were forced to retire into *France*, and deſiſt from their purpoſe. Nor were the *Scots*, in the mean time, negligent in preparing for their own Defence; againſt whom ſome conſiderable Forces had been prepared in the Beginning of this Summer, but moſt unhappily diverted: though very fortunately imp'oyed for the Relief of *Exeter*, and the taking of *Norwich*. So that, no Succours being ſent for the Relief of thoſe Gariſons, which then remained unto the *Engliſh*; the *Scots*, about the middle of *November* following, couragiouſly aſſault the ſtrong Fort of *Bowcrage*, take it by Storm, put all ſouldiers to the Sword; except the Captain: and him they ſpared, not out of any pity, or humane Compaſſion, but becauſe they would not loſe the Hope of ſo great a Benefit, as they expected for his Ranſom. Nothing now left unto the *Engliſh*, of all their late Purchaſes, and Acqueſts in *Scotland*, but the ſtrong Fort of *Aymouth*, and the Town of *Rox-borough*. *An. Reg.* 4. 1550.

The loſs of ſo many Peeces in *France*, one after another, was very ſad news to all the Court, but the Earl of *Warwick*. Who purpoſely had delayed the ſending of ſuch Forces as were prepared againſt the *French*, that the Forts above-mentioned might be loſt: that, upon the loſs thereof, he might project the Ruin of the Lord *Protectour*. He had long caſt an envious eye at his Power and Greatneſs, and looked upon himſelf, as a man of other parts, both for Camp and Counſel; fitter in all Reſpects to Protect the Kingdom, than he that did enjoy the Title. He looked upon him alſo, as a man expoſed to the Blows of Fortune, in being ſo fatally deprived of his greateſt ſtrength, by the Death of his Brother: after which he had little left unto him, but the worſt half of himſelf; feared by the *Lords*, and not ſo well beloved by the Common people, as he had been formerly. There goes a Story, that Earl *Godwine*, having treacherouſly ſlain Prince *Alfred*, the Brother of *Edward the Confeſſour*, was afterwards preſent with the King, when his Cup-bearer, ſtumbling with one foot, recovered himſelf by the Help of the other. *One Brother helps another*, ſaid Earl *Godwine* merrily: *And ſo*, replied the King as tartly, *My brother might have been uſeful unto me; if you had pleaſed to ſpare his Life, for my preſent Comfort.* The like might have been ſaid to Earl *Dudley* of *Warwick*: That if he had not ſent an helping hand to the Death of the *Admiral*, he could not ſo eaſily have tripp'd up the Heels of the Lord *Protectour*. Having before ſo luckily taken in the Out-works, he now reſolves to plant his Battery for the Fort it ſelf. To which end he begins to muſter up his ſtrengths and make ready his forces, knowing which way to work upon the *Lords* of the Court: many of which began to ſtagger in their good Affections, and ſome openly to declare themſelves the *Protectours* Enemies. And he ſo well applied himſelf to their ſeveral Humours, that in ſhort time after his return from *Norfolk*, with Succeſs and Honour, he had drawn unto his ſide the *Lord* Chancellour *Rich*; Lord *Saint-John*, Lord Great Maſter; the Marqueſs of *North-hampton*; the Earl of *Arundel* Lord Chamberlain; the Earl of *South-hampton*; Sir *Thomas Cheney*, Treaſurer of the Houſhold; Sir *John Gage*, Conſtable of the *Tower*; Sir *William Peter*, Secretary; Sir *Edward Mountague*, Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*; Sir *Edward North*, Sir *Ralph Sadlier*, Sir *John Baker*, Sir *Edward Wotton*, Doctour *Wotton*, and Sir *Richard Southwell*. Of which ſome ſhewed themſelves againſt him upon former Grudges, as the Earl of *South-hampton*; ſome out of hope to ſhare thoſe Offices amongſt them, which he had ingroſſed unto himſelf; many, becauſe they loved to follow the ſtrongeſt ſide; few in regard of any benefit, which was like to redound by it to the Common-Wealth; the greateſt part complaining, that they had not their equal Dividend, when the Lands of *Chanteries*, *Free-Chappels*, *&c.* were given up for a Prey to the greater Courtiers; but all of them diſguiſing their private ends, under pretence of doing ſervice to the Publick.

The Combination being thus made, and the *Lords* of the Deſection conventeed together, at *Ely-Houſe* in *Holborn*, where the Earl then dwelt: they ſent for the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, to come before them. To whom it is declared by

An. Reg. 3. 1549. the Lord Chancellour *Rich* (a man of *Somerset*'s own preferring) in a long Oration, in what dangers the Kingdom was involved by the mis-government, and practises of the Lord *Protectour*: against whom he objected also many misdemeanours: some frivolous, some false, and many of them of such a Nature, as either were to be condemned in themselves, or forgiven in him. For in that Speech he charged him, amongst other things, with the loss of the King's Peeces in *France*, and *Scotland*, the sowing of Dissension betwixt the Nobility and the Commons, Embezelling the Treasures of the King, and inverting the Publick stock of the Kingdom to his private use. It was Objected also, That he was wholly acted by the Will of his Wife, and therefore no fit man to command a Kingdom: That he had interrupted the ordinary Course of Justice, by keeping a Court of *Requests* in his own House, in which he many times determined of mens Free-holds: That he had demolished many Consecrated Places, and Episcopal Houses to Erect a Pallace for himself, spending one hundred pounds *per diem*, in superfluous Buildings: That by taking to himself the Title of *Duke of Somerset*, he declared plainly his aspiring to the Crown of this Realm: and finally, having so unnaturally laboured the death of his Brother, he was no longer to be trusted with the Life of the King. And thereupon he desires, or conjures them rather, to joyn themselves unto the *Lords*, who aimed at nothing in their Counsels; but the Safety of the King, the Honour of the Kingdom, and the Preservation of the People in Peace and Happiness. But these Designs could not so closely be contrived, as not to come unto the knowledg of the Lord-*Protectour*, who then remained at *Hampton-Court*, with the rest of the *Lords*, who seemed to continue firm unto him. And, on the same day, on which this meeting was at *London*, (being the sixth day of *October*) he causeth *Proclamation* to be made at the Court-Gates, and afterwards in other places near adjoyning; requiring all sorts of persons to come in, for the defence of the King's Person: whom he conveyed the same night unto *Windsor* Castle, with a strength of five hundred men, or thereabouts; too many for a Guard, and too few for an Army. From thence he writes his Letters to the Earl of *Warwick*, to the rest of the *Lords*, as also to the Lord Mayor, & the City of *London*, of whom he demanded a supply of a thousand men for the present service of the King. But that proud City, seldom true to the Royal Interests, and secretly obsequious to every popular Pretender, seemed more inclinable to gratifie the *Lords* in the like demands, than to comply with his desires. The news hereof being brought unto him, and finding that Mr. Secretary *Peter* whom he had sent with a secret Message to the *Lords* in *London*, returned not back unto the Court, he presently flung up the *Cards*: either for want of Courage to play out the *Game*; or rather choosing willingly to lose the *Set*, than venture the whole *Stock* of the Kingdom on it. So that, upon the first coming of some of the opposite *Lords* to *Windsor*, he puts himself into their hands: by whom on the fourteenth day of the same Moneth, he is brought to *London*, and committed Prisoner to the *Tower*; pitied the less, even by those that loved him, because he had so tamely betrayed himself.

The Duke of *Somerset*, no longer to be called *Protectour*, being thus laid up, a *Parliament* beginneth (as the other two had done before) on the fourth of *November*. In which there passed two *Acts* of especial consequence, (besides the *Act* for removing all Images out of the *Church*, and calling in all Books of false and superstitious worship, before-remembred,) to the concernments of *Religion*. The first declared to this effect; That, *Such form and manner of making, and Consecrating Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and other Ministers of the Church, as by six Prelates, and six other Learned men of this Realm, learned in God's Law, by the King to be appointed and assigned, or by the most number of them, shall be devised for that purpose, and set forth under the Great Seal, before the First of April next coming, shall be lawfully exercised, and used, and no other.* The number of the Bishops, and the Learned Men, which are appointed by this *Act*, assure me, that the King made choice of the very same; whom he had formerly imployed

ployed in compoſing the *Liturgy*; the Biſhop of Chicheſter being left out, by reaſon of the refractorineſs in not ſubſcribing to the ſame. And they accordingly applied themſelves unto the *Work*, following therein the *Rules* of the Primitive Church, as they are rather recapitulated, than ordained, in the fourth Councel of *Carthage*, *Anno* 401. Which, though but National in it ſelf, was generally both approved, and received (as to the Form of Conſecrating Biſhops and inferiour Miniſters) in all the Churches of the *Weſt*. Which Book, being finiſhed, was made uſe of, without further Authority, till the year 1552. At what time, being added to the *Second Liturgy*, it was approved of, and confirmed, as a part thereof, by *Act of Parliament*, *An.* 5. *Edw.* 6. *cap.* 1. And of this Book it is, we find mention in the 36th *Article* of Queen *Elizabeths* Time. In which it is Declared; That, *Whoſoever were Conſecrated, and Ordered, according to the* Rites *thereof, ſhould be reputed, and adjudged to be lawfully Conſecrated, and rightly Ordered.* Which Declaration of the Church was afterwards made good by *Act of Parliament*, in the eigth year of that Queen: in which the ſaid *Ordinal*, of the third of King *EDWARD the Sixth*, is confirmed, and ratified. *An. Reg.* 3. 1549.

The other of the ſaid two *Acts* was, *For enabling the King to nominate Eight (Biſhops, and as many Temporal Lords, and Sixteen Members of the Lower Houſe of Parliament: for retrieving all ſuch Canons and Conſtitutions, as remained in force, by Virtue of the* Statute *made in the* 25th *year of the late* K. HENRY; *and ſetting them for the Uſe of the Church, in all Times ſucceeding.* According to which *Act*, the King directed a Commiſſion to Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*, and the reſt of the perſons, whom he thought fit to nominate to that imployment. And afterwards appointed a Sub-Committee of 8 perſons, to prepare the Work, and make it ready for the reſt, that it might be diſpatched with the more expedition: which ſaid eight perſons were, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, Doctour *Thomas Goodrick*, Biſhop of *Ely*; Doctour *Richard Cox*, the King's *Almoner*, and *Peter Martyr*, Doctour in Divinity; *William May*, and *Rowland Taylour*, Doctours of the Law; *John Lucas*, and *Richard Goodrick*, Eſquires. By whom the Work was undertaken, and digeſted, faſhioned according to the Method of the *Roman Decretals*; and called by the Name of *Reformatio Legum Eccleſiaſticarum*, &c. But not being *Commiſſionated* hereunto till the eleventh of *November* in the year 1551, they either wanted time to communicate it to the chief *Commiſſioners*, by whom it was to be preſented to the King: or found the King encumbred with more weighty matters; than to attend the peruſal of it. And ſo the King dying (as he did) before he had given life unto it by his Royal *Signature*, the Deſign miſcarried: never thought fit to be reſumed in the following Times, by any of thoſe, who had the Government of the Church, or were concerned in the Honour, and Safety of it.

There alſo paſſed another *Act*, in Order to the Peace of the Common-Wealth, but eſpecially procured by the Agents of the Duke of *Somerſet*; the better to ſecure him from all Attempts, and Practices, for the Times enſuing; by which his Life might be illegally endangered. The purport of which *Act* was, to make it *High Treaſon, for any twelve perſons, or above, aſſembled together, to kill, or impriſon any of the King's Councel; or alter any Laws; or continue together the ſpace of an hour, being commanded to return by any Juſtice of the Peace, Mayor, Sheriff*, &c. Which *Act*, intended by his Friends for his preſervation, was afterwards made uſe of by his Enemies, for the only means of his Deſtruction, deferred a while, but ſtill reſolved upon, when occaſion ſerved. It was not long before Earl *Dudley* might perceive; that he had ſerved other mens turns againſt the Duke, as well as his own: and that, having ſerved their turns therein, he found no forwardneſs in them, for raiſing him unto the Place. They were all willing enough to unhorſe the *Duke*; but had no mind, that ſuch a *rank Rider*, as the Earl, ſhould get into the Saddle. Beſides, he was not to be told; that there was nothing to be charged againſt the *Duke*, which could touch his life; that ſo many men, of different Humours, were not like to hold long in a Plot together, now their turns were ſerved; that the *Duke's* Friends

An. Reg. 3. 1549. could not be so dull, as not to see the emptiness of the Practice, which was forged against him; nor the King so forgetful of his Uncle when the Truth was known, as not to raise him up again to his former height: it therefore would be fittest for his ends and purposes, to close up the Breach, to set the *Duke* at liberty, from his Imprisonment; but so to order the Affair, that the Benefit should be acknowledged to proceed from himself alone. But first, the *Duke* must so acknowledge his Offences, that his *Adversaries* might come off with Honour. In Order whereunto, he is first *Articled* against, for many Crimes and Misdemeanours, rather imputed to him, than proved against him. And unto all these he must be laboured to subscribe, acknowledging the offences contained in them; to beg the favour of the *Lords*, and cast himself upon his knees, for His Majestie's Mercy. All which he very poorly did, subscribing his Confession on the twenty third of *December*. Which he subjoyned unto the *Articles*, and so returned it to the *Lords*.

Anno Regni Edw. *Sexti* 4. *An. Dom.* 1549, 1550.

An. Reg. 4. 1549, 1550. THe *Lords*, thus furnished with sufficient matter for a Legal Proceeding, condemned him, by a Sentence passed in the *House of Peers*, unto the *Loss* of all his *Offices*; of *Earl Marshal*, *Lord Treasurer*, and *Lord Protector*: as also to the Forfeiture of all his Goods, and near two thousand pounds of good yearly Rents. Which being signified unto him, he *acknowledged himself*, in his Letter of the second of *February*, *to be highly favoured by their* Lordships; *in that they brought his Cause to be Finable. Which Fine, though it was to him almost unsupportable, yet he did never purpose to contend with them, nor once to justifie himself in any Action.* He confess'd, *That, being none of the wisest, he might easily err: that it was hardly possible for any man in eminent place, so to carry himself; that all his Actings should be blameless in the eye of Justice.* He therefore *submitted himself wholly to the King's Mercy; and to their Discretions, for some Moderation: desiring them, to conceive of what he did amiss; as rather done through Rudeness, and want of Judgement, than through any Malicious meaning: and, that he was ready both to do, and suffer, what they should appoint. And finally, he did again most humbly, upon his Knees, entreat Pardon, and Favour; and they should ever find him so lowly to their Honours, and Obedient to their Orders, as he would thereby make Amends for his former Follies.*

By which Submission (it may be called an *Abjectedness* rather) as he gave much secret Pleasure to the most of his Adversaries: so he gained so far upon the King; that he was released of his Imprisonment on the fourth day after. And by His Majestie's Grace, and Favour, he was discharged of his Fine; his Goods, and Lands being again restored unto him; except such as had been given away: either the malice of his Enemies being somewhat appeased, or wanting power, and credit, to make Resistance.

This great Oak being thus shrewdly shaken, there is no doubt, but there will be some gathering up of the Sticks, which were broken from him, and somewhat must be done, as well to gratifie those men, which had served the Turn, as to incline others to the like Propensions. And therefore upon *Candlemas-day*, being the day, on which he had made his humble Submission before-mentioned, *William* Lord St. *John*, Lord Great Master, and President of the Councel, is made Lord Treasurer; *John Dudley*, Earl of *Warwick*, Lord High Chamberlain, is preferred to the Office of Lord Great Master; the Marquess of *North-hampton* created Lord High Chamberlain; Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, Captain

ptain of the Guard, is made Comptroller of the King's Houſe, in the place of Sir *William Paget*, (of whom more anon) and Sir *Thomas Darcie* advanced to the Office of Vice-Chamberlain, and Captain of His Majeſties Guard. And, though the Earls of *Arundel*, and *Southampton*, had been as forward as any of the reſt in the *Duke*'s deſtruction; yet now, upon ſome Court-diſpleaſures, they were commanded to their Houſes, and diſmiſſed from their Attendance at the Councel-Table: the Office of the Lord *Chamberlain* of His Majeſties Houſhold being taken from the Earl of *Arundel*, and beſtowed on *Wentworth*, ennobled by the Title of Lord *Wentworth*, in the firſt year of the King. Some Honours had been given before, between the time of the *Duke*'s acknowledgment, and the Sentence paſſed on him by the *Lords*; and ſo diſpoſed, that none of the Factions might have any ground for a Complaint. One of each ſide being taken out for theſe Advancements. For, on the nineteenth day of *January*, *William* Lord St. *John*, a moſt affectionate Servant to the Earl of *Warwick*, was preferred unto the Title of Earl of *Wiltſhire*; the Lord *Ruſſel*, who had made himſelf the Head of thoſe, which were engaged on neither ſide, was made Earl of *Bedford*; and Sir *William Paget*, Comptroller of His Majeſties Houſhold, who had perſiſted faithful to the Lord *Protectour*, advanced to the Dignity of a *Baron*, and not long after to the *Chancellourſhip* of the *Dutchy* of *Lancaſter*. *An. Reg.* 4. 1549. 1550.

Furniſhed with Offices, and Honours, it is to be preſumed, that they would find ſome way to provide themſelves of ſufficient Means, to maintain their Dignities. The Lord *Wentworth*, being a younger branch of the *Wentworths* of *Yorkſhire*, had brought ſome Eſtate with him to the Court; though not enough, to keep him up in Equipage, with ſo great a Title. The want whereof was ſupplied in part, by the Office of Lord Chamberlain, now conferred upon him; but more by the goodly Manours of *Stebunneth* (commonly called *Stepney*) and *Hackney*, beſtowed upon him by the King, in conſideration of the Good and Faithful Services before performed. For ſo it happened that the Dean and Chapter of St. *Paul's*, lying at the Mercy of the Times, as before was ſaid, conveyed over to the King the ſaid two Manours, on the twelfth day after *Chriſtmaſs*, now laſt paſt, with all the Members and Appurtenances thereunto belonging. Of which, the laſt named was valued at the yearly rent of 41 pounds, 9 *s.* 4 *d.* The other at 140 pounds, 8 *s.* 11 *d. ob.* And, being thus veſted in the King, they were by Letters Pattents bearing Date the ſixteenth of *April*, then next following, tranſferred upon the ſaid Lord *Wentworth*. By means whereof, he was poſſeſſed of a goodly Territory, extending on the *Thames*, from St. *Katherine*'s near the Tower of *London*, to the Borders of *Eſſex*, near *Blackwall*; from thence along the River *Lea*, to *Stratford le Bow*: and, fetching a great compaſs on that ſide of the City, contains in all no fewer, than ſix and twenty *Town-ſhips*, *Streets*, and *Hamlets*; beſides ſuch Rowes of Building, as have ſince been added in theſe later Times. The like proviſion was made by the new Lord *Paget*, a *Londoner* by Birth, but by good Fortune, mixed with Merit, preferred by degrees, to be one of the principal Secretaries to the late King *Henry*: by whom he was employed in many Embaſſies, and Negotiations. Being thus raiſed, and able to ſet up for himſelf, he had his ſhare in the diviſion of the Lands of Chantery, Free-Chappels, *&c.* and got into his hands the Epiſcopal Houſe belonging to the Biſhop of *Exeter*, by him enlarged, and beautified, and called *Paget-Houſe*; ſold afterwards to *Robert*, Earl of *Leiceſter*: from whom it came to the late Earls of *Eſſex*, and from them took the name of *Eſſex-Houſe*, by which it is now beſt known. But, being a great Houſe is not able to keep it ſelf; he played his Game ſo well, that he got into his poſſeſſion the Manour of *Beau-deſart* (of which he was created Baron) and many other fair Eſtates in the County of *Stafford*; belonging partly to the Biſhop, and partly to the *Dean* and *Chapter* of *Lichfield*: neither of which was able to contend with ſo great a Courtier, who held the See, and had the Ear of the

Protectour,

An. Reg. 4. 1550.

Protectour, and the King's to boot. What other course he took to improve his Fortunes, we shall see hereafter; when we come to the last part of the Tragedy of the Duke of *Sommerset*.

For *Sommerset*, having gained his liberty, and thereby being put into a capacity of making use of his Friends, found means to be admitted into the King's Presence: by whom he was not only welcomed with all the kind Expressions of a Gracious Prince, and made to sit down at his own Table; but the same day (the Eighth of *April*) he was again sworn one of the Lords of the Privy Councel. This was enough to make Earl *Dudley* look about him, and to pretend a Reconciliation with him for the present; whom he meant first to make secure, and afterwards strike the last blow at him, when he least look'd for it. And, that the Knot of Amity might be tied the faster, and last the longer, (a *True-Loves-Knot* it must be thought or else nothing worth) a marriage was negotiated between *John* Lord Viscount *L'isle*, the *Earl's* Eldest Son, and the Lady *Ann Seimour*, one of the Daughters of the *Duke*; which Marriage was joyfully solemnized on the third of *June*, at the King's Mannour-House of *Sbene*; the King himself gracing the Nuptials with his Presence. And now, who could imagine, but that, upon the giving of such hostages unto one another, a most inviolable League of Friendship had been made between them; and that, all Animosities and Displeasures being quite forgotten, they would more powerfully co-operate to the publick Good? But, leaving them, and their Adherents, to the dark Contrivances of the Court, we must leave *England* for a time, and see how our Affairs succeeded on the other side of the Sea. Where, in the middle of the former Dissensions, the *French* had put us to the worst in the way of Arms, and after got the better in a Treaty of Peace.

They had the last year, taken in all the Out-works, which seemed the strongest Ramparts of the Town of *Bulloign*; but had not strength enough to venture on the Town it self; provided plentifully of all necessaries to endure a Siege, and bravely Garisoned by men of too much Courage, and Resolution, to give it up upon a Summons. Besides, they came to understand, that the *English* were then practising with *Charles* the *Emperour*, to associate with them in the War, according to some former Capitulations made between both Crowns. And, if they found such Difficulties, in maintaining the War against either of them, when they fought singly by themselves, there was no hope of good success against them, should they unite, and pour their Forces into *France*. Most true it is; that, after such time, as the *French* had bid Defiance to the King; and that the King, by reason of the Troubles and Embroilments at home, was not in a Condition to attend the Affairs of *France*, Sir *William Paget* was sent Ambassadour to *Charles the Fifth* to desire Succour of Him, and to lay before Him the Infancy, and several Necessities of the young King, being then in the twelfth year of His Age. This desire when the *Emperour* had refused to hearken to, they besought Him; that He would, at the least, be pleased to take into His Hands, the keeping of the Town of *Bulloign*: and that, for no longer time, than until King *EDWARD* could make an end of the Troubles of His Subjects at home, and compose the discords of the Court, which threatned more danger than the other. To which Request He did not only refuse to hearken; except the King would promise to restore the *Catholick Religion*, as He called it, in all His Dominions; but expresly commanded, that, neither His Men, nor Ammunition, should go to the Assistance of the *English*. An Ingratitude not easie to be marked with a fitting Epithete: considering what fast Friends the Kings of *England* had alwaies been to the House of *Burgundy*, the Rights whereof remained in the person of *Charles*; with what sums of Money they had helped them; and what sundry Wayes they had made for them, both in the *Netherlands*, to maintain their Authority, and in the Realm of *France* it self, to increase their Power. For, from the Marriage of *Maximilian*, of the Family of *Austria*, with the Lady *Mary* of *Burgundy*, (which happened in the year 1478)

1478.) unto the Death of *Henry the Eight*, (which fell in the year 1546) are just threescore and eight years. In which time only, it was found, on a just account, that it had cost the Kings of *England*, at the least six Millions of pounds, in the meer Quarrels of that House. *An. Reg. 4.* 1550.

But the *French*, being more assured that the *English* held some secret Practice with the *Emperour*, then certain what the issue thereof might be, resolved upon a Peace with EDWARD: in hope of getting more by Treaty, than he could by force. To this end one *Guidolti*, a *Florentine*, is sent for *England*: by whom many Overtures were made to the Lords of the Councel; not as from the *King*, but from the *Constable* of *France*. And spying with a nimble Eye, that all Affairs were governed by the Earl of *Warwick*, he resolved to buy him to the *French*, at what price soever: and so well did he ply the Business; that, at the last, it was agreed, that four Ambassadours should be sent to *France*, from the King of *England*; to treat with so many others of that Kingdom, about a Peace between the Crowns: but that the Treaty it self should be held in *Guisnes*, a Town belonging to the *English* in the Marches of *Calice*. In pursuance whereof the Earl of *Bedford*, the new Lord *Paget*, Sir *William Peter*, principal Secretary of Estate, and Sir *John Mason*, Clerk of the Councel, were, on the twenty first of *January*, dispatched for *France*. But no sooner were they come to *Calice*, when *Guidolti* brings a Letter to them from *Mounsieur d' Rochpot*, one of the four which were appointed for that Treaty, in behalf of the *French*. In which it was desired, that the *English* Embassadours would repair to the Town of *Bulloign*, without putting the *French* to the Charge, and Trouble, of so long a Journey, as to come to *Guisnes*. Which being demurred on by the *English*, and a Post sent unto the Court, to know the pleasure of the Councel in that particular: they received word, (for so the *Oracle* had directed) that they should not stand upon Punctilioes; so they gained the point; nor hazard the Substance of the Work, to preserve the Circumstances. According whereunto, the Ambassadours removed to *Bulloign*, and pitch'd their Tents without the Town, as had been desired; for the Reception of the *French*: that so they might enter on the Treaty, for which they came. But then a new Difficulty appeared: for the *French* would not cross the Water, and put themselves under the Command of *Bulloign*: but desired rather, that the *English* would come over to them, and fall upon the Treaty in an House which they were then preparing for their Entertainment. Which being also yielded to, after some disputes: the *French* grew confident, that, after so many Condescensions on the part of the *English*, they might obtain from them what they listed, in the main of the Business. For, though it cannot otherwise be, but that in all Treaties of this Nature, there must be some Condescendings made by the one, or the other: yet, he that yields the first inch of Ground, gives the other Party a strong Hope of obtaining the rest.

These Preparations being made, the *Commissioners*, on both sides, begin the Treaty: where, after some Expostulations, touching the *Justice*, or *Injustice* of the War, on either side, they came to particular Demands. The *English* required the payment of all Debts, and Pensions, concluded on between the two Kings deceased: and, that the Queen of *Scots* should either be delivered to their Hands, or sent back to Her Kingdom. But unto this the *French* replyed; That the Queen of *Scots* was designed in Marriage to the *Daulphin of France*: and, that She looked upon it, as an high Dishonour, that their King should be esteemed a Pensioner, or Tributary to the Crown of *England*. The *French*, on the other side, propounded: That all Arrears of Debts, and Pensions, being thrown aside, as not likely to be ever paid, they either should put the higher Price on the Town of *Bulloign*; or else prepare themselves to keep it, as well as they could. From which Proposals when the *French* could not be removed, the *Oracle* was again consulted: by whose Direction, it was ordered in the Councel of *England*; That the *Commissioners* should conclude the Peace, upon such *Articles*

An. Reg. 3. 1549. *ticles*, and *Inſtructions*, as were ſent unto them: Moſt of them ordinary, and accuſtomed at the winding up of all ſuch Treaties. But that of moſt Concernment was; *That all Titles, and Claims on the one ſide, and Defences on the other, remaining to either Party, as they were before, the Town of* Bulloign, *with all the Ordnance found there at the taking of it, ſhould be delivered to the* French, *for the Sum of four hundred thouſand Crowns of the Sun.* Of which four hundred thouſand Crowns, (each Crown being valued at the Price of ſix Shillings, and ſix pence,) one Moity was to be paid, within three days after the Town ſhould be delivered, and the other at the end of ſix Moneths after; Hoſtages to be given in the mean time for the payment of it. It was agreed alſo, in Relation to the Realm of *Scotland*; That, *if the* Scots *razed* Lowder, *and* Dowglaſs, *the* Engliſh *ſhould raze* Rox-borough, *and* Aymouth; *and no Fortification in any of thoſe places to be afterwards made.*

Which Agreement being ſigned by the *Commiſſioners* of each ſide, and Hoſtages mutually delivered for performance of Covenants, Peace was proclaimed between the Kings on the fourth of *March:* and the Town of *Bulloign*, with all the Forts depending on it, delivered into the power of the *French*, on the twenty fifth day of *April*; then next following. But they muſt thank the Earl of *Warwick*, for letting them to go away with that commodity at ſo cheap a rate: for which the two laſt Kings had bargained for no leſs, than two Millions of the ſame Crowns, to be paid unto the King of *England*, at the end of eight years; the Towns, and Territory, in the mean time to remain with the *Engliſh*. Nor was young *Edward* backward in rewarding his care and diligence, in expediting the Affair. Which was ſo repreſented to him, and the extraordinary Merit of the ſervice ſo highly magnified; that he was made *General Warden* of the *North*, gratified with a thouſand Marks of good Rent in Land, and the Command of an hundred Horſe-men at the King's charge. Such is the Fortune of ſome Princes, to be moſt bountiful to thoſe; who are falſeſt to them. *Gnidolti* alſo was rewarded with Knighthood, a Preſent of a thouſand Crowns, and an Annual Penſion of as much, to maintain his Honour; beſides a Penſion of two hundred and fifty Crowns *per annum*, which was given to his Son. What recompenſe he had of the Crown of *France*, I have no where found; but have good reaſon to believe, that he did not ſerve their Turn for nothing. Great care was alſo taken, for the preventing of ſuch Diſorders, as the diſſolving of great Gariſons, and the disbanding of Armies, do for the moſt part carry with them. And to this end the Lord *Clinton*, Governour of the Town, and Territoty of *Bulloign*, was created Lord *Admiral*; the Officers, and Captains, rewarded with Lands, Leaſes, Offices, and Annual Penſions; all foreign Forces ſatisfied, and ſent out of the Kingdom; the Common ſouldiers, having all their pay, and a Moneths pay over, diſmiſſed into their ſeveral Countries, and great Charge given, that they ſhould be very well obſerved, till they were quietly ſetled at home; the *Light-Horſe-men*, and *Men-at-Arms* put under the Command of the Marqueſs of *South-hampton*, then being Captain of the Band of Penſioners; and finally ſome of the Chief Captains, with ſix hundred *Ordinaries*, diſpoſed of on the Frontiers of *Scotland*.

All things thus quieted at Home, and compoſed abroad, in reference to the Civil State; we muſt next ſee how Matters went, which concerned Religion: all parties making uſe of the publick Peace for the advance of their private, and particular ends. And the firſt Matter of Remark, which occurs this year, is the Burning of *Joan Butcher*, (by others called *Joan Knell*, but generally beſt known by the Name of *Joan* of *Kent*) condemned for Hereſie in the year laſt paſt, about the time, that ſo many *Anabaptiſts* were convented in the Church of Saint *Paul*, before Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*, and his Aſſiſtants: whereof mention hath been made already. Her Crime was, "That ſhe denied *Chriſt* to have "taken Fleſh from the Virgin *Mary*; affirming (as the *Valentinians* did of old) "that he only paſſed through her Body, as Water through the pipe of a Con-

duit

"duit, without participating any thing of that Body, through which he paſſed. Great care was taken, and much Time ſpent, by the Arch-Biſhop to perſwade her to a better ſence: but, when all failed, and that he was upon the point of paſſing ſentence upon her, for perſiſting obſtinate in ſo groſs an Hereſie, ſhe moſt maliciouſly reproached him, for paſſing the like Sentence of Condemnation on another Woman, called *Ann Askew*, for denying the Carnal Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament; telling him, That he had condemned the ſaid *Ann Askew* not long before for a piece of Bread, and was then ready to condemn her for a piece of Fleſh. *An. Reg.* 4. 1550.

But being convicted, and delivered over to the Secular *Judges*, ſhe was by them condemned to be burnt; but no Execution done upon it, till this preſent year. The Interval was ſpent in uſing all means for her converſion, and amendment; which as it only ſeemed to confirm her in her former obſtinacy: ſo it was found to have given no ſmall encouragement to others, for entertaining the like dangerous, and un Chriſtian Errours. His Majeſty was therefore moved to ſign the Warrant for her Death. To which when the Lords of the Council could by no means win Him: the Arch-Biſhop is deſired to perſwade him to it. The King continued both in Reaſon, and Reſolution, as before He did, notwithſtanding all the Arch-Biſhop's Argument to perſwade the contrary: the King affirming; that He would not drive her headlong to the Devil, and thinking it better to chaſtiſe her with ſome corporal Puniſhment. But, when the Gravity, and Importunity of the Man had prevailed at laſt, the King told him, as He ſigned the Warrant, that upon him He would lay all the charge thereof, before God. Which Words of His declare ſufficiently his averſneſs from having any hand in ſhedding of that Womans bloud, how juſtly ſoever ſhe deſerved it. But that the Arch-Biſhop's earneſtneſs, in bringing her to exemplary Puniſhment, ſhould contract any ſuch guilt in the ſight of God, as to ſubject him to the like cruel Death, within few years after (as ſome would bear the World in hand) is a Surmiſe, not to be warranted by any principle of Piety, or Rule of Charity. The Warrant being ſigned, and the Writ for Execution Sealed; ſhe was kept a whole week before her death, at the Lord Chancellour's Houſe, daily reſorted to, both by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *London*; who ſpared no pains to bring her to a right belief in that Particular. But the ſame Spirit of Obſtinacy ſtill continued with her; and held her to the very laſt. For, being brought to the Stake in *Smithfield*, on the ſecond of *May*, Dr. *Scory*, (not long after made Biſhop of *Rocheſter*) was deſired to Preach unto the people; who inſiſting on the proof of that point, for denyal whereof the obſtinate Wretch had been condemned, ſhe interrupted him, and told him with a very loud voice; that, *He lyed like*, &c. And ſo, the *Sermon* being ended, the Executioner was commanded to do his Office, which he did accordingly. And yet this terrible Execution did not ſo prevail, as to extirpate, & exterminate the like impious Dotages; though it ſuppreſſed them for a time. For, on the twenty fourth of *April*, in the year next following, I find one *George Paris*, a *Dutch-man*, to have been burnt for *Arianiſm* in the very ſame place.

Better ſucceſs had *John à Laſco*, a *Polonian* born, with his Congregation of *Germans*, and other Strangers, who took Sanctuary this year in *England*; hoping, that here they might enjoy that Liberty of Conſcience, and Safety for their Goods, and Perſons, which their own Countrey had denyed them. Nor did they fall ſhort in any thing, which their Hopes had promiſed them. For the Lords of the Council looking on them, as afflicted Strangers, and perſecuted for the ſame Religion, which was here profeſſed, interceded for them with the King. And He at graciouſly vouchſafed to give them, both Entertainment, and Protection; aſſigned them the *Weſt*-part of the Church, belonging to the late diſſolved Houſe of *Auguſtine*-Friers, for the Exerciſe of Religious Duties; made them a Corporation, conſiſting of a *Super-intendent*, and four other Miniſters; with power, to fill the vacant Places by a new Succeſſion, whenſoever

An. Reg. 4. 1550.

any of them ſhould be void by Death, or otherwiſe, the parties by them choſen to be approved by the King and Council. And this he did, with a command to the Lord Mayor of *London*, the *Aldermen*, and *Sheriffs* thereof; as alſo to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and all other Biſhops of this Realm, not to diſturb them, either in the Free exerciſe of their Religion, and Eccleſiaſtical Government; notwithſtanding, that they differed from the Government, and Forms of Worſhip, Eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*. All which, and more; He grants by his *Letters Patents*, bearing Date at *Leez* (the Lord *Chancellour*'s Houſe) on the twenty fourth of *July*, and the fourth year of His Reign. Which Grant, though in it ſelf an Act of moſt Princely compaſſion, in reſpect of thoſe ſtrangers, yet proved the occaſion of no ſmall diſturbance to the proceedings of the Church, and the quiet ordering of the State; for, by ſuffering theſe men, to live under another kind of Government, and to Worſhip God after other Forms, then thoſe allowed of by the Laws, proved in effect the ſetting up of one *Altar* againſt another in the midſt of the Church, and the erecting of a Common-Wealth in the midſt of the Kingdom. So much the more unfortunately permitted in this preſent conjuncture, when ſuch a Rupture began to appear amongſt our ſelves, as was made wider by the coming in of theſe *Dutch Reformers*, and the Indulgence granted to them: as will appear by the following ſtory of *John Hooper*, deſigned to the Biſhoprick of *Gloceſter*; which in brief was this.

John Hooper, the deſigned Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, being bred in *Oxford*, ſtudious in the *Holy Scriptures*, and well-affected unto thoſe Beginnings of the *Reformation*, which had been countenanced by King *Henry*, about the time of the *Six Articles* found himſelf ſo much in danger, as put upon him the neceſſity of forſaking the Kingdom. Settling himſelf at *Zurich*, a Town of *Switzerland*, he acquaints himſelf with *Bullinger*, a Schollar, in thoſe Times, of great Name, and Note: and, having ſtai'd there, till the Death of King *Henry*, he returned into *England*; bringing with him ſome very ſtrong Affections to the Nakedneſs of the *Zuinglian*, or *Helvetian* Churches: though differing in Opinion from them in ſome points of Doctrine; and more eſpecially in that of Predeſtination. In *England*, by his conſtant Preaching, and learned Writings, he grew into great Favour, and Eſteem, with the Earl of *Warwick*; by whoſe procurement, the King moſt Graciouſly beſtowed upon him, without any ſeeking of his own, the Biſhoprick of *Gloceſter*; which was then newly void, by the death of *Wakeman*, the laſt Abbot of *Tewkſbury*, and the firſt Biſhop of that See. Having received the King's *Letters Patents* for his Preferment to that place, he applys himſelf to the Arch-Biſhop for his Conſecration: concerning which there grew a difference between them. For the Arch-Biſhop would not Conſecrate him; but in ſuch an Habit, which Biſhops were required to wear by the *Rules* of the Church: and *Hooper* would not take it, upon ſuch Conditions. Repairing to his Patron, the Earl of *Warwick*, he obtains from him a Letter to the Arch-Biſhop; *deſiring a forbearance of thoſe things, in which the Lord Elect of* Gloceſter *did crave to be forborn at his hands*; implying alſo, that it was the King's deſire, as well as his, that ſuch forbearance ſhould be uſed. It was deſired alſo, that he *would not charge him with any Oath, which* ſeemed *to be burthenous to his Conſcience.* For the *Elect Biſhop*, as it ſeems, had boggled alſo at the Oath of paying *Canonical Obedience* to his *Metropolitan*; which by the Laws, then, and ſtill in force, he was bound to take. But the Arch-Biſhop ſtill perſiſting in the Denyal, and being well ſeconded by Biſhop *Ridley* of *London*, (who would by no means yield unto it) the King himſelf was put upon the buſineſs by the Earl of *Warwick*; who thereupon wrote to the Arch-Biſhop this enſuing Letter.

Right

An. Reg. 4. 1550.

RIght Reverend Father, and Right Truſty, and Well Beloved, We Greet you well. Whereas We, by the Advice of Our Council, have Calden, and Choſen Our Right Well Beloved, and Well Worthy, Mr. John Hooper, *Profeſſour of Divinity, to be Our Biſhop of* Gloceſter: *as well for his Great Learning, Deep Judgment, and Long Study, both in the Scriptures, and other Profound Learning; as alſo for his Good Diſcretion, Ready Utterance, and Honeſt Life for that kind of Vocation,* &c. *From Conſecrating of whom We underſtand you do ſtay, becauſe he would have you omit, and let paſs certain Rights, and Ceremonies, offenſive to his Conſcience, whereby you think you ſhould fall in* Præmunire *of Our Laws: We have thought Good, by Advance aforeſaid, to diſpence, and diſcharge you of all manner of Dangers, Penalties, and Forfeitures, you ſhould run into, and be in, in any manner of way, by omitting any of the ſame. And this Our Letters ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant, and Diſcharge therefore.*

Given under Our Signet, at Our Caſtle of *Windſore*, the fifth day of *Auguſt*, in the fourth year of Our Reign.

This gracious Letter notwithſtanding, the two Biſhops, wiſely taking into conſideration, of what Danger, and Ill Conſequence, the Example was, humbly craved leave, not to obey the King againſt his Laws: and the *Earl*, finding little hope of prevailing in that ſuit, which would not be granted to the King, leaves the new biſhop to himſelf; who, ſtill perſiſting in his Obſtinacy, and wilful Humour, was finally for his Diſobedience, and Contempt, committed Priſoner; and, from the Priſon, writes his Letters to *Martin Bucer*, and *Peter Martyr*, for their Opinion in the Caſe. From the laſt of which, who had declared himſelf no friend to the *Engliſh* Ceremonies, he might preſume of ſome Encouragement; but, that he had any from the firſt, I have no where found. The contrary whereunto will appear by his Anſwer unto *John à Laſco*, in the preſent Caſe; whereof more anon.

In which condition of Affairs, *Calvin* addreſſeth his Letters to the Lord *Protector*, whom he deſireth to lend the man an (*) *helping hand*, and extricate him out of thoſe perplexities, into which he was caſt. So that, at laſt, the differences were thus compromiſed; that is to ſay, That *Hooper* ſhould receive his Conſecration, attired in his *Epiſcopal* Robes; that he ſhould be diſpenſed withall, from wearing it at ordinary times, as his daily Habit: but that he ſhould be bound to uſe it, whenſoever he Preached before the King, in his own Cathedral, or any other place of like publick Nature. According to which Agreement, being appointed to preach before the King, he ſhewed himſelf apparelled in his Biſhop's Robes: namely, a long Scarlet *Chimere*, reaching down to the ground, for his upper Garment, (changed in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, to one of Black Satten) and under that a white Linen Rochet, with a Square Cap upon his head; which *Fox* reproacheth by the name of a *Popiſh Attire*, and makes to be a great cauſe *of Shame, and contumelie*, to that Godly man. And poſſibly it might be thought ſo, at that time, by *Hooper* himſelf; who from thenceforth carryed a ſtrong Grudge againſt Biſhop *Ridley*, the principal man, as he conceived, (and that not untruly) who had held him up ſo cloſely to ſuch hard Conditions: not fully reconciled unto him, till they were both ready for the Stake; and then it was high time to lay aſide thoſe Animoſities, which they had hereupon conceived one againſt another. But theſe things happened not, (I mean

(*) *Homi. nem hortatus ſum; ut Hoo. pero Manum Porrigeret.*

An. Reg. 4. 1550.

his Consecration, and his Preaching before the King) till *March* next following; and then we may hear further of him.

And thus we have the first beginning of that Opposition, which hath continued ever since against the *Liturgy* it self, the *Cap*, and *Surplice*, and other *Rites*, and *Usages* of the *Anglican* Church.

Which Differences, being thus begun, were both fomented, and increased, by the Pragmaticalness of *John à Lasco*, Opposite, both in Government, and Forms of Worship, (if not perhaps in Doctrine also) to the Church of *England*. For *John à Lasco*, not content to enjoy those Privileges: which were intended for the use of those Strangers only, so far abused His Majestie's goodness, as to appear in favour of the *Zuinglian*, or *Calvinian* Faction, which then began more openly to shew it self, against the Orders of the Church. For, first, he publisheth a Book, entituled, *Forma & ratio totius Ecclesiastici Ministerii*: Wherein he maintains the Use of *Sitting at the Holy Communion*; contrary to the Laudable Custom of the Church of *England*, but much to the Encouragement of all those, who impugned her Orders. A Controversie, unhappily moved by Bishop *Hooper*, concerning the Episcopal Habit, was presently propagated amongst the rest of the Clergy, touching *Caps*, and *Surplices*. And in this Quarrel *John à Lasco* must needs be one: not only countenancing those, who refused to wear them; but writing unto *Martin Bucer*, to declare against them. For which severely reprehended by that Moderate and Learned Man, and all his cavils, and Objections very solidly Answered; which being sent to him, in the way of Letter, was afterwards Printed, and dispersed, for keeping down that Opposite Humour, which began then to overswell the Banks, and threatned to bear all before it. And by this passage we may rectifie a Mistake, or a Calumny rather, in the *Altare Damascenum*. The *Author* whereof makes *Martin Bucer* peremptory, in refusing to wear the *Square Cap*, when he lived in *Cambridge*; and to give this simple Reason for it; *That he could not wear a Square Cap, since his Head was Round*. But I note this only by the way, to shew the Honesty of those men, which erected that *Altar*: and return again to *John à Lasco*; who, being born in *Poland*, where sitting at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper had been used by the *Arrians*; (who looking no otherwise on *Christ*, then their Elder Brother, might think it was *no Robbery* at all *to be equal with Him*, and sit down with Him at His Table) what he learned there, he desired might be practiced here, the better to conform this Church to the *Polish* Conventicles.

As for the other Controversie about *Caps*, and *Surplices*; though it found no Encouragement from *Martin Bucer*; yet it received no small countenance from *Peter Martyr*. For in a Letter of his, of the first of *July*, inscribed *Unto a nameless Friend, who had desired his Judgment in it*, he first declares, according to the very Truth; *That, being indifferent in themselves, they could make no man, of themselves, to be either Godly, or Ungodly, by the use, or forbearance of them*: but then he addeth, That, (*) *He thinks it most Expedient to the Good of the Church; that they, and all others of that kind, should be taken away, when the next convenient Opportunity should present it self.* And then he gives this Reason for it: That, *Where such Ceremonies were so stifly contended for, which were not warranted, and supported, by the Word of God; there commonly men were less sollicitous of the Substance of Religion, then they were of the Circumstances of it.* But he might well have spared his Judgment, which had so visibly appeared in his daily practice. For he hath told us of himself, (in one of his *Epistles*, bearing date at *Zurick*, the fourth of *November*, 1559. being more than five years, after he had left this Kingdom;) That, (*) *He had never used the Surplice, when he lived in* Oxford; *though he were then a Canon of* Christ-Church, *and frequently present in the Quire.* So that, between the Authority of *Peter Martyr* on the one side, and the Pragmaticalness of *John à Lasco* on the other, many were drawn from their Obedience to the *Rules* of the Church, for the time then

(*) *Magis expedire judico; ut ea vestis, & alia, id genus, plura, cum fieri commode possit, auferantur*, &c.

(*) *Ego cum essem* Oxonii, *vestibus illis albis, in Choro, nunquam uti volui; quamvis essem Canonicus.*

then preſent, and a ground laid for more Confuſions, and Diſturbances in the time to come. *An. Reg.* 4. 1550.

The *Regular* Clergy, in thoſe days, appeared not, commonly, out of their own Houſes; but in their Prieſts Coats, with the ſquare Cap upon their Heads; and, if they were of Note, and Eminency, in their Gowns, and Tippets. This Habit alſo is decryed for Superſtitious; affirmed to be a *Popiſh Attire*, and altogether as unfit for Miniſters of the *Holy Goſpel*, as the *Chimere*, and *Rochet*, were for thoſe; who claimed to be the Succeſſors of the Lord's Apoſtles. So *Tyms* replyed unto Biſhop *Gardiner*, when, being asked, *Whether a Coat, with Stockings of divers colours, the upper part White, and the nether-ſtock Ruſſet*, (in which Habit he appeared before him) *were a fit Apparel for a Deacon*: (which Office he had exerciſed in this Church) he ſawcily made Anſwer, *That his Veſture did not ſo much vary from a Deacon's, as his Lordſhips did from that of an Apoſtle.* The leſs to be admired in *Tyms*, in that I find the like averſneſs from that grave, and decent Habit, in ſome other men: who were in Parts and Place above him. For, while this Controverſie was on Foot, between the Biſhops and Clergy, about wearing *Prieſts-caps*, and other *Attire*, belonging to their Holy *Order*, Mr. *John Rogers*, one of the Prebends of Saint *Paul's*, and *Divinity-Reader* of that Church, then newly returned from beyond the Seas, could never be perſwaded to wear any other, than the *Round Cap*, when he went abroad. And, being further preſſed unto it, he declared himſelf thus, *That he would never agree to the point of Conformity: but on this Condition, that, if the Biſhops did require the* Cap, *and* Tippet, *&c. then it ſhould alſo be decreed, that all* Popiſh *Prieſts (for a Diſtinction between them, and other) ſhould be conſtrained to wear upon their Sleeves a Chalice, with an Hoſt upon it.* The like averſneſs is by ſome aſcribed alſo to Mr. *John Philpot*, Arch-Deacon of *Wincheſter*, not long before returned from beyond the Seas, as the other was, and ſuffering for *Religion* in Queen *Marie's* Days, as the other did. Who, being by his place a Member of the Convocation, in the firſt of Queen *Mary*, and required by the *Prolocutor* to come apparelled, like the reſt, in his *Gown & Tippet*, or otherwiſe to forbear the houſe, choſe rather to accept of the laſt Condition, than to ſubmit unto the former. But there was ſomething elſe in the firſt Condition, which made him unwilling to accept it, and that was, That *He muſt not ſpeak, but when he was commanded by the* Prolocutour. Which being ſo directly againſt the Cuſtoms of the Houſe, and the Privileges of each Member of it, he had good reaſon, rather to forbear his Preſence; then to ſubmit himſelf, and conſequently all the reſt of the Members, to ſo great a ſervitude.

Such were the Effects of *Calvin's* Interpoſings in behalf of *Hooper*; and ſuch the Effects of his Exceptions againſt ſome Antient Uſages in the publick *Liturgy*; and ſuch the Conſequents of the Indulgence granted to *John à Laſco*, and his Church of Strangers oppoſite, both in practice, and point of Judgment, to the eſtabliſhed Rules, and Orders of the Church of *England*. For what did follow hereupon, but a continual multiplying of Diſorders in all parts of this Church? What from the ſitting at the Sacrament, uſed, and maintained by *John à Laſco*: but firſt Irreverence in receiving, and afterwards a contempt and depraving of it? What from the crying down of the Sacred Veſtments, and the Grave Habit of the Clergy; but firſt a Diſeſteem of the men themſelves, and by Degrees a Vilifying and contempt of their Holy Miniſtery? Nay, ſuch a peccancy of Humour began then manifeſtly to break out; that it was Preached at *Paul's* Croſs by one Sir *Steven*, (for ſo they commonly called ſuch of the Clergy, as were under the Degree of Doctor) the Curate of Saint *Katharine-Chriſt Church*, That, It was fit the Names of Churches ſhould be altered, and the Names of the days in the Week changed; That Fiſh-days ſhould be kept on any other days, then on *Frydays*, and *Saturdays*, and the *Lent* at any other time, except only between *Shrove-tide*, and *Eaſter*. We are told alſo by *John Stow*, that he had ſeen the ſaid Sir *Steven* to leave the Pulpit, and Preach to the peo-

ple

An. Reg. 4. 1550.

ple out of an high *Elm*, which ſtood in the middeſt of the *Church-Yard*; and, that being done, to return into the *Church* again; and leaving the *High-Altar*, to ſing the *Communion-Service* upon a Tomb of the Dead, with his Face toward the *North*. Which is to be obſerved, the rather; becauſe Sir *Stephen* hath found ſo many followers in theſe later Times. For, as ſome of the preciſer ſort have left the *Church*, to Preach in *Woods*, and *Barns*, &c. and, inſtead of the Names of the old days, and moneths, can find no other Title for them, than the *Firſt*, *Second*, or *Third Moneth of the Year*, and the *Firſt*, *Second*, or *Third Day of the Week*, &c. ſo was it propounded, not long ſince, by ſome *State-Reformers*: *That the* Lenten-Faſt *ſhould be kept no longer*, *between* Shrovetide *and* Eaſter; *but rather* (*by ſome* Act *or* Ordnance, *to be made for that purpoſe*) *betwixt* Eaſter *and* Whitſuntide. To ſuch wild Fancies do men grow, when once they break thoſe Bonds, and neglect thoſe Rules, which wiſe *Antiquity* ordained, for the preſervation of Peace, and Order.

If it be asked, *What*, *in the mean time*, *was become of the Biſhops*, and, *Why no care was taken for the purging of theſe Peccant Humours*: It may be Anſwered; That the wings of their Authority had been ſo clipped, that it was ſcarce able to fly abroad: the ſentence of *Excommunication*, wherewith they formerly kept in aw both Prieſt, and people, not having been in uſe, and practice, ſince the firſt of this King. Whether it were, that any command was lay'd upon the Biſhops; by which they were reſtrained from the Exerciſe of it: Or, that ſome other courſe was in Agitation, for drawing the cognizance of all *Eccleſiaſtical cauſes* to the Courts at *Weſtminſter*: Or, that it was thought inconſiſtent with that *Dreadful Sentence*, to be iſſued in the King's Name: (as it had lately been appointed by *Act of Parliament*,) it is not eaſie to determine. Certain it is, that, at this Time, it was in an Abeyance, (as our *Lawyers* phraſe it) either Aboliſhed for the preſent, or of none Effect: not only to the cheriſhing of theſe Diſorders, amongſt the *Miniſters* of the Church; but to the great encreaſe of Viciouſneſs in all ſorts of Men. So that it was not without cauſe, that it was called for ſo earneſtly by Biſhop *Latimer*, in a *Sermon* preached before the King, where he thus preſſeth for the Reſtitution of the Antient Diſcipline; *Lechery* (ſaith he) *is uſed in* England, *and ſuch Lechery*, *as is uſed in no other part of the World*. *And yet it is made a matter of Sport*, *a matter of Nothing*, *a Laughing matter*, *a Trifle*, *not to be paſſed on*, *nor Reformed*. *Well*, *I truſt it will be amended one day*, *and I hope to ſee it mended*, *as old as I am*. *And here I will make a Suit to your Highneſs*, *to reſtore unto the Church the* Diſcipline *of* Chriſt, *in* Excommunicating *ſuch*, *as be notable Offenders*. *Nor*, never deviſe any other Way: *for no man is able to* deviſe any better, *then that God hath done*, *with* Excommunication *to put them from the Congregation*, *till they be confounded*. *Therefore Reſtore* Chriſt's Diſcipline, *for* Excommunication: *and that ſhall be a mean*, *both to pacifie God's Wrath*, *and Indignation*; *and alſo*, *that leſs Abomination ſhall be uſed*, *then in Times paſt hath been*, *or is at this day*. *I ſpeak this of a Conſcience and I mean to move it*, *of a Will*, *to Your Grace*, *and Your Realm*. *Bring into the Church of* England, *the* Open Diſcipline *of* Excommunication, *that open Sinners may be ſtriken withall*.

Nor were theſe all the Miſchiefs, which the *Church* ſuffered at this Time. Many of the Nobility, and Gentry, which held *Abbey-Lands*, and were charged with *Penſions* to the *Monks*, out of a covetous Deſign to be freed of thoſe *Penſions*, or to diſcharge their Lands from thoſe Incumbrances, which by that means were lay'd upon them, had placed them in ſuch *Benefices*, as were in their Gifts. This filled the *Church* with ignorant and illiterate Prieſts: few of the *Monks* being Learned beyond their *Maſs-Book*, utterly unacquainted with the *Art* of *Preaching*, and otherwiſe not well-affected to the *Reformation*. Of which Abuſe, complaint is made by *Calvin* to Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*; and *Peter Martyr* (*) much bemoaneth the miſerable condition of the *Church*, for want of *Preachers*; though he touch not at the Reaſons, and Cauſes of it.

(*) *Doleo plusquam dici poteſt, tanta ubique in* Anglia *Verbi Dei penuria laborari.* Epiſt. *Julii* 1. 1550.

For

For the remedy whereof (as Time, and leasure would permit) it was ordained, by the Advice of the *Lords* of the Council; That, of the King's six *Chaplains*, which attended *in Ordinary*, two of them should be always about the Court, and the other four should Travail in *Preaching* abroad. The first year, two in *Wales*, and two in *Lincolnshire*; the second year, two in the *Mirches* of *Scotland*, and two in *York-shire*; the third year, two in *Devonshire*, and two in *Hampshire*; the fourth year, two in *Norfolk*, and two in *Essex*; the fifth year, two in *Kent*, and two in *Sussex*: and so throughout all the *Shires* in *England*. By which means it was hoped, that the people might, in time, be well instructed in their Duty to God, and their Obedience to the Laws: in which they had not shewed themselves so forward; as, of right, they ought. But this course being like to be long in running, and subject to more Heats and Colds, then the nature of the Business could well comport with; the next care, was to fill the Church with Abler, and more Orthodox Clarks, as the *Cures* fell void. And, for an Example to the rest, it was Ordered; that none should be presented unto any Benefice in the King's Donation, either as in the Right of His Crown, or by promotion, Wardship, lapse, *&c.* till he had preached before the King; & thereby passed his Judgment, & approbation. And it was much about this time, that *Sermons* at the Court were increased also. For whereas formerly there were no *Sermons* at the Court, but in time of *Lent*; & possibly on some few of the greater Festivals; in which respect six Chaplains were sufficient to attend in Ordinary: it was now Ordered; That, from thenceforth, there should be *Sermons* every Sunday, for all such as were so disposed, to resort unto. *An. Reg.* 4. 1550.

But the Great business of this Year was the taking down of *Altars*, in many places, by the publick Authority; which in some few had formerly been pulled down, by the irregular forwardness of the common people. The principal Motive whereunto was, in the first place, the Opinion of some dislikes, which had been taken by *Calvin*, against the *Liturgy*; and the desire of those of the *Zuinglian* Faction, to reduce this Church unto the Nakedness, and Simplicity, of those transmarine Churches, which followed the *Helvetian*, or *Calvinian* Forms. For the Advancement of which Work, it had been preached by *Hooper*, abovementioned, before the King, about the beginning of this year; That, *It would be very well, that it might please the Magistrate, to turn the* Altars *into* Tables: *according to the first Institution of* Christ; *and thereby to take away the false perswasion of the People, which they have of* Sacrifices *to be done upon the* Altars. *Because* (said he) *as long as* Altars *remain, both the ignorant people, and the ignorant, and evil perswaded Priest, will dream always of* Sacrifice. This was enough, to put the thoughts of the *Alteration* into the Head of some Great Men about the *Court*, who thereby promised themselves no small Hopes of Profit, by the disfurnishing of the *Altars* of the *Hangings*, *Palls*, *Plate*, and other Rich *Utensils*; which every *Parish*, more, or less, had provided for them. And that this Consideration might prevail upon them, as much, as any other, (if perhaps not more) may be collected from an Enquiry, made about two years after. In which, it was to be interrogated; *What Jewels of Gold, and Silver, or Silver Crosses, Candlesticks, Censers, Chalices, Copes, and other Vestments, were then remaining, in any of the Cathedral, or Parochial Churches; or otherwise had been embezelled, or taken away*: the leaving of one *Chalice* to every Church, with a *Cloath*, or *covering*, for the *Communion-Table*, being thought sufficient.

The matter being thus resolved on, a Letter comes to Bishop *Ridley*, in the name of the King, Signed with His Royal *Signet*, but Subscribed by *Somerset*, and other of the *Lords* of the Council, concerning the taking down of *Altars*, and setting up *Tables* in the stead thereof. Which Letter, because it relates to somewhat, which was done before, in some of the Churches, and seems only to pretend to an *Uniformity* in all the rest, I shall here subjoyn; that being the Chief Ground, on which so great an Alteration must be supposed

An. Reg. 4. 1550.

ſed to have been raiſed. Now the Tenour of the ſaid Letter is, as followeth.

RIght Reverend Father in God, Right Truſty, and Well Beloved; We Greet You well: Whereas it is come to Our Knowledge; that, being the Altars *within the more part of the Churches of this Realm, upon Good and Godly conſiderations, are taken down, there doth yet remain* Altars, *ſtanding in divers other Churches; by occaſion whereof much Variance, and contention, ariſeth amongſt ſundry of Our Subjects; which, if good Fore-ſight were not had, might perhaps engender great Hurt, and Inconvenience: We let you wit; that, minding to have all Occaſions of contention taken away, which many times groweth by thoſe, and ſuch like Diverſities; and conſidering, that, amongſt other things, belonging to Our Royal Office, and care, VVe do account the greateſt to be, to maintain the common Quiet of Our Realm; VVe have thought Good, by the Advice of Our* Council, *to require You, and nevertheleſs eſpecially to charge and command You, for the avoiding of all matters of further contention, and Strife, about the ſtanding, or taking away of the ſaid* Altars, *to give ſubſtantial Order throughout all Your Dioceſs; that, with all Diligence, all the* Altars, *in every Church, or Chappel: as well in places Exempted, as not Exempted, within Your ſaid Dioceſs, be taken down; and, inſtead of them, a* Table *to be ſet up, in ſome convenient part of the Chancel, within every ſuch Church, or Chappel, to ſerve for the Miniſtration of the* Bleſſed Communion. *And to the intent, the ſame may be done, without the Offence of ſuch Our Loving Subjects, as be not, yet, ſo well perſwaded in that behalf, as VVe could wiſh, VVe ſend unto You herewith certain conſiderations, Gathered, and collected, that make for the purpoſe. The which, and ſuch others, as You ſhall think meet, to be ſet forth to perſwade the weak, to embrace Our Proceedings in this part, VVe pray You cauſe to be declared to the People by ſome diſcreet Preachers, in ſuch places, as You ſhall think meet, before the taking down of the ſaid* Altars: *ſo, as both the weak conſciences of others may be inſtructed, and ſatisfied, as much as may be; and this Our Pleaſure the more quietly Executed. For the better doing whereof, VVe require You to open the fore-ſaid conſiderations, in that Our Cathedral Church, in Your own Perſon if You conveniently may; or, otherwiſe by Your Chancellour, or other Grave Preacher, both there, and in ſuch other Market-Towns, and moſt Notable Places, of Your Dioceſs, as You may think moſt requiſite.*

Which *Letter*, bearing date on the twenty fourth of *November*, in the fourth year of the King, was Subſcribed by the Duke of *Sommerſet*, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Admiral *Clinton*, the Earls of *VVarwick*, *Bedford*, and *VViltſhire*; the Biſhop of *Ely*, the Lords *VVentworth*, and *North*.

Now the effect of the ſaid *Reaſons*, mentioned in the laſt part of this *Letter*, were; Firſt, To move the people, from the ſuperſtitious Opinions of the *Popiſh Maſs*, unto the right Uſe of the *Lord's Supper*. The Uſe of an *Altar* being, to *Sacrifice* upon; and the Uſe of a *Table*, to *Eat* upon: and therefore a *Table* to be far more fit for Our feeding on Him, who was once only Crucified, and offered for us. Secondly, That, in the *Book of Common-Prayer*, the name of *Altar*, the *Lord's Board*, or *Table*, are uſed indifferently, without preſcribing any thing in the form thereof. For as it is called a *Table*, and the *Lord's Board*, in reference to the *Lord's Supper*, which is there Adminiſtred, ſo it is called an *Altar* alſo, in reference to the Sacrifice of *Praiſe* and *Thanks-giving*, which is there offered unto God. And ſo the changing the *Altars* into *Tables* not to be any way repugnant to the *Rules* of the *Liturgy*. The third Reaſon ſeems to be

no

no other then an illustration of the first, for taking away the superstitious opinion out of the minds of the people, touching the *Sacrifice* of the *Mass*; which was not to be Celebrated, but upon an *Altar*. The fourth, That the *Altars* were Erected for the *Sacrifices* of the *Law*, which being now ceased, the Form of the *Altar* was to cease together with them. The fifth, That, as *Christ* did Institute the *Sacrament* of his Body and Bloud, at a *Table*, and not at an *Altar*, (as appeareth by the three *Evangelists*) so it is not to be found, that any of the Apostles did ever use an *Altar* in the Ministration. And finally, That, it is declared in the *Preface* to the *Book of Common-Prayer*, That, If any Doubt arise in the Use, and Practising, of the said Book, that then, to appease all such Diversity, the Matter shall be referred unto the Bishop of the Dioces; who, by his Discretion, shall take Order for the quieting of it. *An. Reg.* 4. 1550.

The Letter with these Reasons being brought to *Ridley*, there was time for him to dispute the Commands of the one, or to examine the Validity, and strength of the other. And thereupon, proceeding shortly after to his first *Visitation*, he gave out one Injunction, amongst others, to this Effect; That *Those Churches in his Dioces, where the* Altars *do remain, should conform themselves unto those other Churches, which had taken them down; and that, instead of the multitude of their* Altars, *they should set up one decent Table in every Church.* But this being done, a question afterwards did arise, about the Form of the *Lords Board*; some using it in the form of a *Table*, and others in the Form of an *Altar*. Which being referred unto the Determination of the Bishop, he declared himself in favour of that *Posture*, or *Position* of it, which he conceived most likely to procure an *Uniformity* in all his Dioces, and to be more agreeable to the King's Godly Proceedings, in abolishing divers vain, and superstitious Opinions, about the *Mass*, out of the Hearts of the People. Upon which Declaration or Determination, he appointed the Form of a Right Table, to be used in his Dioces; and caused the Wall standing on the back side of the *Altar*, in the Church of Saint *Paul's*, to be broken down, for an Example to the rest. And being thus a leading Case to all the rest of the Kingdom, it was followed, either with a swifter, or a slower Pace; according as the Bishops in their several Dioceses, or the Clergy in their several Parishes, stood affected to it. No Universal Change of *Altars* into *Tables*, in all parts of the Realm, till the Repealing of the *First Liturgy*, in which the *Priest* is appointed, *To stand before the middest of the* Altar, *in the Celebration*; and the establishing of the *Second*, in which it is required, That *The Priest shall stand on the* North-*side of the* Table, had put an end to the Dispute.

Nor, indeed, can it be supposed, that all, which is before affirmed of Bishop *Ridley*, could be done at once, or acted in so short a Space, as the rest of this year: which could not give him time enough, to Warn, Commence, and carry on a *Visitation*; admitting, that the Inconveniency of the season might have been dispensed with. And therefore I should rather think, that the *Bishop*, having received His Majesties *Order* in the end of *November*, might cause it to be put in Execution in the Churches of *London*, and Issue out his *Mandate* to the rest of the Bishops, and the Arch-Deacons of his own Dioces, for doing the like in other places within the compass of their several and respective Jurisdictions. Which being done, he in the way of Preparation, his *Visitation* might proceed in the *Spring* next following; and the whole business be transacted, in Form, and Manner, as before laid down. And this may be believed the rather; because the changing of *Altars* into *Tables* is made by *Hollinshead*, (*) (Diligent and Painful Writer) to be the Work of the next year; as, questionless it needs must be, in all parts of the Realm; except *London*, and *Westminster*, and some of the Tows, and Villages, adjoyning to them. But, much less can I think, that the *Altar-wall*, in Saint *Paul's* Church, was taken down by the Command of Bishop *Ridley*, in the Evening of Saint *Barnaby's-Day*, this present year; as is affirmed by (*) *John Stow*. For then it must be done five Moneths, before (*) Fol. 1011. (*) Fol. 605.

An. Reg. 5. 1551.

the coming out of the *Order* from the *Lords* of the Council. Assuredly, Bishop *Ridley* was the Master of too great a Judgment, to run before Authority, in a business of such Weight, and Moment. And he had also a more high Esteem of the *Blessed Sacrament*; then, by any such unadvised, and precipitate Action, to render it less Venerable in the Eyes of the Common people. Besides, whereas the taking down of the said *Altar-Wall* is said to have been done on the first St. *Barnaby's-Day*, which was kept *Holy* with the *Church*: that circumstance is alone sufficient, to give some light to the Mistake. The *Liturgy*, which appointed Saint *Barnaby's-Day* to be kept for an *Holy-Day*, was to be put in Execution in all parts of the Realm, at the Feast of *Whitsun-tide*, 1549. and had actually been Officiated in some Churches, for some Weeks before. So, that the first Saint *Barnaby's-Day*, which was to be kept *Holy* by the *Rules* of that *Liturgy*, must have been kept in that year also; and consequently the taking down of the said *Altar-Wall*, being done on the Evening of that day, must be supposed to have been done above ten Months, before Bishop *Ridley* was Translated to the See of *London*. Let therefore the keeping *Holy* of the first St. *Barnaby's-Day*, be placed in the year 1549, the Issuing of the *Order* from the *Lords* of the Council in the year 1550, and the taking down of the *Altar-Wall*, on the Evening of Saint *Barnaby's-Day*, in the year 1551. And then all Inconveniences, and Contradictions, will be taken away, which otherwise cannot be avoided.

No change this year amongst the *Peers* of the Realm, or principal Officers of the *Court*: but in the Death of *Thomas* Lord *Wriothesly*, the first Earl of *Southhampton*, of that name, and Family; who dyed at *Lincoln-Place*, in *Holdborn*, on the thirtieth day of *July*; leaving his son *Henry*, to succeed him in his Lands, and Honours. A Man Unfortunate in his Relations to the two Great Persons of that Time; deprived of the *Great Seal* by the Duke of *Sommerset*; and removed from his Place at the Council-Table by the Earl of *Warwick*: having first served the Turns of the one, in lifting him into the Saddle; and of the other, in dismounting him from that High Estate. Nor find I any great Change this year amongst the Bishops: but that Doctor *Nicholas Ridley*, Bishop of *Rochester*, was Translated to the *See* of *London*, on the twelfth of *April*; and Doctor *John Poynet* Consecrated Bishop of *Rochester*, on the twenty sixth of *June*. By which Account he must needs be the first Bishop, which received *Episcopal Consecration* according to the Form of the *English Ordinal*: as *Farrars* was the first, who was advanced, unto that Honour, by the King's *Letters Patents*. As for *Ridley*, we have spoke before; and as for *Poynet*, he is affirmed to have been a Man of very good Learning, with Reference to his Age, and the Time he lived in: well studied in the *Greek* Tongue, and of no small Eminence in the *Arts*, and *Mathematical Sciences*. A Change was also made in *Cambridge* by the Death of *Bucer*: which I find placed by Mr. *Fox*, on the twenty third of *December*; by others, with more Truth, on the nineteenth of *January* (both in the Compass of this year) and by some others, with less Reason, on the tenth of *March*. But, at what time soever he dyed, certain it is, that he was most solemnly Interred in Saint *Mary's-Church*, attended to his Grave by all the *Heads*, and most of the *Graduates* in that *University*: his *Funeral Sermon* Preached by Doctor *Pardon*, the first Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time: the *Panegyrick* made by one of the *Haddons*, a Man of a most Fluent, and Rhetorical Style: all that pretended to the *Muses*, in both *Universities*, setting forth his great Worth, and their own Loss in him, with the best of their *Poetry*.

Anno

An. Reg. 5.

Anno Regni Edw. *Sexti* 5. *An. Dom.* 1550, 1551. 1550 / 1551

WE must begin this year with the *Deprivation* of Biſhop *Gardiner*, whom we left committed to the *Tower* the laſt of *June* in the year 1548. There he remained almoſt two years, without being preſſed to any particular points the yielding unto which might procure his liberty: or the Refuſal juſtifie ſuch a long Imprisonment. On the tenth of *June*, this year the publick *Liturgy*, now being generally executed in all parts of the Kingdom, was offered to his Conſideration; that ſome Experiment might be made, whether he would put his hand unto it, and promiſe to advance the Service. Upon the fourth day after, the Duke of *Somerſet*, with five other of the *Lords* of the Council, was ſent unto the *Tower* to receive his Anſwer. Which he returned to this effect; *That he had deliberately conſidered of all the* Offices *contained in the* Common-Prayer Book, *and all the ſeveral Branches of it*: That, *Though he could not have made it, in that Manner, had the Matter been referred unto him; yet, that he found ſuch things therein, as did very well ſatisfie his Conſcience: and therefore that he would, not only execute it in his own Perſon; but cauſe the ſame to be Officiated by all thoſe of his Dioceſs.* But this was not the Anſwer which the *Courtiers* looked for. It was their Hope, they ſhould have found him more averſe from the King's *Proceedings*; that, making a Report of his perverſneſs, he might be lifted out of that Wealthy Biſhoprick: which, if it either were kept Vacant, or filled with a more Tractable Perſon, might give them opportunity to enrich themſelves by the Spoil thereof. Therefore to put him further to it, the Lord Treaſurer, the Earl of *Warwick*; Sir *William Herbert*, Maſter of the Horſe; and Mr. Secretary *Petre*, are ſent upon the ninth of *July*, with certain *Articles*: which, for that end, were Signed by the King, and the *Lords* of the Council. According to the Tenour hereof, he was not only to teſtifie his conſent to the Eſtabliſhing of the *Holy-Days*, and *Faſting-Days*, by the King's Authority, the Allowance of the publick *Liturgy*, and the Abrogating of the *Statute* for the *Six Articles*, &c. but to Subſcribe to the *Confeſſion* of his Fault in his former Obſtinacy, after ſuch Form and Manner, as was there required. To which *Articles* he Subſcribed without any great Heſitancy: but refuſed to put his Hand to the ſaid *Confeſſion*; *There being no reaſon*, (as he thought; and ſo he anſwered thoſe, which came unto him from the *Court* on the Morrow after) *that he ſhould yield to the Confeſſion of a Guilt, when he knew himſelf Innocent.*

He is now faln into the Toil, out of which he finds but Little Hope of being ſet free. For preſently on the neck of this, a Book of *Articles* is drawn up, containing all the Alteration made by the King, and His Father, as well by *Acts of Parliament*, as their own *Injunctions*, from the firſt Suppreſſion of the *Monaſteries*, to the coming out of the late *Form for the Conſecration of Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops*, &c. Of all which Doings he is required to ſignifie his Approbation, to make Confeſſion of his Fault, with an Acknowledgment, that he had deſerved the Puniſhment, which was laid upon him. Which *Articles* (being tendered to him by the Biſhop of *London*, *the Maſter of the Horſe*, Mr. Secretary *Petre*, and *Goodrick*, a *Counſellour at Law*) appearred to him, to be of ſuch an hard Digeſtion: that he deſir'd firſt to be ſet at Liberty, before he ſhould be preſſed to make a particular Anſwer. This being taken for a Refuſal, and that Refuſal taken for a Contempt: the Profits of his Biſhoprick are ſequeſtred from him, for three Moneths, by an *Order* of the *Council-Table*, bearing date the nineteenth of the Moneth, the ſaid Profits, in the mean time, to be collected, or received, by ſuch Perſon, or Perſons, as the King ſhould thereunto appoint, with this Intimation in the Cloſe; that if he did not tender his Submiſſion, at the end of that Term, he ſhould be taken *for an Incorrigible Perſon, and unmeet Miniſter of this Church, and, Finally to be proceeded againſt to a Deprivati-*

An. Reg. 5. 1551.

on. The Term expired, and no ſuch humble *Submiſſion*, or *Acknowledgment*, made, as had been required at his Hands; a *Commiſſion* is directed to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, and *Lincoln*, Sir *William Peter*, &c. authoriſed thereby to proceed againſt him, upon certain *Articles* in the ſame contained. Convented before whom at *Lambeth*, on the fifteenth of *December*, he received his charge. Which being received, he uſed ſo many Shifts, and found ſo many Evaſions to elude the Buſineſs; that, having appeared ſix days before them, without coming to a plain and poſitive Anſwer, he was, upon the fourteenth of *February*, Sentenced to a *Deprivation*, and ſo remitted to the Tower. But *Gardiner* did not mean to die ſo tamely, and therefore had no ſooner heard the *Definitive Sentence*; but preſently he *Proteſteth* againſt the ſame, makes his Appeal unto the King; and cauſeth both his ſaid *Appeal*, and *Proteſtation*, to be Regiſtred in the *Acts* of that Court. Of all which he will find a time to ſerve himſelf, in the Alteration of Affairs.

It was preſumed, that the Report of this ſeverity againſt a man, ſo eminent for his Parts and Place, would either bring ſuch other Biſhops, as had yet ſtood out, to a fit Conformity; or otherwiſe expoſe both them, and their Eſtates, to the like Condemnation. But ſome there were, ſo ſtiff in their old Opinions: that neither Terrour, nor Perſwaſion, could prevail upon them; either to give their Approbation of the King's *Proceedings*; or otherwiſe to advance the Service. And ſome there were; who, though they outwardly complyed with the King's Commands, yet was it done ſo coldly, and with ſuch Reluctancy, as lai'd them open to the Spoil, though not to the loſs, of their Biſhopricks. Of which laſt ſort were; *Kitching* Biſhop of *Landaff*, *Salcot* (otherwiſe called *Capon*) Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, and *Sampſon* of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*. Of which, the laſt, to keep his ground, was willing to fling up a great part of his *Lands*; and, out of thoſe, which either belonged unto his *See*, or the *Dean* and *Chapter*, to raiſe a *Baron's* Eſtate (and the Title of the *Barony* too) for Sir *William Paget*, not born to any ſuch fair Fortunes, as he thus acquired. *Salcot* of *Saliſbury*, knowing himſelf obnoxious to ſome Court-Diſpleaſures, redeems his Peace, and keeps himſelf out of ſuch Danger, by making long Leaſes of the beſt of his *Farms* and *Manours*; known afterwards moſt commonly by the Name of *Capons-Feathers*. But none of them more miſerably Dilapidated the Patrimony of his *See*, then Biſhop *Kitching* of *Landaff*. A Church ſo liberally endowed by the Munificence, and Piety, of ſome Great Perſons in thoſe Times; that if it were poſſeſſed but of a tenth part of what once it had, it might be reckoned (as is affirmed by Biſhop *Godwine*, one of *Kitching's* Succeſſours) amongſt the Richeſt Churches in theſe parts of *Chriſtendom*. But whatſoever *Kitching* found it, it was made poor enough, before he left it: ſo poor, that it is hardly able to keep the Pot boiling for a *Parſon's* Dinner.

Of the firſt Rank, I reckon *Voyſie* of *Exeter*, *Heath* of *Worceſter*, and *Day* of *Chicheſter*; for the Province of *Canterbury*: together with Biſhop *Tonſtal* of *Durham*, in the Province of *York*. The firſt, once Governour to the Princeſs *Mary*, Preferred afterwards, by King *Henry*, to the *Lord-Preſident*-ſhip of *Wales*, and the *See* of *Exeter*. Which *See* he found poſſeſſed, at his coming to it, of twenty two goodly *Manours*, and fourteen *Manſion-Houſes*, Richly furniſhed. But the Man neither could approve the *Proceedings* of the King in the *Reformation*; nor cared, in that reſpect, to Preſerve the *Patrimony* of the Church, for thoſe, who might differ in Opinion from him. And being ſet upon the Pin, he made ſuch havock of his *Lands*, before he was brought under a *Deprivation*: that he left, but ſeven or eight of the worſt *Manours*, and thoſe let out into long *Leaſes*, and charged with *Penſions*; and not above two *Houſes*, both bare and naked. Having loſt ſo much Footing within his *Diocеſs*, it is no marvail, if he could no longer keep his Standing. For, being found an open Hinderer of the Work in hand, and ſecretly to have fomented the *Rebellion* of the *Devonſhire*-Men, in the year 1549. he either was deprived

deprived of, or (as ſome ſay) reſigned his Biſhoprick, within few Months after the *Sentence* paſſed on *Gardiner*: but lived to be reſtored again, (as *Gardiner* alſo was) in the Time of Queen *Mary*. Of *Day*, and *Heath*, I have nothing to remember more particularly; but, that they were both deprived on the tenth of *October*, and lived both to a Reſtitution in Queen *Marie*'s Reign: *Heath*, in the mean time, being Liberally, and Lovingly entertained by the Biſhop of *London*, and afterwards Preferred to the Arch-Biſhoprick of *York*, and made Lord *Chancellour* of *England*. Nor ſhall I now ſay more of *Tonſtal*; but, that, being caſt into the *Tower* on the twentieth day of *December*, he was there kept, until the Diſſolution of his Biſhoprick by *Act of Parliament*: of which we ſhall ſpeak more at large, in its proper place. *An. Reg.* 5. 1551.

We muſt not leave theſe *Churches* vacant; conſidering, that it was not long, before they were ſupplyed with new *Incumbents*. To *Gardiner*, in the *See* of *Winton*, ſucceeded Doctor *John Poynet*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*: a better *Scholar* than a *Biſhop*; and purpoſely Preferred to that Wealthy Biſhoprick, to ſerve other Mens Turns. For, before he was well warm in his *See*, he diſmembred from it the Goodly *Palace* of *Marwel*, with the *Manours* and *Parks*, of *Marwel* and *Twiford*, which had before been ſeiſed upon by the Lord *Protector*, to make a Knight's Eſtate for Sir *Henry Seimour*, as before was ſignified. The *Palace* of *Waltham*, with the *Park* and *Manour* belonging to it, and ſome good *Farms* depending on it, were ſeiſed into the hands of the Lord Treaſurer *Pawlet*, Earl of *Wiltſhire*: who, having got into poſſeſſion ſo much *Lands* of the Biſhoprick, conceived himſelf in a fit Capacity to affect (as ſhortly after he obtained) the Title of *Lord Marqueſs of Wincheſter*. But this, with many of the reſt of *Poynet*'s Grants, Leaſes, and Alienations, were again recovered to the Church, by the Power of *Gardiner*; when, being reſtored unto his *See*, he was by Queen *Mary* made Lord *Chancellour*. To *Voyſie*, in the *See* of *Exeter*, ſucceeded Doctor *Miles Coverdale*: one, who had formerly aſſiſted *Tyndal*, in Tranſlating the *Bible* into *Engliſh*, and, for the moſt part, lived at *Tubing*, an *Univerſity* belonging to the Duke of *Saxony*; where he received the Decree of *Doctor*. Returning into *England*, in the firſt year of King *Edward*, and growing into great eſteem, for Piety, and Diligent Preaching, he was Conſecrated Biſhop of this *Church*, the thirtieth of *Auguſt*: the *Bones* whereof were ſo clean picked, that he could not eaſily leave them with leſs *Fleſh*, than he found upon them. Nor have we more to ſay of *Scory*, who ſucceeded *Day*: but, that, being Conſecrated Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, in the place of *Poynet*, on the thirtieth of *Auguſt* alſo, he, ſucceeded *Day*, at *Chicheſter*, in the year next following. Of which Biſhoprick he was deprived of, in the time of Queen *Mary*; and afterwards preferred by Queen *Elizabeth* to the *See* of *Hereford*, in which place he dyed. To *Heath*, at *Worceſter*, no Succeſſour was at all appointed: that Biſhoprick being given in *Commendam* to Biſhop *Hooper*; who, having been Conſecrated Biſhop of *Gloceſter* on the eight of *March*, was made the *Commendatory* of this *See*: to which he could not legally be Tranſlated (as the Caſe then ſtood) both *Latimer*, and *Heath* being ſtill alive, and both reputed Biſhops of it, by their ſeveral Parties. And here we have a ſtrange Converſion of Affairs: for whereas heretofore, the County of *Gloceſter* was a part of the Dioceſs of *Worceſter*, out of which it was taken by King *Henry*, when firſt made a Biſhoprick; the Dioceſs of *Worceſter* was now lay'd to the *See* of *Gloceſter*. Not, that I think, that *Hooper* was ſuffered to enjoy the Temporal Patrimony of that Wealthy Biſhoprick: but that he was to exerciſe the Juriſdiction, and Epiſcopality, with ſome ſhort Allowance for his pains. The *Pyrates* of the Courts were too intent on all Advantages, to let ſuch a Veſſel paſs untouched; in which they might both find enough to enrich themſelves, and yet leave that, which was ſufficient to content the *Merchant*. And this perhaps may be one Reaſon, why *Latimer* was not reſtored unto his Biſhoprick, upon this Avoydance: not in regard of any ſenſible Diſlike, which was taken at him by the Court, for his down-right

Preachi-

An. Reg. 5. 1551. Preaching, or that the Biſhops feared from him the like diſturbances, which they had met withall in *Hooper*. But, I conceive, the Principal Reaſon of it might proceed from his own Unwillingneſs, to cumber his old Age with the Trouble of buſineſs, and to take that burthen on his Shoulders; which he had, long before, thrown off, with ſuch great Alacrity. And poſſible enough it is: that, finding his abilities more proper for the *Pulpit*, then they were for the *Conſiſtory*: he might deſire to exerciſe himſelf in that Imployment, in which he might appear moſt ſerviceable, both to God, and his Church. For, both before, and after this, we find him frequent in the *Pulpit* before the King, and have been told of his diligent and conſtant Preaching in other places. His *Sermons*, for the moſt part (as the uſe then was) upon the *Goſpels of the Day*: by which he had the opportunity of Opening, and Expounding a greater Portion of the Word of God; than if he had confined his Meditations to a ſingle *Text*. His Entertainment generally with Arch-biſhop *Cranmer*; where he found all neceſſary Accommodation: and ſo extreamly honoured by all ſorts of people, that he never loſt the Name of *Lord*; and was ſtill looked on, as a Biſhop, though without a Biſhoprick.

But, notwithſtanding the Remove of ſo many Biſhops, there ſtill remained one Rub in the Way; which did as much retard the progreſs of the *Reformation*, as any of the reſt, if not altogether. The Princeſs *Mary*, having been bred up, from Her Infancy, in the *Romiſh* Religion, could not be won, by any Arguments, and perſwaſions, to change her Mind, or permit that any Alteration ſhould be made in thoſe publick *Offices*, to which ſhe had ſo long been uſed. The King had writ many *Letters* to Her, in hope to take Her off from thoſe Affections, which ſhe carryed to the Church of *Rome*. The like done alſo by the *Lords* of the Council, and with like ſucceſs. For, beſides that ſhe conceived Her Judgment built on ſo good a Foundation, as could not eaſily be ſubverted; there were ſome Politick *Conſiderations*: which poſſibly might prevail more with Her, than all other *Arguments*. She was not to be told, That, by the Religion of the *Proteſtants*, Her Mother's Marriage was Condemned; That by the ſame ſhe was declared to be Illigitimate; and conſequently, made uncapable to ſucceed in the Crown, in Caſe ſhe ſhould ſurvive Her brother. All which ſhe muſt acknowledge, to be legally and juſtly determined. Upon theſe Grounds, ſhe holds Her ſelf to Her firſt Reſolution, keeps up the *Maſs*, with all the *Rites*, and *Ceremonies* belonging to it, and ſuffers divers Perſons, beſides her own Domeſtick Servants, to be preſent at it. The *Emperour* had ſo far mediated in Her behalf, that her *Chaplains* were permitted to Celebrate the *Maſs* in Her Preſence: but with this Caution and Reſtriction; That, they ſhould Celebrate the ſame in Her Preſence only. For the tranſgreſſing of which bounds, *Mallet*, and *Barkley*, Her two *Chaplains* were Committed Priſoners, in *December* laſt: of which ſhe makes complaint to the *Lords* of the Council; but finds as cold Return from them, as they did from Her.

A plot is thereupon contrived: for conveying Her out of the Realm by ſtealth, to tranſport Her from *Eſſex*, where ſhe then lay, to the *Court* of the Queen *Regent* in *Flanders*; ſome of Her ſervants ſent before, *Flemiſh* ſhips ready to receive Her, and a commotion to be raiſed in that County; that in the Heat, and Tumult of it ſhe might make Her Eſcape. The King is ſecretly advertiſed of this Deſign, and preſently diſpatcheth certain Forces under Sir *John Gates*, then newly made *Lieutenant* of the Band of *Penſioners*, to prevent the Practice, ſecures His Coaſts, orders His Ships to be in Readineſs, and ſpeeds away the Lord Chancellour *Rich*, with Sir *William Peter*, to bring the *Princeſs* to the *Court*. Which being effected at the laſt, though not without extream Unwillingneſs on Her part to begin the Journey; *Ingleſfield*, *Walgrave*, and *Rocheſter*, being all of Principal place about Her, on the thirtieth of *October*, were committed to Cuſtody; which adds a new Affliction to Her, but there was no Remedy. The *Lords* of the Council being commanded by the King to attend upon Her,

Her, declared in the name of His Highneſs, how long He had permitted Her the Maſs; that, finding how unmoveable ſhe was from Her former courſes. He reſolved not to endure it longer, unleſs he might perceive ſome hope of her conformity, within ſhort time after. To which the Princeſs Anſwered; That *Her Soul was God's; and for her Faith, that as ſhe could not change, ſo ſhe would not diſſemble it.* The Council thereunto rejoyn; That the King intended not to conſtrain her Faith; but to reſtrain her in the outward Profeſſion of it: in regard of thoſe many dangers, and inconveniencies, which might enſue on the example. Which enterchange of words being paſſed, ſhe is appointed, for the preſent, to remain with the King: but neither *Maller*, nor any other of Her Chaplains, permitted to have ſpeech with her, or acceſs unto Her. *An. Reg.* 5. 1551.

The *Emperour*, being certified how all things paſſed, ſends an Ambaſſadour to the King, with a Threatning Meſſage: even to the denouncing of a War; in caſe his Couſin, the Princeſs *Mary*, were not permitted to enjoy the exerciſe of her own Religion. To gratifie whom in his deſires, the *Lords* of the Council generally ſeem'd to be very inclinable; they wel conſider'd of the prejudice which muſt fall upon the *Engliſh* Merchants, if they ſhould loſe their Trade in *Flanders*; where they had a whole year's cloth, beſide other Goods. And they knew well, what inconvenience muſt befall the King, who had there 500. Quintals of Powder, and good ſtore of Armour; which would be ſeiſed into the *Emperour's* hands, and imployed againſt him, if any Breach ſhould grow between them. The King is therefore moved, with the joynt Conſent of the whole Board, to grant the *Emperour's* Requeſt: and to diſpence with the utmoſt Rigour of the Law, in that particular; for fear of drawing upon himſelf a greater miſchief. But they found Him ſo well ſtudyed in the Grounds and Principles of his Religion; that no Conſideration, drawn from any Reaſon of State, could induce him to it. It was thereupon thought fit, to ſend the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *London*, being both Members of that Body, to try what they could do upon Him, in the way of Argument. By them, the Point being brought unto ſuch an Iſſue, as might give them ſome hopes of being admited, it was propounded to him, as their Opinion, (after ſome progreſs made in the Diſputation,) that, Though it were a ſin, to give Licence to ſin; yet a connivance of it might be allowed: in caſe it neither were too long, nor without ſome probable hope of a *Reformation*. With which Nicety the young King was ſo unſatisfied, that he declared a Reſolution, rather to venture Life, and all things elſe, which were dear unto Him, then to give way to any thing; which he knew to be againſt the Truth. Upon which words, the King expreſſed his inward trouble by a flood of Tears; and the Biſhops, on the ſight thereof wept as faſt as He: the King conceiving himſelf wronged, in being ſo *unreaſonably* preſs'd; and the Biſhops thinking themſelves neglected, becauſe *unreaſonably* denyed. Thus ſtood they ſilent for a time: each Party looking ſadly on the apprehenſion of thoſe Extremities, which this diſpute had brought upon them: as certainly, the Picture of Unkindneſs is never repreſented in more lively colours; then when it breaks out betwixt thoſe, who are moſt tenderly affected unto one another. The Biſhops thereupon withdrew, admiring at ſuch great Abilities in ſo young a King; and magnified the Name of God, for giving them a *Prince* of ſuch Eminent Piety.

This being made known unto the Council, it was thought neceſſary to diſmiſs the *Emperour's* Embaſſador with ſuch an Anſwer; as ſhould both give the *Engliſh* time to fetch off their Goods, & let his Maſter have the reſt of the Winter to allay his Heats. It was therefore ſignified unto him; That, *The King would ſhortly ſend an Agent to reſide with the* Emperour, *Authoriſed, and Inſtructed in all particulars, which might beget a right Underſtanding between both Princes.* Thus anſwered, he returns to the *Emperour's* Court: whom *Wotton* ſhortly after followeth, ſufficiently Inſtructed; To deſire the *Emperour* to be leſs violent in his requeſts; and to Advertiſe him, That, *The Lady* Mary, *as ſhe was his Couſin*

An. Reg. 5. 1551.

ſin, ſo ſhe was the King's Siſter, which is more, His Subject? That, ſeeing the King was a Sovereign Prince, without dependency upon any but God, it was not reaſon, that the Emperour *ſhould intermeddle, either with Ordering His Subjects, or directing the Affairs of His Realm.* But ſo far he was Authoriſed to offer; *That whatſoever favour the King's Subjects had in the* Emperour's *Dominions, for their Religion, the ſame ſhould the* Emperour's *Subjects receive in* England. *Further then this, as the King, his Maſter, would not go, ſo it would be a loſt labour to deſire it of him.* This was enough to let the *Emperour* ſee, how little his Threats were feared, which made him the leſs forward in ſending more. Which Paſſages, relating to the Princeſs *Mary*, I have lai'd together, for the better underſtanding, how all matters ſtood about this time, betwixt Her, and the King; though poſſibly the ſending of *Wotton* to the *Emperour* might be the Work of the next year, when the King's Affairs were better ſetled, then they were at the preſent.

For the King, finding the extraordinary Coldneſs of the *Emperour*, when his aſſiſtance was required, for Defence of *Bulloign*, and the hot Purſuit of his Demands of a *Toleration*, for the Family of the Lady *Mary*, conceived it moſt expedient, for His Affairs, to unite Himſelf more ſtrongly, and entirely, in a League with *France*. For entrance whereunto, an Hint was taken from ſome Words, which fell from *Guidolti* at the Treaty of *Bulloign*: when he propounded; That, in ſtead of the Queen of *Scots*, whom the *Engliſh Commiſſioners* demanded for a Wife to their King, a Daughter of the *French* King might be joyned in Marriage with Him: affirming merrily, That, *If it were a dry Peace, it would hardly be durable.* Theſe Words, which then were taken only for a ſlight, or Diverſion, are now more ſeriouſly conſidered: as *Many times the ſmalleſt Overtures produce Concluſions of the greateſt Conſequence.* A Solemn *Embaſſie* is thereupon directed to the Court of *France*: the Marqueſs of *Northampton* nominated for the Chief *Embaſſadour*, aſſociated with the Biſhop of *Ely*; Sir *Philip Hobby*, Gentleman-Uſher of the *Order*; Sir *William Pickering*; Sir *Thomas Smith*, Principal Secretary of State, and Sir *John Maſon*, Clerk of the *Council*; as Commiſſioners with him. And, that they might appear in the Court of *France* with the greater Splendour, they were accompanyed with the Earls of *Arundel*, *Rutland*, and *Ormond*; and the Lords, *L'iſle*, *Fitz-water*, *Abergavenny*, *Bray*, and *Evers*, with Knights, and Gentlemen of Note, to the number of ſix and twenty, or thereabouts. Their Train ſo limited, for avoiding of contention amongſt themſelves, that no Earl ſhould have above four Attendants, no Baron above three: nor any Knight or Gentleman, above two apiece; the Commiſſioners not being limited to any number, as the others were. Setting forwards in the Month of *June*, they were met by the Lord Conſtable *Chaſtilion*, and by him Conducted to the Court, lying at *Chaſteau Bryan*: the nearer to which as they approached, the greater was the concourſe of the *French* Nobility, to attend upon them. Being brought unto the King, then being in his Bed-chamber, the *Marqueſs* firſt preſented him, in the name of his King, with the Order of St. *George*, called *The Garter*: wherewith he was preſently Inveſted by Sir *Philip Hobby*; who, being an Officer of the Order, was made Commiſſioner (as it ſeemed) for that purpoſe chiefly; rewarded for it by that King with a Chain of Gold, valued at two hundred pounds, and a Gown, richly trimmed with *Aiglets*, which he had then upon his back.

This Ceremony being thus performed; the Biſhop of *Ely*, in a ſhort Speech Declared, How deſirous his Maſter was, not only to continue, but to encreaſe Amity with the *French* King; that for this end He had ſent the Order of *The Garter*, to be both a Teſtimony, and Tye of Love between them; to which purpoſe principally, thoſe Societies of Honour were firſt deviſed: Declaring, that they had Commiſſion to make Overtures of ſome other matters, which was like to make the Concord betwixt the Kings, and their Realms, not only more durable, but in all expectation perpetual; and thereupon deſired the King to appoint

point ſome perſons, enabled with Authority, to Treat with them. To which it was anſwered, by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, in the name of the King; That his Maſter was ready to apprehend, and embrace all offers, tending to encreaſe of Amity; and the rather, for that long Hoſtility had made their new Friendſhip both more weak in it ſelf, and more obnoxious unto jealouſies, and diſtruſts: and therefore promiſed on the King's behalf, that Commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to Treat with them about any matters, which they had in Charge. In purſuance whereof, the ſaid Cardinal, the Conſtable *Chaſtilion*, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and others of like Eminent note, being appointed for the Treaty; the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners firſt proſecute their old Demand for the Queen of *Scots*. To which it was anſwered by the *French*, That they had parted with too much Treaſure, and ſpent too many Lives, upon any Conditions, to let Her go: and that Concluſion had been made, long before, for Her marriage with the *Daulphin* of *France*. The *Engliſh* upon this, propoſed a marriage between their King, and the Lady *Elizabeth* the Eldeſt Daughter of *France* (who after was married to *Philip the Second*) to which the *French* Commiſſioners ſeemed very inclinable; with this Proviſo notwithſtanding, that neither party ſhould be bound, either in Conſcience, or Honour, until the Lady ſhould accompliſh twelve years of Age. *An. Reg.* 5. 1551.

And ſo far matters went on ſmoothly: but, when they came to talk of Portion, there appeared a vaſt difference between them. The Engliſh Commiſſioners ask no more, than fifteen hundred thouſand Crowns; but fell, by one hundred thouſand after another, till they ſunk to eight. The French on the other ſide began as low, at one hundred thouſand; but would be drawn no higher, than to Promiſe two: that being (as they affirmed) the greateſt Portion, which ever any of the French Kings had given with a Daughter. But, at the laſt, it was accorded, that the Lady ſhould be ſent into *England* at the *French* King's Charges, when She was come within three Moneths of the Age of Marriage; ſufficiently appointed with Jewels, Apparel, and convenient Furniture for Her Houſe; That, at the ſame time, Bonds ſhould be delivered for Performance of Covenants, at *Paris* by the *French*, and at *London* by the King of *England*; and that, in caſe the Lady ſhould not conſent, after She ſhould be of Age for Marriage, the Penalty ſhould be 150000 Crowns. The perfecting of the Negotiation, and the ſetling of the Lady's Jointure referred to ſuch Ambaſſadours, as the *French* King ſhould ſend to the Court of *England*. Appointed whereunto were the *Lord Marſhal of France*, the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Preſident *Mortuillier*, the Principal Secretary of that King, and the Biſhop of *Perigeux*; who, being attended by a Train of 400 men, were conducted from *Graveſ-end* by the *Lord Admiral Clinton*, welcomed with great Shot from all the Ships, which lay on the *Thames*, and a Volly of Ordnance from the Tower, and lodged in *Suffolk-Place* in *Southwark*. From whence, attended the next day to the King's Houſe at *Richmond*: His Majeſty then remaining at *Hampton-Court*, by reaſon of the *Sweating Sickneſs* (of which more anon) which at that time was at the higheſt.

Having refreſhed themſelves that night, they were brought the next day before the King, to whom the *Marſhal* preſented, in the name of His Maſter, the Collar, and Habit of St. *Michael*, being at that time the Principal Order of that Realm: in teſtimony of that dear Affection, which he did bear unto him: greater than which (as he deſired him to believe) a Father could not bear unto his Natural ſon. And then, Addreſſing himſelf in a ſhort Speech, unto His Highneſs, he deſired him, amongſt other things, not to give entertainment to vulgar Rumours, which might breed Jealouſies and Diſtruſts between the Crowns; and, that if any difference did ariſe between the Subjects of both Kingdoms, they might be ended by Commiſſioners, without engaging either Nation in the Acts of Hoſtility. To which the King returned a very favourable Anſwer, and ſo diſmiſſed them for the preſent. Two, or three days being ſpent in Feaſting, the Commiſſioners on both ſides ſetled themſelves upon the matter

An. Reg. 5. 1551. of the Treaty; confirming what had paſſed before, and adding thereunto the Proportioning of the Ladie's Jointure. Which was accorded at the laſt, to the yearly value of ten thouſand Marks Engliſh; with this Condition interpoſed, that if the King died before the Marriage, all her pretenſions to that Jointure, ſhould be buried with him. All matters being thus brought unto an happy Concluſion, the *French* prepared for their Departure: at which time the *Marſhal* preſented *Mounſieur Boys*, to remain as *Lieger* with the King, and the Marqueſs preſented Mr. *Pickering*, to be His Majeſtie's Reſident in the Court of *France*. And ſo the *French* take leave of *England*, rewarded by the King in ſuch a Royal and Munificent manner, as ſhewed, he very well underſtood what belonged to a Royal Suitor: thoſe which the *French King* had deſigned for the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadours, (not actually beſtowed, till all things had been fully ſetled, and diſpatched in *England*) hardly amounting to a fourth part of that Munificence, which the King had ſhewed unto the *French*.

Grown confident of his own ſecurity, by this new Alliance, the King not only made leſs Reckoning of the Emperour's interpoſings in the Caſe of Religion; but proceeded more vigorouſly, than before, in the Reformation: the Building up of which upon a ſurer, and more durable Bottom, was contrived this year, though not eſtabliſhed till the next. Nothing as yet had been concluded poſitively, and dogmatically in points of Doctrine, but as they were to be collected from the *Homilies*, and the publick *Liturgy*; and thoſe but few, in reference to the many Controverſies, which were to be maintained againſt the *Papiſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, and other Sectaries of that Age. Many Diſorders had grown up in this little time, in the Officiating, the *Liturgie*, the Veſtures of the Church, and the Habit of the Church-Men; began by *Calvin*, proſecuted by *Hooper*, and countenanced by the large Immunities, which had been given to *John à Laſco*, and his Church of Strangers. And unto theſe, the change of Altars into Tables gave no ſmall Encreaſe: as well by reaſon of ſome Differences, which grew amongſt the Miniſters themſelves upon that occaſion; as in regard of that Irreverence, which it bred in the People, to whom it made the Sacrament to appear leſs Venerable, than before it did. The People had been ſo long accuſtomed to receive that Sacrament upon their Knees; that no Rule, or Canon was thought neceſſary to keep them to it: which thereupon was not imprudently omitted in the Publick *Rubricks*. The Change of *Altars* into *Tables*, the Practiſe of the Church of Strangers, and *John a Laſco*'s Book in Mantainance of ſitting at the Holy Table, made many think that Poſture beſt, which was ſo much countenanced. And, what was like to follow upon ſuch a Liberty, the proneneſs of thoſe Times to *Heterodoxies*, and prophaneneſs, gave juſt cauſe to fear. Somewhat was therefore to be done to prevent the Miſchief: and nothing could prevent it better, than to reduce the People to their Ancient Cuſtom by ſome Rule or *Rubrick*, by which they ſhould be bound to receive it *kneeling*. So for the Miniſters themſelves, they ſeemed to be as much at a loſs in their Officiating at the Table, as the people were in their irreverences to the Bleſſed Sacrament. Which cannot better be expreſſed, than in the words of ſome *Popiſh* Prelats, by whom it was objected unto ſome of our chief Reformers. Thus *White* of *Lincoln* chargeth it upon Biſhop *Ridley* (to omit his prophane calling of the Lord's Table, in what poſture ſoever ſituated, by the name of an *Oyſter-Board*,

oyster-board

(*) *Acts and Mon.* (*) *That when their Table was Conſtituted, they could never be content in placing the ſame; now Eaſt, now North, now one way, now another: until it pleaſed God, of his goodneſs, to place it quite out of the Church.* The like did *Weſton* (the *Prolocutour* of the Convocation, in the firſt of Queen *Mary*) in a Diſputation held with *Latimer*; telling him with reproach and contempt enough, that the Proteſtants having turned their Table, *were like a Company of Apes, that knew not which way to turn their Tails; looking one day Eaſt, and another Weſt; one this way, and another that way, as their fancies lead them.* Thus finally, one *Miles Hubbard*, in a Book, called *The Diſplay of Proteſtants* (*) doth report the Buſineſs.

(*) Printed 1556. *Pag.* 81.

Hom

How long (say they) *were they learning to set their Tables to minister the Communion upon? First they placed it aloft, where the High Altar stood, then must it be removed from the Wall, that one might go between: the Ministers being in contention on whether part to turn their faces, either toward the West, the North, or South; some would stand Westward, some Northward, some Southward.* It was not to be thought, but that the *Papists* would much please themselves in these Disorders; and that this Difference, and Diversity, though in Circumstance only, might draw contempt upon the Sacrament it self, and give great Scandal unto many Moderate, and well meaning-Men. A *Rubrick* therefore is resolved on, by which the Minister, which officiates, should be pointed to a certain Place; and, by the *Rubrick* then devised, the North-side was thought fitter, then any other. *An. Reg.* 5. 1551.

But the main Matters, which were now brought under Consideration, were the reviewing of the *Liturgy*, and the Composing of a Book of *Articles*: this last *for the avoiding diversities of Opinions, and for the stablishing of consent touching true Religion*; the other for removing of such Offences, as had been taken by *Calvin*, and his Followers, at some parts thereof. For *Calvin*, having broke the Ice, resolved to make his way through it to the mark he aimed at, which was to have this Church depend upon his Direction, and not to be less estimable here, then in other places. To which end, as he formerly had applyed himself to the Lord *Protectour*, as appears by his Letter of the year *An.* 1549. So now he sets upon the King, the Council, and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, in hope to bring them to his Bent. In his Letters to the King, and Council, (as himself signified to *Bullinger*, on the 29th. of *August*) he exciteth them to proceed to a Reformation; that is to say, to such a Reformation (*) as he had projected, and without which his Followers would not be contented. In his Letters to the King alone, he lets him know (*) that many things were still amiss in the state of the Kingdom, which stood in need of Reformation. And finally in those to *Cranmer*, he certifies him, that in the Service of this Church, as then it stood, there remained a whole Mass of *Popery*, which did not only (*) darken, but destroy God's Holy Worship. But fearing he might not edifie with so wise a Prince, assisted by such a Prudent Council, and such Learned Prelats, he hath his Agents in the Court, the Country, and the Universities, by whom he drives on his Design, in all parts at once. And so far he prevailed in the first two years, that in the Convocation, which began in the former year, *An.* 1550, the first Debate amongst the Prelats was of such Doubts, as had arisen about some things contained in the *Common-Prayer-Book*, & more particularly touching such Feasts, as were retained, and such as had been abrogated by the Rules thereof; the Form of Words used at the giving of the Bread, and the different Manner of Administring the Holy Sacrament. Which being signified unto the *Prolocutor*, and the rest of the Clergy, who had received somewhat in Charge about it the day before; Answer was made, that they had not yet sufficiently considered of the Points proposed, but that they would give their Lordships some account thereof in the following Session. But what account was given, appears not in the Acts of that Convocation; of which there is nothing left upon Record, but this very Passage.

(*) *Ut eos ita citaremus ad ad pergendum*, &c. p. 98.
(*) *In statu Regni multa adhuc deside-rantur.* p. 384.
(*) *Quæ non obscurè mode*, &c.

For the avoiding of these Doubts, the satisfying of the Importunities of some, and rectifying the disorders of others, rather than in regard of any Impiety, or Impertinency in the Book it self, it was brought under a *Review*; and being so reviewed was ratified, and confirmed by *Act of Parliament*, in the following year. By the Tenour of which Act it may appear, First, That there was nothing contained in the said First Book, but *what was agreeable to the Word of God, and the Primitive Church, very comfortable to all good People, desiring to live in Christian Conversation, and most profitable to the Estate of this Realm.* Secondly, That *such Doubts, as had been raised in the use and exercise thereof, proceeded rather from the Curiosity of the Minister, and Mistakers, then of any other Worthy*

An. Reg. 5. 1551.

Cause. And therefore Thirdly, *That it was found expedient, that the said Book should be faithfully perused, explained, and made fully perfect in all such places, in which it was necessary to be made more earnest, and fit for the stirring up of all Christian people, to the true honouring of Almighty God.* So far we are directed by the Light of this *Act of Parliament*, 5.6. *Edw.*6. *cap*, 1. But, if we would desire to know the Names of those good and Godly Men, by whom it was so explained, and altered, in that it leaves us in the dark: none of them being named, nor any way lai'd open for the finding of them. So that the most, that can be done, is to go by Conjecture, and to ascribe it to those Men; who had first composed it, and who were afterwards Authorised, for drawing up *the Form of Consecration*, &c. annexed to this new Book, as a part thereof, and so adjudged to be by two *Acts of Parliament*.

For the avoiding of Diversities of Opinions, and for stablishing Consent, touching true Religion, it was thought necessary to compose a Book of *Articles*: in which should be contained the *Common Principles* of the *Christian Faith*, in which all parties did agree; together with the most material points, in which they differed. For the better performing of which Work, *Melanthon*'s Company, and Assistance, had been long desired. That he held Correspondence once with the King, and Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, appears by his Epistles of the year 1549. 1550 and 1551. but that he came not over, as had been expected, must be imputed, either to our home-bred *Troubles*, or the great *Sickness* of this year, or the deplorable *Death* of the Duke of *Sommerset*, on whose Integrity, and Candour, he did most rely. Yet the best was, that, though *Erasmus* was dead, and *Melanthon* absent, yet were they to be found both alive, and present in their learned Writings. By which, together with the *Augustan* Confession, the Composers of those *Articles* were much directed; nor, that they looked upon them as the *Rule*, or *Canon*, but only as subservient helps to promote the *Service*. But, who they were, that laboured in this weighty Work, and made it ready for Debate, and Conference, in the next *Convocation*; as I have no where found, so I cannot conjecture: unless perhaps, we may attribute the Honour of it to those Bishops, and the other learned Men, before remembred, whose Hands and Heads had before been exercised in the publick *Formulas*. That *Cranmer* had a great hand in them, is a thing past question; who therefore takes upon himself, as the Author of them: for which Consult the *Acts and Mon. fol.* 1704. In which, we are to understand him, as the principal Architect, who contrived the Building, and gave the inferiour Workmen their several parts, and Offices, in that great Imployment; and not, that it was the sole work of his Hands, or had been agitated and debated in no Head, but his. So did the Emperour *Justinian*, in the Book of *Institutes*, and *Theodosius* in the *Code*, *Boniface* in the *Decretals*, and *John* the 22th. in that part of the *Canon Law*, which they call the *Extravagants*: the honour of which Works was severally arrogated by them; because performed by their Encouragement, and at their Appointment. But whosoever laboured in the Preparation of these *Articles*, certain it is, that they were only a Rude Draught, and of no signification, till they had passed the *Vote* of the *Convocation*; and there we shall hear further of them.

In Reference to the Polity, & good Order of the Common-wealth, there were two things done of great Importance: the one redounding to the *Present*, the other to the *Future Benefit* of the *English* Nation. Of which last sort, was the suppressing of the Corporation of *Merchant-Strangers*, the Merchants of the *Steel-Yard*, as they commonly called them. Concerning which we are to know, that the *English*, in the Times foregoing, being neither strong in Shipping, nor much accustom'd to the seas, receiv'd all such commodities, as were not of the growth of their own Country, from the hands of Strangers, resorting hither, from all parts, to upbraid our Lazines. Amongst which, the Merchants of the *East-Land* parts of *Almain*, or *High Germany*, (well known in former Stories by the Name of *Easterlings*) used to bring hither, yearly, great quantities of Wheat,

Wheat, Rye, and other Grain, as alſo Cables, Ropes, Maſts, Pitch, Tar, Flax, Hemp, Linen Cloth, Wainſcots, Wax, Steel, and other profitable Mechandiſes, for the uſe of this Kingdom. For their Encouragement wherein they were amply privileged, exempt from many Impoſitions, which Merchant-ſtrangers uſe to pay in all other Countries, erected into a *Corporation* by King *Henry the Third*, commonly called *Guilda Aula Theutonicorum*: permitted firſt to carry out *Wools* unwrought, and afterwards a certain number of Cloaths, when the *Engliſh* were grown skilful in that Manufacture. Their Court kept in a fair large houſe built near the *Thames*, which from an open place wherein *Steel* had formerly been ſold, took the Name of the *Steel-Yard*. Grown Rich, and driving a great Trade, they drew upon themſelves the Envy (as all other *Merchant-Strangers* did) of the *Londoners* chiefly, but generally of all the Port Towns of *England*, who began now to think the Seas as open to them, as to any others. It was conſidered alſo, by the *Lords* of the Council, that by ſuffering all Commodities of a Foreign growth, and a great part of the Commodities of the growth of *England*, to be imported, and exported in *Our-landiſh* Bottoms, the *Engliſh* Merchants were diſcouraged from Navigation, whereby the ſhipping of the Realm was kept low, and deſpicable. It was therefore thought expedient, in Reaſon of State, to make void their Privileges, and put the Trade into the hands of the *Engliſh* Merchant. For the doing whereof, the *Eaſterlings* or *Merchants* of the *Steel-Yard*, had given cauſe enough. For, whereas they had antiently been permitted to ſhip away but eighty Cloaths, afterwards one hundred, and at laſt one thouſand; it was found, that, at this time, they had tranſported, in their own Bottoms, 44000 *Engliſh* Cloaths, there being but 1100 ſh p'd away, by all ſtrangers elſe. It was alſo found, that, beſides the native commodities of their own growth, they had brought in much ſtrangers goods, of other Countries, contrary to their agreement, made with King *Edward the Fourth*; and that, upon a further ſearch, their Corporation was found imperfect, their numbers, Names, and Nations not ſufficiently known. This gave the Council ground enough for ſeiſing all their Liberties into the hands of the King, and never after to reſtore them; notwithſtanding the great Embaſſies and Solicitations of the Cities of *Hamborough*, and *Lubeck*, and many other of the *Hans*-Towns in *Germany*, who had ſeen their Factories and Factors. And hereunto the ſeaſonable coming of *Sebaſtian Cabot* (of which more anon) gave no ſmall Advantage: by whoſe Encouragement, and Example, the *Engliſh* Nation began to fall in Love with the Seas, to try their Fortunes in the diſcovery of unknown Regions, and conſequently to encreaſe their ſhipping; till by degrees, they came to drive a wealthy Trade in moſt parts of the World, and to be more conſiderable for their Naval Power, then all their Neighbours. *An. Reg.* 5. 1551.

But becauſe all things could not be ſo well ſettled at the firſt, as not to need the Help, and Correſpondencies of ſome foreign Nations, it was thought fit to hearken to an Entercourſe with the Crown of *Sweden*; which was then Opportunely offered by *Guſtavus Ericus*, the firſt of the Family now reigning. By which it was agreed,

Firſt, *That, if the King of* Sweden *ſent* Bullion *into* England, *He might carry away* Engliſh *Commodities without Cuſtom.*

Secondly, *That he ſhould carry* Bullion *to no other Prince.*

Thirdly, *That, if He ſent* Ozimus, Steel, Copper, *&c. He ſhould pay Cuſtom for* Engliſh *Commodities, as an* Engliſh-*man.*

Fourthly, *That, if He ſent other Merchandiſe, He ſhould have free* Intercourſe; *paying Cuſtom, as a Stranger.*

Whereupon the Mint was ſet on work, which brought the King, for the firſt year, the ſum of twenty four thouſand pounds; of which the ſum of fourteen thouſand pounds was deſigned for *Ireland*, and the reſt lay'd up in the *Exchequer*: ſome other ways were deviſed alſo, that the Mint might be kept going and ſome agreement made with the *Mint-Maſters*, in the point of *Coynage*: which

An. Reg. 5. 1551. which proved more to the Advantage of the King, then the preſent profit of the Subject. For, hereupon, on the the ninth of *July*, the baſe Money, Coyned in the time of the King deceaſed, was publickly decryed by Proclamation: the Shilling to go for Nine Pence only, and the Groat for Three Pence. And, on the ſeventeenth of *Auguſt* then next following, the Nine-Peny-piece was decryed to Six Pence, the Groat to Two pence, the Half-Groat to a Peny. By means whereof, he that was worth one thouſand pound on the eighth of *July*, without any ill-husbandry in himſelf, or diminution of his ſtock, was found, before the eighteenth day of *Auguſt*, to be worth no more than half that Sum; and ſo proportionably in all other Sums, both above, and under. Which, though it cauſed many an heavy heart, and much repining at the preſent, amongſt all thoſe, whoſe Wealth lay moſt eſpecially in Trade, and Money: yet proved it by degrees a chief Expedient, for reducing the Coyn of *England* to it's antient Valew. For, on the thirtieth of *October*, the Subjects had the taſt of the future benefit, which was to be expected from it; there being then ſome coyns Proclaimed, both in Gold, and Silver: Pieces of thirty ſhillings, ten ſhillings, and five ſhillings, of the fineſt Gold; pieces of five ſhillings, two ſhillings ſix pence, one ſhilling ſix pence, *&c.* of the pureſt Silver. Which put the Merchant in good hope, that he ſhould drive as rich a Trade under this young King, as in the happieſt days of his Predeceſſours; before the Mony was debaſed.

And now we come to the great troubles in the Court, began in the deſtruction of the Duke of *Sommerſet*: but ending in the untimely death of this hopeful King; ſo ſignified (as it was thought, upon the Poſt-fact) by two ſtrange preſages within the compaſs of this year, and one, which followed in the next. The firſt, of this year, was a great and terrible *Earthquake*, which happened on the twenty fifth of *May*, at *Croydon*, and ſome other Villages thereabours, in the County of *Surrey*. This was conceived to have Prognoſticated thoſe *Concuſſions*, which afterwards happened in the Court, to the fall of the Great Duke of *Sommerſet*, and divers Gentlemen of Note, and Quality, who periſhed in the ſame ruine with him. The laſt was of ſix *Dolphins*, taken up in the *Thames*, three of them at *Queen-Borough*, and three near *Greenwich*; the leaſt as big as any Horſe. The Rarity whereof occaſioned ſome Grave men to diſpence with their Prudence, and ſome Great Peſons alſo to put off their State, that they might behold a Spectacle, ſo unuſual to them. Their coming up ſo far, beheld by Mariners, as a preſage of foul weather at Sea; but afterwards by States-men of thoſe Storms, and Tempeſts, which afterwards befel this Nation, in the death, of King *Edward*, and the Tempeſtuous Times of Queen *Marie*'s Reign.

But the moſt ſad preſage of all was the Breaking out of a Diſeaſe, called the *Sweating Sickneſs*; appearing firſt at *Shrewsbury*, on the fifteenth of *April*, and after ſpreading by degrees over all the Kingdom; ending its progreſs in the *North*, about the beginning of *October*. Deſcribed by a very Learned Man, to be a new, ſtrange, and violent Diſeaſe: wherewith if any man were attached, he dyed, or eſcaped within nine hours, or ten at moſt; if he ſlept, (as moſt men deſired to do) he dyed within ſix hours, if he took cold, he dyed in three. It was obſerved to Rage chiefly amongſt men of ſtrongeſt Conſtitution, and years: few aged Men, or Women, or young Children, being either ſubject to it, or dying of it. Of which laſt ſort, thoſe of moſt Eminent Rank, were to of the Sons of *Charls Brandon*: both dying at *Cambridge*, both Dukes of *Suffolk* (as their Father had been before;) but the youngeſt following his dead Brother ſo cloſe at the Heels, that he only out-lived him long enough to enjoy that Title. And, that, which was yet moſt ſtrange of all, no Foreigner, which was then in *England* (four hundred *French* attending here, in the Hotteſt of it, on that King's Ambaſſadours) did periſh by it. The *Engliſh* being ſingled out, tainted, and dying of it in all other Countries, without any danger to the Natives; called therefore, in moſt *Latine* Writers, by the name of *Sudor Anglicus*, or

The

The Engliſh Sweat. Firſt known amongſt us in the beginning of the Reign of King *Henry the Seventh*; and then beheld, as a preſage of that troubleſom, and Laborious Reign, which after followed: the King being for the moſt part in continual Action; and the Subjects, either ſweating out their Blood, or Treaſure. Not then ſo violent, and extreme, as it was at the preſent; ſuch infinite Multitudes being at this time ſwept away by it, that there died eight hundred in one Week in *London* only. *An. Reg.* 5. 1551.

Theſe being looked on as preſages, we will next take a view of thoſe ſad events which were ſuppoſed to be Prognoſticated by them; beginning firſt with the *Conteſſions* of the Court by open Factions, and ending in a *Sweating Sickneſs*; which drew out ſome of the beſt Blood, and moſt vital Spirits of the Kingdom. The Factions headed by the Duke of *Sommerſet*, and the Earl of *Warwick*: whoſe reconciliation on the Earl's part, was but feigned and counterfeit; though he had both given, and taken pledges for a faſter Friendſhip. The good ſucceſs he found in his firſt attempt againſt the Duke, when he degraded him from the Office of Lord *Protectour*, emboldened him to make ſome further trial of his Fortune; to which there could not be a ſtronger Temptation, than the Servility of ſome great Men about the Court, in proſtituting their affection to his Pride, and Tyranny. Grown abſolute in the Court (but more by the weakneſs of others, than any virtue of his own) he thought it no impoſſible matter, to make that weakneſs an improvement of his ſtrength and power. And, paſſing from one Imagination to another, he fixed at laſt upon a Fancy of transferring the Imperial Crown of this Realm, from the Royal Family of the *Tudors*, unto that of the *Dudly's*. This to be done, by Marrying one of his Sons to the Lady *Jane*, the eldeſt Daughter of *Henry*, Lord Marqueſs *Dorſet*, and of the Lady *Francis* his Wife, one of the Daughters, and co-Heirs of *Charles Brandon*, the late Duke of *Suffolk*, by *Mary*, *Dowager* of *France*, and the beſt beloved Siſter of King *Henry the Eighth*. In order whereunto, he muſt firſt oblige the *Marqueſs* by ſome ſignal favour; advance himſelf to ſuch a Greatneſs, as might render any of his ſons an agreeable match for either of the *Marqueſs*'s daughters; and finally deviſe ſome means by which the Duke of *Sommerſet* might be took out of the way: whoſe life he looked on, as the principal obſtacle to his great Aſpirings. By this Deſign, he ſhould not only ſatisfie his Ambition, but alſo ſacrifice to Revenge. The Execution of his Father in the firſt year of the Reign of the late King *Henry*, would not out of his mind; and by this means he might have opportunity to execute his juſt vengeance on the King's Poſterity, for the unjuſt Murther (as he eſteem'd it) of his innocent Father. Confirmed in theſe Reſolves by Sir *John Gates*, Lieutenant of the Band of Penſioners; who was reported afterwards to have put this Plot into his Head at the firſt, as he ſtood to him in the proſecution of it to the very laſt.

The Privy Council of his own thoughts having thus adviſed, the Privy Council of the King was in the next place to be made ſure to him, either obliged by Favours, or gained by Flatteries: thoſe of moſt power to be moſt courted, through a ſmooth countenance, fair Language, and other thriving Acts of inſinuation, to be made to all. Of the Lord Treaſurer *Paulet* he was ſure enough: whom he had found to have ſo much of the *Willow* in him, that he could bend him how he pleaſed. And being ſure of him, he thought himſelf as ſure of the Publick Treaſure, as if it were in his own pockets. The *Marqueſs* of *North-hampton* was Captain of the Band of Penſioners, encreaſed in power, though not in place; by ranging under his Command, as well the Light-Horſe, as the Men at Arms, which had ſerved at *Bulloign*. With him the Earl had peeced before, drew him into his firſt Deſign, for bringing down the Lord *Protectour* to a lower Level: but made him faſter than before, by doing ſo many good Offices to Sir *William Herbert*, who had Married his Siſter. Which *Herbert*, being ſon of *Richard Herbert* of *Enias*, one of the Baſtards of *William* Lord *Herbert* of *Ragland*, the firſt Earl of *Pembroke* of that Houſe, was, of himſelf

An. Reg. 5. 1551. himself, a Man of a daring Nature, boisterously bold, and, upon that account, much favoured by King *Henry the Eighth*, growing into more credit with the King, in regard of the Lady *Ann* his Wife, the Sister of Queen *Katharine Par*, and having mightily raised himself in the fall of *Abbies*, he was made chief Gentleman of the *Privy-Chamber*, and by that Title ranked amongst the Executours of the King's last Will, and then appointed to be one of the Council to the King now Reigning. Being found by *Dudley*, a fit man to advance his ends, he is by his Procurement gratified (for I know not what service, unless it were for furthering the Sale of *Bulloign*) with some of the King's Lands, amounting to five hundred pounds in yearly Rents, and made Lord President of *Wales*, promoted afterwards to the place of *Master of the Horse*, that he might be as considerable in the *Court*, as he was in the *Country*. It was to be presumed, that he would not be wanting unto him, who had so preferred him. By these three all Affairs of Court were carried: plotted by *Dudley*, smoothed by the Courtship of the *Marquess*, and executed by the bold hand of the new *Lord President*.

Being thus fortified, he revives his former Quarrel with the Duke of *Somerset*; not that he had any just ground for it, but that he looked upon him as the only Block, which lay in the way of his Aspirings, and therefore was to be removed by what means soever. Plots are lai'd therefore to entrap him, Snares to catch him, Reports raised of him, as a Proud, and Ambitious Person, of whose Aspirings there would be no other end, than the Crown it self, and common Rumours spread abroad, that some of his Followers had Proclaimed him King in several places, only to find how well the people stood affected to it. His Doors are watched, and notice taken of all, that went in and out, his words observed, made much worse by telling, and aggravated with all odious circumstances to his disadvantage. No way untravailed in the Arts of Treachery, and Fraud, which might bring him into Suspicion with the King, and Obloquie with the common people. The *Duke*'s Friends were not ignorant of all these Practises, and could not but perceive, but that his Ruin, and their own, was projected by them. The Law of Nature bound them to preserve themselves: but their Adversaries, were too cunning for them at the Weapon of *Wit*, and had too much strength in their own hands, to be easily overmastered in the way of *Power*. Some dangerous Counsels were thereupon infused into him, (more likely by his Wife, than by any other) to invite these Lords unto a Banquet, and either to kill them as they sate, or violently to drag them from the Table, and cut off their Heads; the Banquet to be made at the Lord *Paget*'s House, near Saint *Clement*'s Church, and one hundred stout men to be lodged in *Somerset-Place*, not far off, for the Execution of that Murther. This Plot confessed (if any credit may be given to such Confessions) by one *Crane*, and his Wife, both great in the favour of the Dutchess, and with her committed. And after justified by Sir *Thomas Palmer*, who was committed with the Duke, in his Examination taken by the Lords of the Council. There were said to be some Consultations also, for raising the Forces in the *North*, for setting upon the *Gens d' arms*, which served in the Nature of a *Life-Guard* (as before was said) upon some day of General-Muster: two thousand Foot, and one hundred Horse of the *Duke*'s being designed unto that Service; and that, being done, to raise the City, by proclaiming *Liberty*. To which it was added by *Hammond*, one of the *Duke*'s false Servants, *That his Chamber at* Greenwich *had been strongly guarded by night, to prevent the Surprisal of his Person.*

How much of this is true, or whether any of it be true or not, it is not easie to determine, though possibly enough it is, that all this Smoak could not be without some Fire: which whosoever kindled first, there is no doubt, but that Earl *Dudley* blew the Coals, and made it seem greater then it was. Of all these Practises, and Designs (if such they were) the *Earl* is constantly advertised by his Espials, whom he had amongst them; and gave them as much line, and leisure,

ſure, as they could deſire, till he had made all things ready for the executing of his own Projections. But firſt there muſt be a great day of beſtowing Honours: as well for gaining the more credit unto him, and his followers; as by the jollity of the Time, to take away all fear of danger from the oppoſite party. In purſuit whereof, *Henry* Lord *Grey*, Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, deſcended from *Elizabeth*, Wife of King *Edward the Fourth*, by her former Husband, is made Duke of *Suffolk*: to which he might pretend ſome Claim in Right of the Lady *Frances*, his Wife, the eldeſt daughter of *Charls Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*, and Siſter of *Henry* and *Charls*, the two late Dukes thereof, who dyed a few months ſince, at *Cambridge*, of the *Sweating Sickneſs*. The Earl himſelf, for ſome Reaſons very well known to himſelf, and not unknown to many others, is made Duke of *Northumberland*: which Title had lain *Dormant*, ever ſince the death of *Henry* Lord *Percy*, the ſixth Earl of that Family, who dyed in the year 1537. or thereabouts: of whom more anon. The Lord Treaſurer *Paulet*, being then Earl of *Wiltſhire*, is made Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*: Sir *William Herbert* created at the ſame time Lord *Herbert* of *Cardiff*, and Earl of *Pembroke*. Some make Sir *Thomas Darcy*, Captain of the Guard, to be advanced unto the Title of Lord *Darcy* of *Chich* on the ſame day alſo: which others place, perhaps more rightly, on the fifth of *April*. The ſolemnity of which Creations being paſſed over, the Order of Knighthood is conferred on *William Cecil* Eſquire, one of the Secretaries of *Eſtate*; *John Cheek*, Tutor, or School-Maſter to the King; *Henry Dudley*, and *Henry Nevil*, Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber. At, or about which time, Sir *Robert Dudley*, the third Son of the new Duke of *Northumberland*, (but one, which had more of the Father in him, than all the reſt, is ſworn of the Bed-Chamber to the King; which was a place of greateſt Truſt, and nearneſs to His Majeſtie's Perſon. *An. Reg.* 5. 1551.

The Triumphs of this Day, being the eleventh day of *October*, were but a Prologue to the Tragedy, which began on the fifth day after. At what time the Duke of *Sommerſet*, the Lord *Grey*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, Sir *Ralph Vane*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, together with *Hammond*, *Newdigate*, and two of the *Seimours*, were ſeiſed on, and committed to Cuſtody; all of them except *Palmer*, *Vane*, and *Arundel*, being ſent to the *Tower*. And theſe three kept in ſeveral Chambers, to attend the pleaſure of the Council, for their Examinations. The Dutcheſs of *Sommerſet*, *Crane*, and his Wife, above-mentioned, and one of the Gentlewomen of her Chamber, were ſent unto the *Tower* on the morrow next; followed not long after by Sir *Thomas Holdcroft*, Sir *Miles Partridge*, Sir *Michael Stanhop*, *Wingfield*, *Baniſter*, and *Vaughan*, with certain others: for whoſe Commitment there was neither cauſe known, nor afterwards diſcover'd. Only the greater number raiſed the greater noiſe, increaſed the apprehenſion of the preſent Danger, and ſerved to make the Duke more Criminal in the eys of the people, for drawing ſo many of all ſorts into the Conſpiracy. Much time was ſpent in the examination of ſuch of the Priſoners, as either had before diſcover'd the practice (if any ſuch practice were intended) or were now fitted, & inſtructed, to betray the Duke into the Power, & Malice of his enemies. The confeſſions, which ſeem'd of moſt importance, were thoſe of *Palmer*, *Crane*, and *Hammond*; though the truth, and Reality, of the depoſitions may be juſtly queſtioned. For, neither were they brought face to face, before the Duke, at the time of his Trial; as in ordinary courſe they ſhould have been: nor ſuffered loſs of Life, or Goods, as ſome others did, who were no more guilty than themſelves. And yet the buſineſs ſtai'd not here; the Earl of *Arundel*, and the Lord *Paget*, and two of the Earl of *Arundel*'s Servants, being ſent Priſoners after the reſt, upon *Crane*'s detection. It was further added by *Palmer*, that, on the laſt St. *George*'s-Day, the Duke of *Sommerſet*, being upon a journey into the *North*, would have raiſed the people; if he had not been aſſured by Sir *William Herbert*, that no danger was intended to him.

Six Weeks there paſſed between the Commitment of the Priſoners, and the

An. Reg. 5. 1551.

Duke's Arraignment: which might have given the K. more, then leisure enough to find the depth of he design; if either he had not been directed by such, as the new Duke of *Northumberland* had placed about him, or taken by a Solemnity, which served fitly for it. For so it happened, that the *Queen* Regent of *Scotland* having been in *France* to see Her Daughter, and being unwilling to return by Sea, in that cold time of the year, obtained leave of the King (by the mediation of the *French* Ambassadour) to take her journey through *England*. Which leave being granted, she put her self into the Bay of *Portsmouth*, where she was Honourably received, and conveyed towords *London*. From *Hampton-Court* she passed by Water, on the second day of *November*, to St. *Paul's-Wharf*: From whence she rode, accompanyed with divers noble men, and Ladies of *England*, besides Her own Train of *Scotland*, to the Bishop's-Palace. Presented at Her first coming thither, in the name of the City, with Muttons, Beefs, Veals, Poultry, Wine, and all other sorts of Provisions, necessary for her Entertainment, even to Bread, and Fewel. Having reposed her self two days, she was conveyed in a Chariot to the Court at *White-Hall*, accompanied with thd Lady *Margaret Douglass*, Daughter of *Margearet*, Queen of *Scots*, by her second Husband; together with the Dutchesses of *Richmond*, *Suffolk*, and *Northumberland*; besides many other Ladies of both Kingdoms, which followed after in the Train. At the Court-Gate she was received by the Dukes of *Suffolk*, and *Northumberland*, and the *Lord High-Treasurer*, the Guard standing on both sides, as she went along; and being brought unto the King, whom she found standing at the end of the Great Hall, she cast her self upon her knees, but was presently taken up, and saluted by Him according to the Free Custom of the *English* Nation. Leading her by the hand to the Queen's Chamber of Presence: He saluted in like manner all the Ladies of *Scotland*, and so departed for a while. Dinner being ready, the King conducted her to the Table prepared for them, where they dined together, but had their Services apart. The Ladies of both Kingdoms were feasted in the Queen's Great Chamber, where they were most sumptuously served. Dinner being done, that her Attendants might have time to partake of the Entertainment, the King shewed her His Gardens, Galleries, *&c.* and, about four of the clock, he brought her down by the hand into the Hall, where he saluted her, and so she departed to the Bishop's-Palace, as before.

Departing towards *Scotland*, on the sixth of that Month, she rode through all the Principal streets of *London*; betwixt the Bishop's House, and the Church in *Shore-ditch*, attended by divers Noble Men, and Women, all the way she went. But more particularly the Duke of *Northumberland* shewed himself with one hundred Horse, each having his Javelin in his hand; and forty of them apparelled in black Velvet, Guarded with White and Velvet Caps, and White Feathers, and Chains of Gold about their Necks. Next to those stood one hundred and twenty Horsemen, of the Earl of *Pembroke's*, with black Javelins, Hats, and Feathers. Next to them one hundred of the *Lord Treasurer's* Gentlemen, and Yeomen, with Javelins. These ranks of Horsemen reaching, from the *Cross* in *Cheap-side*, to the end of *Birching*-Lane in *Cornhill*. Brought as far as *Shoreditch*-Church, she was committed to the care of the Sheriffs of *London*, by whom she was attended as far as *Waltham*. Conducted in like manner by the Sheriffs of all the Counties, through which she passed, till she came unto the Borders of *Scotland*: Her entertainment being provided by the King's appointment, at the Charge of the Counties. Which passages, not being otherwise Material in the course of this History, I have adventured to lay down; the better to express the Gallantry, and Glory of the *English* Nation, before *Puritanism*, and the Humour of Parity, occasioned the neglect of all the laudable solemnities which anciently had been observed, both in Church, and State.

The discourse, raised on this Magnificent Reception of the *Scotish* Queen, so filled

filled all Mouths, and entertained so many Pens, that the danger of the Duke of *Sommerset*, seemed for a time to be forgotten; but it was only for a time. For, on the first of *December*, the Duke being brought by water to *Westminster-Hall*, found all things there prepared for his Arraignment. The *Lord High-Steward*, for the time, was the *Marquess* of *Winchester*, who took his place under a Cloath of Estate, raised three steps higher, then the rest of the Scaffold. The *Peers*, to the number of twenty seven, sitting one step lower. Amongst these were the Duke of *Northumberland*, the *Marquess* of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*: who, being Parties to the Charge, ought, in all Honesty, and Honour, to have excused themselves, from sitting in Judgment on him, at the time of his Tryal. But no Challenge, or Objection, being made, or allowed against them, they took place with the rest. The Court being sate, and the Prisoner brought unto the Bar, the Charge against him was divided into five Particulars: *viz.* First, His design of Raising men in the *North*-parts of the Realm, and of assembling men at his House, to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*. 2. A resolution to assist his Attachment. 3. The plot for killing the *Gens d' Arms*. 4. His intent for raising *London*. 5. His purpose of assaulting the *Lords*, and devising their deaths. The whole Impeachment managed in the name of Treason, and Felony: because in all Treasons the intent, and purpose is as Capital, as the Act it self, if once discovered, either by word, or deed, or any other material Circumstance, though it go no further. But, though Treason made the loudest noise, it was the Felony, wich was especially relied upon, for his condemnation. Two *Statutes* were pretended for the ground of the whole Proceedings. The first made in the time of King *Henry the Seventh*, by which it was Enacted, to be Felony, for any inferiour Person, to contrive the death of a Lord of the Council. The second, that of the last Session of *Parliament*, By which it was declared, to be Treason, for any Twelve Persons, or more, to Assemble together, with an intent to murther any of the Lords of he Counci: if, after Proclamation made, they dissolved not themselves, within the space of an hour. *An. Reg.* 5. 1551.

The Indictment being Read, and the Confessions of *Palmer*, and the rest, being produced, and urged by the King's Council (who spared not to press them, as is accustomed in such cases) to the best advantage. The Duke, though much dismayed, returned this Answer to the Branches of his Accusation: *viz.* That *He never intended to raise the North-Parts of this Realm; but that, upon some bruits, he apprehended a Fear, which made him send to Sir* William Herbert, *to remain his Friend*, That *He determined not to kill the* Duke *of* Northumberland, *nor any other Lord: but spake of it only, and determined the contrary*; That *It had been a mad enterprise, with his hundred men, to assail the* Gens d' Arms, *consisting of nine hundred: which, in case he had prevailed, would nothing have advanced the pretended purpose*; That *Therefore this being senseless, and absurd, must needs discredit other matters: which otherwise might have been believed*; That *At* London *he never projected any stir: but ever held it a good place for his security*; That, *For having men in his Chamber at* Greenwich, *it was manifest, that he meant no harm: because, when he might have done it, he did not.* And further, against the persons of them, whose *Examinations* had been read, he objected many things; desiring, that *They might be brought to his face: which, in regard of his Dignity, and Estate, he conceived to be reasonable.* And so it happened unto him, as with many others; that, hoping to make his fault seem less, by a fair *Confession*, he made it great enough to serve for his *Condemnation*.

For, presently upon these words, the Council, thinking they had matter enough, from his own *Confession*, to convict him of *Felony*, insisted chiefly on that Point, and flourished out their Proofs upon it, to their best Advantage. But so, that they neglected not to aggravate his *Offence* in the Treason also: that his *Peers* might be under some necessity of finding him guilty in the one: if

An. Reg. 5. 1551.

they ſhould find themſelves unſatisfied, for paſſing their *Verdict* in the other. And though neither the one, nor the other, were ſo clear in Law, as to make him liable to a *Sentence* of *Condemnation*: if either the Statute in the Contents had been rightly opened, or the *Opinion* of the *Judges* demanded in them; yet what cannot the Great Wit of ſome *Advocates* do, when they have a mind to ſerve their Turn upon a *Statute*, contrary to the Mind and Meaning of them that made it. The Duke of *Northumberland*, thereupon, with a Counterfeit Modeſty (conceiving that he had him faſt enough, in Reſpect of the *Felony*) deſired their Lordſhips, that no Act againſt his life might be brought within the compaſs of Treaſon; and they who underſtood his meaning at half a Word, after a full hearing of the Evidence, withdrew themſelves into a Room appointed for them: and after ſome Conference amongſt themſelves, acquitting him of Treaſon, they pronounced him guilty of the *Felony* only; which being returned for their Verdict, by all the Lords one after another, in their Rank and Order, and nothing objected by the Duke, that Judgment ſhould not paſs upon him, the Lord *High Steward*, with a ſeeming Sorrow, gave Sentence; *That he ſhould be had to the Place from whence he came; from thence to the Place of Execution, and there to hang while he was dead*; which is the Ordinary Form of condemning *Felons*. A Matter not ſufficiently to be admired, that the Duke ſhould either be ſo ignorant, or ill adviſed, ſo deſtitute of preſent Courage, or ſo defective in the Uſe of his Wit, and Judgment, as not to crave the common Benefit of his *Clergy*; which had he done, it muſt have been allowed him by the Rules of the Court: whether it were, that of his own Misfortunes might render him uncapable of laying hold on ſuch Advantages, as the Laws admitted; or that he thought it better to die once for all, then living in a perpetual fear of dying daily by the malicious Practiſes and Deviſes of his powerful Adverſaries; or that he might preſume of a Pardon of courſe, in regard of the nature of the Offence, in which neither the King, nor the Safety of the Kingdom was concerned, and that the Law, by which it was found guilty of Felony, had never been put in Execution upon a man of his Quality, if perhaps at all; or finally, whether it were ſome ſecret judgment on him from above (as ſome men conceived that he who had deſtroyed ſo many Churches, invaded the Eſtate of ſo many Cathedrals, deprived ſo many Learned Men of their Means, and Livelyhood, ſhould want (or rather not deſire) *the Benefit of the Clergy*, in his greateſt extremity. In ſtead whereof he ſuffered Judgment of death to paſs upon him, gave thanks unto the Lords for his gentle Tryal; craved Pardon of the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marqueis of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*, for his ill Meaning towards them; concluding with an humble Suit for his Life, and Pity to be ſhewed to his Wife and Children.

It is an antient Cuſtom in the Tryal of all great Perſons accuſed of Treaſon, that the Ax of the *Tower* is carryed before them to the Bar, and afterwards at their Return from thence, on the Pronouncing of the Sentence of Condemnation. Which Ceremony not being performed at his going thence, in regard he was condemned of the Felony only, gave an occaſion unto ſuch as had thronged into the Hall, and knew not otherwiſe how things paſſed, to conceive that he had been acquitted abſolutely of the whole Indictment. And thereupon ſo loud a ſhout was made in the lower end of the Hall, that the noiſe thereof was heard beyond *Charing-Croſs*; to the great Terror and amazement of his guilty Adverſaries. But little pleaſure found the Priſoner in theſe Acclamations, and leſs the people, when they underſtood of his condemnation: ſo that departing thence with grief, they left the way open for the priſoner to be carryed by water, to the *Cranes* in the *Vintry*, and from thence peaceably conveyed to the *Tower* again. Not long after followed the Arraignment of Sir *Michael Stanhop*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, Sir *Ralph Vane*, and Sir *Miles Partridge*, on whom alſo paſſed the Sentence of Death; but the certain Day and Time of their Tryal, I

have

have no where found. Most probable it is, that they were not brought to their Tryal, till after the Ax had done its part on the Duke of *Somerset*, which was on the twenty third of *January*, because I find they were not brought to their Execution till the twenty sixth of *February* then next following, the two first being then beheaded, and the two last hanged, at what time they severally Protested, (taking God to witness) that they never practised Treason against the King, or against the Lives of any of the Lords of his Council; *Yea*, adding after all the rest, *that his Blood would make* Northumberland's *Pillow uneasie to him.* None of them less lamented by the common people, then Sir *Miles Partridge*, against whom they had an old Grudge, for depriving them of the best Ring of Bells, which they had at that time, called *Jesus-Bells*; which winning of King *Henry* at a Cast of Dice, he caused to be taken down, and sold, or melted for his own Advantage. If any Bell tolled for him when he went to his Death, or that the sight of an Halter made him think of a Bell-Rope, it could not but remember him of his Fault in that Particular, and mind him of calling upon *Christ Jesus*, for his Grace and Mercy. *An. Reg.* 5. 1551.

But in the mean time, Care is taken, that the King should not be too apprehensive of these Misfortunes into which his Uncle had been cast; or enter into any Enquiries, whether he had been cast into them by his own fault, or the Practises of others. It was therefore thought fit to entertain him frequently with Masks, and Dancings, brave Challenges at Tilts, and Barriers, and whatsoever Sports and Exercises, which they conceived most pleasing to him. But nothing seemed more delightful to him, then the appearing of His Lords, and others in a General Muster, performed on the twenty third of *December*, in Saint *James* his Fields. At what time sitting on Horse-back with the Lords of His Council, the Band of Pensioners in compleat Arms, with four Trumpeters, and the Kings Standard going before them, first appeared in sight: each Pensioner having two Servants waiting on him with their several Spears. Next followed, in distinct Companies of one hundred apiece, the Troops of the Lord Treasurer *Paulet*, the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Lord Privy Seal, the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports: a Trumpet and a Standard carryed before each Troop; fourty of the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Men, and as many of the Earl of *Pembroke*'s, having Velvet Coats upon their Harness; with these were mingled in like Equipage, (as to the Trumpets, and the standards) the distinct Troops of the Earls of *Rutland*, and *Huntington*, and the new Lord *Darcy*, consisting each of fifty Horse, and Ranked according to the Order, and Precedency of their several Lords. All which rode twice before the King, by five in a Ranck, all excellently well Armed, and bravely Mounted, to the great Contentment of the King, the Delight of the people, and as much to the Honour of the Nation, in the Eye of all such strangers, as were present at it. But then the Lords of *England*, were *Lords* indeed, and thought it not consistent with a Title of Honour, to walk the streets, attended by a Lacquie only, and perhaps not that, The particulars of which Glorious Muster had not been specified, but for supplying the Place of Musick, (as the solemn Reception of the Queen Regent did before) betwixt the two last *Acts* of this *Tragedy*, to the last whereof we shall now come, and so end this year.

Two Months had passed since the Pronouncing of the Fatal sentence of Condemnation, before the Prisoner was brought out to his Execution. In all which time it may be thought, that he might easily have obtained his Pardon of the King, who had passed the first years of His Reign under his protection, and could not but behold him with the eye of Respect, as his nearest Kinsman by the Mother. But first his Adversaries, had so possessed the King with an Opinion of his Crimes, and Misdemeanours, that he believed him to be guilty of them: as appears by his Letter to *Fitz-Patrick*, (for which consult the Church *Historian*, Lib. 7. fol. 409, 410.) wherein he summarily repeateth the substance

of

An. Reg. 5. 1551. of the Charge, the Proofs againſt him, the Proceedings of the Lords in the Arraignment, and his ſubmiſs carriage, both before, and after the ſentence. They alſo filled his Ears with the continual noiſe of the unnatural proſecuting of the late Lord Admiral; inculcating, how unſafe it was to truſt to the fidelity of ſuch a man, who had ſo lately waſhed his hands in the bloud of his Brother. And, that the King might reſt himſelf upon theſe perſwaſions, all ways were ſtopped, and all the *Avenues* blocked up, by which it might be poſſible for any of the Duke's Friends to find acceſs, either for rectifying the King's Opinion, or obtaining his pardon. So that at laſt, upon the twenty ſecond of *January* before-remembred (the King not being ſufficiently poſſeſſed before of his Crimes, and cruelties) he was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*. Where he avouched to the people: That, *His Intentions had been not only harmleſs, And regard of particular Perſons, but driving to the common Benefit, both of the King, and of the Realm.* Interrupted in the reſt of his *Speech*, upon the ſuddain fear of a Reſcue, by the coming in of the Hamlets on the one ſide, and the Hopes of a Pardon, which the people conceived to have been brought him by Sir *Anthony Brown*, who came ſpeedily galloping on the other, he compoſed himſelf at laſt to make a Confeſſion of his Faith, heartily praying for the King, exhorting the people to obedience, and humbly craving pardon both of God, and Man. Which ſaid, he chearfully ſubmitted his Head to the ſtroke of the Ax, by which it was taken off at a blow; putting an end thereby to his cares and ſorrows.

Such was the End of this Great Perſon, whoſe Power and Greatneſs may be beſt diſcerned by this following Style, uſed by him in the height of his former Glories: that is to ſay, "*Edward*, by the Grace of God, Duke of *Somerſet*, "Earl of *Hertford*, Viſcount *Beauchamp*, Baron *Seimour*, Uncle to the King's "Highneſs of *England*, Governour to the King's Highneſs Perſon, Protector "of all his Realms, Dominions, and Subjects, Lieutenant General of His Maje-"ſtie's Armies, both by Sea and Land, Lord *High Treaſurer*, and Earl *Marſhal* "of *England*, Captain of the Iſles of *Garnſey*, and *Jarſey*, and Knight of the moſt "Honourable Order of the Garter. As to his Parts, Perſon, and Ability, there needs no other Character of him, then what was given in the beginning, and may be gathered from the courſe of this preſent Hiſtory. More moderate in carrying on the Work of *Reformation*, then thoſe, who after had the Manageing, & Conduct of it, as one, that, in himſelf, was more inclinable to the *Lutheran* (but where his profit was concerned in the ſpoil of Images) then the *Zuinglian* Doctrines: ſo well beloved in general by the common people, that divers dipt their Handkerchiefs in his bloud, to keep them in perpetual remembrance of him. One of which, being a ſprightly Dame, about two years after, when the Duke of *Northumberland* was led through the City, for his oppoſing the Title of Queen *Mary*, ran to him in the ſtreets, and, ſhaking out her bloudy Handkerchief before him, *Behold* (ſaid ſhe) *the Bloud of that worthy man, that good Uncle of that Excellent King, which ſhed, by thy malicious Practice, doth now begin apparently to revenge it ſelf on thee.* The like Opinion alſo was conceived of the buſineſs by the moſt underſtanding men in the Court, and Kingdom; though the King ſeemed for the preſent to be ſatisfied in it. In which opinion they were exceedingly confirmed by the Enlargement of the Earl of *Arundel*, and reſtoring of *Crane*, and his Wife, to their former Liberty; but moſt eſpecially by the great Endearments, which afterwards appeared between the Duke of *Northumberland* and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and the great confidence, which the Duke placed in him for the Advancement of his Projects, in behalf of the Duke of *Suffolk*: of which more hereafter.

But the Malice of his Enemies ſtayed not here, extending alſo to his Friends, and Children, after his Deceaſe: but chiefly to the eldeſt Son by the ſecond Wife; in favour of whom, an Act of Parliament had been paſſed in the thirty ſecond year of the late King *Henry*, for the entailing on his Perſon all ſuch Lands, Eſtates, and Honours, as had been, or ſhould be purchaſed by this Father

ther, from the twenty fifth day of *May*, then next foregoing. Which Act they caused to be repealed, at the end of the next Session of *Parliament* (which began on the morrow after the death of the Duke) whereby they strip'd the young Gentleman, being then about thirteen years of Age, of his Lands, and Titles; to which he was in part restored by Queen *Elizabeth*: who, in pity of his Father's sufferings, and his own Misfortunes, created him Earl of *Hertford*, Viscount *Beauchamp*, &c. Nor did the Duke's Fall end it self in no other ruine, then that of his own house, and the death of the four Knights, which suffered on the same account; but drew along with it the removal of the Lord *Rich*, from the Place, and Office, of *Lord Chancellour*. For so it happened, that the Lord Chancellour, commiserating the condition of the Duke of *Somerset*, though formerly he had shewed himself against him, dispatched a Letter to him, concerning some Proceedings of the *Lords* of the Council, which he thought fit for him to know. Which Letter being hastily superscribed, *To the Duke*, with no other Title, he gave to one of his Servants, to be carryed to him. By whom, for want of a more particular direction, it was deliverd to the hands of the Duke of *Norfolk*. But, the Mistake being presently found, the Lord Chancellor knowing into what hands he was like to fall, makes his Address unto the King, the next morning betimes; and humbly prays, that, in regard of his great Age, he might be discharged of the Great Seal, and Office of Chancellour. Which being granted by the King, though with no small difficulty; the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*, (forward enough to go upon such an Errand) are sent, on the twenty first of *December*, to receive the Seal; committed on the morrow after to Doctor *Thomas Goodwin*, Bishop of *Ely*, and one of the *Lords* of the Privy Council. Who afterwards, that is to say, on the two and twentieth of *January*, was sworn Lord Chancellour; the Lord Treasurer *Paulet* giving him the Oath, in the Court of Chancery. *An. Reg. 5.* 1551.

Next followed the Losses, and disgraces, suffered by the Lord *Paget*, on the Duke's account. To whom he had continued faithful in all his troubles; when Sir *William Cecil*, who had received greater Benefits from him, and most of the Dependants on him, had either deserted, or betrayed him. His House designed to be the place, in which the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the rest of the *Lords* were to be murthered at a Banquet: if any credit may be given to the Informations; for which Committed to the *Tower*, as before is said. But having no sufficient Proof, to warrant any further proceeding to his condemnation, an Enquiry is made not long after into all his actions. In the return whereof, it was suggested; That he had sold the King's Lands, and Woods, without commission; That he had taken great fines for the King's Lands, and applyed them to his proper use; and That he had made Leases in Reversion, for more than one & twenty years. Which spoil is to be understood of the Lands and Woods of the *Dutchy* of *Lancaster*, of the which he was Chancellour; and for committing whereof, he was not only forced to resign that Office, but condemned in a fine of six thousand pounds; not otherwise to be excused, but by paying of four thousand pounds within the year. This punishment, was accompanied with a disgrace, no less grievous to him, then the loss both of his Place, and Money. He had been chosen into the Society of the *Garter*, *An.* 1548. when the Duke of *Somerset* was in Power; and so continued, till the fifteenth of *April*, in the year next following, *Anno* 1552. At what time *Garter*, King of Arms, was sent to his Lodging in the *Tower*, to take from him the *Garter*, and the *George*, belonging to him, as a Knight of that most noble Order. Which he suffered willingly to be done, because it was His Majestie's Pleasure, that it should be so. More sensible of the Affront, without all question, then otherwise he would have been; because the said *George*, and *Garter*, were presently after sent by the King to *John*, Earl of *Warwick*, the Duke of *Northumberland*'s eldest Son, Admitted thereupon into that Society. So prevalent are the passions of some

Great

An. Reg. 5. 1551.

Great Persons; that they can neither put a measure upon their hatred, nor an end to their Malice. Which two last passages, though more properly belonging to the following year, I have thought fit to place in this; because of that dependance, which they have on the Fall of *Sommerset*.

The like ill-Fortune happened, at the same time also to Doctor *Robert Farrar*, Bishop of St. *David's*; who, as he had his Preferments by him, so he suffered also in his Fall: not because Guilty of the practice, or Conspiracy with him, as the Lord *Paget*, and the rest, were given out to be; because he wanted his Support, and Countenance, against his Adversaries. A man he was of an unsociable disposition, rigidly self-willed: and one, who looked for more observance, then his place required; which drew him into a great dislike with most of his Clergy, with none more, than the Canons of his own Cathedral. The Faction headed, amongst others by Doctor *Thomas Young*, then being the Chantour of that Church, and afterwards advanced by Queen *Elizabeth* to the See of *York*; as also Doctor *Rowland Merick*, preferred by the same Queen to the See of *Bangor*: though they appeared not visibly in the Information, which was made against him. In which I find him charged amongst other things, for Celebrating a Marriage, without requiring the Married persons to receive the Communion, contrary to the Rubrick in the Common-Prayer-Book; for going ordinarily abroad in a Gown, and Hat, and not in a square Cap, as did the rest of the Clergy; for causing a Communion-Table, which had been placed, by the Official of *Caermarthen*, in the middle of the Church, (the High Altar being then demolished) to be carryed back into the Chancel, and there to be disposed of, in, or near the place, where the Altar stood; for suffering many Superstitious Usages to be retained amongst the people, contrary to the Laws in that behalf: But chiefly for exercising some Acts of *Episcopal* Jurisdiction, in his own name, in derogation of the King's Supremacy; and grounding his Commissions, for the exercise thereof, upon foreign, and usurped Authority. The *Articles*, fifty six in number; but this last, as the first in Rank, so of more danger to him, then all the rest, preferred against him, but not prosecuted, as long as his great Patron, the Duke of *Sommerset*, was in place, and Power. But, he being on the sinking hand, and the Bishop too stiff to come to a Compliance with those, whom he esteemed beneath him; the suit is followed with more noise, and violence, then was consistent with the credit of either Party. The Duke being dead, the four Knights Executed, and all his party in disgrace, a Commission is Issued, bearing date the ninth of *March*, to enquire into the Merit of the Articles, which were charged against him. On the return whereof, he is Indicted of a *Præmunire*, at the Assizes held in *Caermarthen*, in the *July* following; committed thereupon to Prison, where he remained all the rest of King *Edward's* time; never restored to Liberty, till he came to the stake, when all his sufferings, and sorrows, had an end together. But this business hath carryed us too far into the next year of this King: to the beginning whereof we must now return.

An. Reg. 6. 1552.

Anno Regni Edw. Sexti 9. *An. Dom.* 1551, 1552.

WE must begin the sixth year of the King with the fourth Session of *Parliament*, though the beginning of the fourth Session was some days before; that is to say, on the twenty third day of *January*, being the next day after the death of that Great Person. His Adversaries possibly could not do it sooner, and found it very unsafe to defer it longer, for fear of being overruled in a *Parliamentary* way, by the Lords, and Commons. There was summoned

moned also a Convocation of the Bishops, and Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, to begin upon the next day after the *Parliament*. Much business done in each, as may appear by the Table of the Statutes made in the one, and the passing of the Book of Articles as the Work of the other. But the Acts of this Convocation were so ill kept, that there remains nothing on Record, touching their Proceedings, except it be the names of such of the Bishops, as came thither to Adjourn the House. Only I finde a *Memorandum*, that, on the twenty ninth of this present *Januar.* the Bishoprick of *Westminster* was dissolved, by the King's Letters Patents; by which the County of *Middlesex*, which had before been laid unto it, was restored unto the See of *London*: made greater than in former times, by the Addition of the Arch-Deaconry of St. *Alban's*; which, at the dissolution of that Monastery, had been laid to *Lincoln*. The Lands of *Westminster* so dilapidated by Bishop *Thirlby*, that there was almost nothing left to support the Dignity; for which good service, he had been preferred to the See of *Norwich*, in the year foregoing. Most of the Lands invaded by the Great men of the Court, the rest laid out for Reparation to the Church of St. *Paul*; pared almost to the very quick, in those days of Rapine. From hence first came that significant By-word (as is said by some) of *Robbing Peter, to pay Paul*. But this was no Business of that Convocation, though remembred in it. *An. Reg. 6.* 1552.

That which most specially doth concern us in this Convocation, is the setling and confirming of the Book of *Articles*, prepared by Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, with the assistance of such Learned men, as he thought fit to call unto him, in the year last past; and now presented to the consideration of the rest of the Clergy. For, that they were debated, and agreed upon in that Convocation, appears by the Title of the Book, where they are called, *Articuli, de quibus in Synodo Londinensi, An. Dom.* 1552, &c. that is to say, *Articles, Agreed upon in the Synod of London, An.* 1552. And it may be concluded from that Title also, that the Convocation had devolved their power on some Grand Committee, sufficiently Authorised to Debate, Conclude, and Publish what they had Concluded in the name of the rest. For there it is not said, as in the Articles Published in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, *An.* 1562. *That they were agreed upon by the Arch-Bishops, and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, in the Convocation holden at London*; but that *they were agreed upon, in the Synod of London*, by the Bishops, and certain other Learned Men; *inter Episcopos, & alios Eruditos viros*, as the *Latin* hath it. Which seems to make it plain enough; that the debating and concluding of the *Articles*, contained in the said Book, was the Work only of some Bishops, and certain other Learned Men: sufficiently empowered for that end and purpose. And being so empowered to that end and purpose, the Articles, by them concluded, and agreed upon, may warrantably be affirmed, to be the Acts, and Products of the Convocation; Confirmed, and Published for such by the King's Authority (as appears further by the Title *) in due form of Law. And so it is resolved by *Philpot*, Arch-Deacon of *Winchester*, in behalf of the Catechism, which came out *An.* 1553. with the Approbation of the said Bishops and Learned men. Against which, when it was objected by Doctour *Weston*, Prolocutour of the Convocation, in the first of Queen *Mary*; that the said Catechism *was not set forth by the Agreement of that House*; it was Answered by that Reverend, and Learned man; That *the said House had granted the Authority, to make Ecclesiastical Laws, unto certain Persons, to be appointed by the King's Majesty, and therefore whatsoever Ecclesiastical Laws, they, or the most part of them did set forth, (according to the Statute in that behalf provided) might be well said to be done in the Synod of* London.

(*) *Regia Authoritate in lucem Editi.*

And this may also be the Case of the Book of Articles, which may be truly, and justly said to be the Work of that Convocation: though many Members of it never saw the same, till the Book was published; in regard (I still use *Philpot*'s words in the *Acts* and *Mon. Fol.* 1282.) *That they had a Synodal Authority unto them committed, to make such Spiritual Laws, as to them seemed to be necessa-*

An. Reg. 6. 1552.

ry, or convenient for the uſe of the Church. Had it been otherwiſe, King *Edward*, a moſt Pious, and Religious Prince, muſt needs be looked on, as a Wicked and moſt Lewd Impoſtour, in putting ſuch an horrible Cheat upon all His Subjects, by Fathering theſe Articles on the *Convocation*, which begat them not, nor ever gave conſent unto them. And yet it is not altogether improbable, but that theſe *Articles* being debated & agreed upon, by the ſaid *Committee*, might alſo paſs the *Vote* of the whole *Convocation*, though we find nothing to that purpoſe in the *Acts* thereof, which either have been loſt, or were never Regiſtred. Beſides, it is to be obſerved that the Church of *England*, for the firſt five years of *Queen Elizabeth*, retained theſe Articles, and no other, as the publick Tenents of the *Church*, in point of *Doctrine*; which certainly She had not done, had they been commended to Her by a leſs Authority, than a *Convocation*.

Such hand the Convocation had in canvaſing the Articles, prepared for them, and in concluding, and agreeing to ſo much, or ſo many of them, as afterwards were publiſhed by the King's Authority in the name thereof. But whether they had any ſuch hand in Reviewing the *Liturgy*, and paſſing their Conſent to ſuch Alterations as were made therein, is another queſtion. That ſome neceſſity appeared both for the *Reviewing* of the whole, and the altering of ſome parts thereof hath been ſhew'd before: And it was ſhewed before, by whoſe Procurement, and Solicitation, the Church was brought to that neceſſity of doing ſomewhat to that Purpoſe. But being not ſufficiently authoriſed to proceed upon it, becauſe the King's ſole Authority did not ſeem ſufficient, they were to ſtay the leiſure, and conſent of the preſent Parliament. For being the *Liturgy* then in force had been confirmed and impoſed by the King in *Parliament*, with the Conſent, and Aſſent of the Lords and Commons, it ſtood with Reaſon, that they ſhould not venture actually on the Alteration, but by their permiſſion firſt declared. And therefore it is ſaid expreſly in the Act of *Parliament* made this preſent year, That *The ſaid Order of Common Service, Entituled The Book of Common-Prayer, had been Peruſed, Explained, and made fully perfect*: not ſingle by the King's Authority, but by the King, with the *Aſſent* of the Lords and Commons. More than the giving of their *Aſſent*, was neither required by the King, nor deſired by the Prelats: and leſs than this could not be ſought, as the caſe then ſtood. The ſignifying of which *Aſſent* enabled the Biſhops and the reſt of the Clergy, whom they had taken for their *Aſſiſtants*, to proceed to the Digeſting of ſuch Alterations, as were before conſidered, and reſolved on amongſt themſelves; and poſſibly might receive the like Authority from the Convocation, as the Articles had, though no ſuch thing remaining upon Record in the Regiſters of it. But whether it were ſo, or not, certain it is, that it received as much Authority, and Countenance, as could be given unto it by an Act of *Parliament*; by which impoſed upon the Subject under certain Penalties (Impriſonments, Pecuniary Mulcts, *&c.*) which could not be inflicted on them by Synodical Acts.

The *Liturgie* being thus Setled, and Confirmed in *Parliament*, was by the King's Command tranſlated into *French*, for the uſe of the Iſles of *Guernſey*, and *Jerſey*, and ſuch as lived within the Marches, and Command of *Calais*. But no ſuch care was taken for *Wales*, till the fifth year of the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*: nor of the Realm of *Ireland*, from that time to this. King *Henry* had ſo far prepared the Way to a Reformation, as His own Power, and Profit was concerned in it; to which ends, he excluded the Popes Authority, and cauſed Himſelf to be declared Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of *Ireland*, by Act of *Parliament*. And by like Acts he had annexed to the Crown the Lands of all Monaſteries, and Religious Orders: together with the twentieth Part of all the Eccleſiaſtical Promotions within that Kingdom; and cauſed the like Courſe to be ſetled for the Electing and Conſecrating of Arch-Biſhops, and Biſhops, as had been done before in *England*. Beyond which, as he did not go; ſo, as it ſeems, King *Edward's* Council thought not fit to adventure further. They held it not agreeable to the Rules of Prudence, to have too many

Irons

Irons in the Fire at once: nor ſafe, in point of Policy, to try Concluſions on a people in the Kin'gs Minority, which were ſo far tenaciouſly addicted to the Superſtitions of the Church of *Rome*, and of a Nature not ſo tractable, as the *Engliſh* were. And yet that Realm was quiet, even to admiration, notwithſtanding the frequent Embroilments, and Commotions, which ſo miſerably diſturbed the Peace of *England*: which may be reckoned for one of the greateſt felicities of this King's Reign, and a ſtrong Argument of the care, and vigilancy of ſuch of His Miniſters, as had the chief Direction of the *Iriſh* affairs. At the firſt payment of the money for the Sale (rather than the Surrendry) of *Bulloign*: eight thouſand pounds was ſet apart for the Service of *Ireland*; and ſhortly after out of the profits, which were raiſed from the Mint, four hundred men were levied, and ſent over thither alſo; with a charge given to the Governours, that the Laws of *England* ſhould be carefully, and duly adminiſtred, and all ſuch as did oppoſe, ſuppreſſed: by means whereof great Countenance was given to thoſe, who embraced the Reformed Religion there: eſpecially within thoſe Counties, which are called commonly by the name of the *Engliſh Pale*. The Common-Prayer-Book of *England*, being brought over thither, and uſed in moſt of the Churches of the *Engliſh* Plantation, without any Law in their own Parliaments to impoſe it on them. But nothing more conduced more to the peace of that Kingdom, than that the Governours for the moſt part were men of ſuch Choice; that neither the Nobility diſdained to endure their Commands, nor the inferiour ſort were oppreſſed, to ſupply their Wants. Beſides which, as the King drew many men from thence to ſerve him in his wars againſt *France*, and *Scotland*, which otherwiſe might have diſturbed the common Peace; ſo, upon notice of ſome great preparations, which were made in *France*, for the Aſſiſtance of the *Scots*, he ſent over to guard the Coaſt of *Ireland*, four Ships, four Barks, four Pinnaces, and twelve Victuallers. By the advantage of which ſtrength, He made good three Havens, two on the South-ſide toward *France*, and one toward *Scotland*; which afterwards made themſelves good Booties out of ſuch of the *French*, as were either caſt away on the Coaſt of *Ireland*, or forced to ſave themſelves in the Havens of it. For the *French* making choice rather of their paſſage by Saint *George*'s Chanel, than by the ordinary Courſe of Navigation from *France*, to *Edenborough*, fell from one danger to another; and, for fear of being intercepted, or moleſted by the Ships of *England*, were Shipwracked, as before was ſaid, on the Coaſt of *Ireland*. Nothing elſe memorable in this King's Reign, which concerned that Kingdom; and therefore I have laid it altogether in this place, & on this occaſion. *An. Reg.* 6. 1552.

But we return again to *England*, where we have ſeen a Reformation made in point of Doctrine, and ſetled in the Forms of Worſhip; the ſuperſtitions & corruptions of the *Church of Rome* entirely abrogated, and all things rectified, according to the Word of God, and the *Primitive Practice*: nothing defective in the managing of ſo great a Work, which could have been required by equal, and impartial men, but that it was not done, as they conceived it ought to have been done, in a *General Council*. But firſt we find not any ſuch neceſſity of a *General Council*, but that many Hereſies had been ſuppreſſed, and many Corruptions removed out of the Church, without any ſuch Trouble. Saint *Auguſtine* (*) in his Fourth Book againſt the two Epiſtles of the *Pelagians*, *cap.* 12. ſpeaks very plainly to this purpoſe, and yet the Learned Cardinal, though a great Stickler in behalf of *General Councils*, ſpeaks more plain than he. By whom it is affirmed, that for ſeven Hereſies condemned in ſeven *General Councils*, (though by his leave the ſeventh did not ſo much ſuppreſs, as advance an Hereſie) an hundred had been quaſhed in National and Provincial Councils. The practice of the Church in the ſeveral Councils of *Aquilia*, *Carthage*, *Gangra*, *Milevis*, &c. make this plain enough; all of them being *Provincial*, or at leaſt but National, and doing their own Work without help from others. The Church had

(*) *Paucas fuiſſe Hæreſes ad quas ſuperandas neceſſarium fuerit Concilium Plenarium Occidentis & Orientis*, lib. 4. cap. 12.

An. Reg. 6. 1552. been in an ill condition, had it been otherwiſe; eſpecially under the power of the Heathen Emperors; when ſuch a confluence of the Prelats, from all parts of the World, would have been conſtrued a Conſpiracy againſt the State, & drawn Deſtruction on the Church, and the Perſons both. Or granting, that they might aſſemble without any ſuch danger, yet being great Bodies, moving ſlowly, and not without long time, and many Difficulties, and Diſputes to be rightly conſtituted: the Church would ſuffer more under ſuch delay, by the ſpreading of Hereſie, then receive Benefit by this care to ſuppreſs the ſame. So that there neither is, or can be, any ſuch Neceſſity, either in Order to the Reformation of a National Church, or the ſuppreſſing of particular Hereſies, as by the Objectors is ſuppoſed.

Howſoever taking it for granted, that a *General Council* is the beſt and ſafeſt Phyſick, that the Church can take, on all Occaſions of Epidemical diſtempers; yet muſt it be granted at ſuch times, and in ſuch caſes only, when it may conveniently be had. For where it is not to be had, or not had conveniently, it will either prove to be no Phyſick, or not worth the taking. But ſo it was, at the time of the Reformation, that a *General Council* could not conveniently be aſſembled, and more then ſo, it was impoſſible, that any ſuch *Council* ſhould aſſemble: I mean, a *General Council* rightly called, and conſtituted, according to the Rules lai'd down by our Controverſers.

For firſt they ſay, It muſt be called by ſuch as have Power to do it.

Secondly, That it muſt be intimated to all *Chriſtian Churches*, that ſo no Church, nor people may plead ignorance of it.

Thirdly, That the *Pope*, and the four chief *Patriarchs*, muſt be preſent at it either in perſon, or by *Proxie*.

And laſtly, That no Biſhop be excluded, if he be known to be a Biſhop, and not Excommunicated.

According to which Rules, it was impoſſible, I ſay, that any *General Council* ſhould be aſſembled at the time of the *Reformation* of the Church of *England*. It was not then, as when the chief four *Patriarchs*, together with their *Metropolitan* and *Suffragan* Biſhops, were under the protection of the *Chriſtian* Emperors, and might without danger to themſelves, or to their Churches, obey the Intimation, and attend the Service; the *Patriarchs*, with their *Metropolitans* and *Suffragans*, both then and now languiſhing under the Power and Tyranny of the *Turk*: to whom ſo general a confluence of *Chriſtian* Biſhops muſt needs give matter of ſuſpicion of juſt fears and Jealouſies, and therefore not to be permitted (as far as he can poſſibly hinder it) on good Reaſon of *State*.

And then beſides, it would be known by whom ſuch a *General Council* was to be aſſembled: if by the *Pope*, as generally the *Papiſts* ſay, He, and his Court were looked on, as the greateſt Grievance of the *Chriſtian* Church, and it was not probable, that he ſhould call a Council againſt himſelf, unleſs he might have leave to pack it, to govern it by His own Legats, fill it with Titular Biſhops of His own creating, or ſend the *Holy Ghoſt* to them in *Cloak-Bag*, as he did to *Trent*. If joyntly, by all *Chriſtian* Princes which is the common *Tenent* of the *Proteſtants* Schools: what hopes could any man conceive (as the Times then were) that they ſhould lay aſide their particular Intereſſes, to enter all together upon one deſign? Or, if they had agreed about it, what Power had they to call the Prelats of the *Eaſt*, to attend the buſineſs, and to protect them for ſo doing at their going home? So that I look upon the hopes of a *General Council*, I mean a *General Council* rightly called, and conſtitu ted, as an empty Dream. The moſt, that was to be expected, was but a meeting of ſome Biſhops of the *Weſt* of *Europe*, and thoſe but of one party only: as ſuch were excommunicated, (and that might be as many as the *Pope* ſhould pleaſe) being to be excluded by the Cardinal's Rule. Which how it may be called an *Oecumenical*, or *General Council*, unleſs it be a *Topical-Oecumenical*, a *Particular-General* (as great an Abſurdity in Grammar, as a *Roman-Catholick*) I can hardly ſee: Which being ſo, and ſo no queſtion

ſtion, but it was, either the Church muſt have continued without Reformation, or elſe it muſt be lawful for National particular Churches to reform themſelves. And in that caſe the Church may be Reformed, *per partes*, part after part, Province after Province, as is ſaid by *Gerſon*. Further than which, I ſhall not enter into this Diſpute, this being enough to juſtifie the Church of *England* from doing any thing Unadviſedly, Unwarrantably, or without Example. *An. Reg.* 6. 1552.

That which remains, in reference to the progreſs of the Reformation, concerns as well the Nature, as the Number of ſuch Feaſts and Faſts, as were thought fit to be retained, determined, and concluded on, by an Act of Parliament; to which the Biſhops gave their Vote: but whether predetermined in the Convocation, muſt be left as doubtful. In the Preamble to which Act, it is Declared; That, *At all times men are not ſo mindful of performing thoſe publick Chriſtian Duties, which the true Religion doth require, as they ought to be; and therefore it hath been wholſomly provided, that, for calling them to their Duties, and for helping their Infirmities, that ſome certain Times, and Days ſhould be appointed, wherein Chriſtians ſhould ceaſe from all other kind of Labours, and apply themſelves only, and wholly unto ſuch Holy Works, as properly pertain to True Religion; that the ſaid Holy Works, to be performed upon thoſe Days, are more particularly to hear, to learn, and to remember Almighty God's great Benefits, his manifold Mercies, his ineſtimable Gracious Goodneſs, ſo plentifully powred upon all his Creatures; rendring unto him for the ſame our moſt hearty thanks; That the ſaid Days, and Times, are neither to be called, or accounted* Holy: *neither in the Nature of the time, or day, nor for any of the Saints ſakes, whoſe Memories are preſerved by them; but for the Nature, and Condition, of thoſe Godly, and Holy Works, with which only God is to be Honoured, and the Congregation to be Edified; That the Sanctifying of the ſaid days conſiſteth in ſeparating them apart from all prophane uſes, and dedicated not to any Saint, or Creature, but only to the Worſhip of God; That there is no certain time, nor definite number of days appointed by Holy Scripture: but, that the appointment of the time, as alſo of the days, is left to the Liberty of Chriſt his Church by the Word of God; That the days, which from thenceforth were to be kept as* Holy *days in the Church of* England, *ſhould be all Sundays in the Year; the* Feaſt *of the* Circumciſion, *the* Epiphany, *the* Purification *of the* Bleſſed Virgin, *&c. with all the reſt, recited at the end of the* Calender, *in the publick Liturgy; That the Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, &c. ſhall have Authority to puniſh the Offenders, in all, or any of the Premiſſes, by the uſual cenſures of the Church, and to impoſe ſuch penance on them, as to them, or any of them ſhall ſeem expedient; and finally, that, notwithſtanding any thing before declared, it ſhall, and may be lawful, for any Husbandman, Labourer, Fiſherman, &c. to labour, ride, fiſh, or work any kind of work, on the foreſaid* Holy days, *not only in the time of Harveſt, but at any other time of the year, when need ſhall require; with a* Proviſo *for the Celebrating of St.* George's *Feaſt, on the two and twenty, three and twenty, and four and twentieth days of* April *yearly, by the Knights of the Right Honourable Order of the Garter, or by any of them.* Which Declaration, as it is agreeable in all points to the Tenour of approved Antiquity; ſo can there be nothing more contrary to the Doctrine of the *Sabbatarians*, which of late time hath been obtruded on the Church.

Then for the number of the Faſts, *It is Declared, that from that time forwards, every Even, or Day going before any of the aforeſaid days of the Feaſts of the* Nativity of our Lord, *of* Eaſter, *of the* Aſcenſion of our Lord, Pentecoſt, *of the* Purification, *and the* Annunciation *of the aforeſaid Bleſſed* Virgin; of All-Saints, *of all the ſaid Feaſts of the* Apoſtles, *(other then of St.* John *the* Evangeliſt, *and of St.* Philip *and* Jacob) *ſhall be faſted, and commanded to be kept, and obſerved, and that none other Even, or Day, ſhall be commanded to be Faſted. For Explication of which laſt Clauſe, it is after added, that the ſaid Act, or any thing therein contained, ſhall not extend to abrogate, or take away the Abſtinence from Fleſh in* Lent, *or on Fridays, and Saturdays: or any other appointed*

An. Reg. 6. 1552. *pointed to be kept for a Fasting-Day, but only on the Evens of such other Days, as formerly had been kept, and observed for Holy, and were now abrogated by this Act. And for the better suppressing, or preventing of any such Fasts, as might be kept upon the Sunday, it was Enacted in the same (according to the practice of the Elder Times) that, when it shall chance any the said Feasts, (the Eves whereof are by this Statute to be kept for Fasting-days) to fall upon the Munday; that then the Saturday next before shall be Fasted, as the Eve thereof, and not the Sunday.* Which Statute, though repealed in the first of Queen *Mary*, and not revived till the first year of the Reign of King *James*: yet in Effect it stood in Force, and was more punctually observed in the whole time of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, than after the Reviver of it.

Such course being taken for the due observing of Days, and Times; the next care was, that Consecrated places should not be prophaned by Fighting, and Quarrelling, as they had been lately, since the *Episcopal* Jurisdiction, and the Antient Censures of the Church were lessened in Authority, and Reputation. *And to that end was Enacted in this present* Parliament, *that if any persons whatsoever, after the first day of* May *then next following, should quarrel, chide, or brawl, in any Church, or Church-yard, he should be suspended* ab ingressu Ecclesiæ, *if he were a* Lay-Man; *and from his Ministration, if he were a Priest; that if any Person after the said time should smite, or lay violent hands upon another, he should be deemed to be* Excommunicate, ipso facto, *and be excluded from the Fellowship, and Company of Christs Congregation; and finally, that if any person should strike another with any Weapon, in the Church, or Church-yard, or draw his Sword, with an intent to strike another with the same, and thereof be lawfully convicted, he should be punished with the loss of one of his Ears,* &c. A seasonable severity, and much conducing to the Honour both of Church, and State. There were some Statutes also made, for taking away the benefit of Clergy in some certain Cases; for making such, as formerly had been of any Religious Order, to be Heritable to the Lands of their Ancestours, or next of kindred, to whom they were to have been Heirs by the Common Law; for confirming the Marriages of Priests, and giving them, their Wives, and Children, the like capacities, as other Subjects did enjoy, whereof we have already spoke in another place. There also passed another Act, *That no person, by any means, should lend, or forbear any sum of mony, for any manner of Usury, or encrease to be received, or hoped for, above the sum lent, upon pain to forfeit the sum so lent, and the encrease, and to suffer imprisonment, and make fine at the King's pleasure.* But this Act being found to be prejudicial to the Trade of the Kingdom, first discontinued of it self, and was afterwards repealed in the thirteenth year of *Queen Elizabeth*.

This *Parliament* ending on the fifteenth of *April*, gave time enough for printing, and publishing the Book of Common-Prayer, which had been therein Authorised; the time for the Officiating of it, being fixed on the Feast of *All-Saints*, then next ensuing. Which time being come, there appeared no small Alteration in the outward Solemnities of Divine Service, to which the people had been formerly so long accustomed. For, by the Rubrick of that Book, no Copes, or other Vestures were required, but the Surplice onely; whereby the Bishops were necessitated to forbear their Crosses, and the Prebends of St. *Paul's*, and other Churches, occasioned to leave off their Hoods. To give a beginning hereunto, Bishop *Ridley*, then Bishop of *London* (obediently conforming unto that, which he could not hinder) did the same day Officiate the Divine Service of the Morning in his Rochet onely, without Cope, or Vestment, he preached also at St. *Paul's* Cross in the afternoon, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Companies, in their best Liveries, being present at it; the Sermon tending for the most part to the setting forth of the said Book of *Common-Prayer*, and to acquaint them with the Reason of such Alterations, as were made therein. On the same day the New Liturgie was executed also in all the Churches of *London*. And

not

not long after (I know not by what ſtrange forwardneſs in them that did it) the Upper *Quire* in St. *Paul's* Church, where the High Altar ſtood, was broken down, and all the *Quire* thereabout; and the Communion-Table was placed in the Lower Part of the *Quire*, where the Prieſt ſang the daily Service. What hereupon enſued of the Rich Ornaments and Plate, wherewith every Church was furniſhed after its proportion; we ſhall ſee ſhortly, when the King's Commiſſioners ſhall be ſent abroad to ſeiſe upon them in His Name, for their own Commodity. *An. Reg.* 6. 1552.

About this time, the *Pſalms of David* did firſt begin to be Compoſed in *Engliſh Metre*, by one *Thomas Sternhold*, one of the Grooms of the Privy-Chamber; who tranſlating no more than thirty ſeven, left both Example, and Encouragement to *John Hopkins*, and others, to diſpatch the reſt. A Device firſt taken up in *France*, by one *Clement Marot*, one of the Grooms of the Bed-Chamber to King *Francis the Firſt*: who being much addicted to Poetry, and having ſome acquaintance with thoſe, which were thought to have enclined to the Reformation, was perſwaded by the Learned *Vatablus* (Profeſſour of the *Hebrew* Tongue in the Univerſity of *Paris*) to exerciſe his Poetical Fancies, in Tranſlating ſome of *David's Pſalms*. For whoſe ſatisfaction, and his own, he Tranſlated the firſt fifty of them: and after, flying to *Geneva*, grew acquainted with *Beza*, who in ſome tract of time, Tranſlated the other hundred alſo; and cauſed them to be fitted unto ſeveral Tunes; which thereupon began to be Sung in private Houſes, and by degrees to be taken up in all the Churches of the *French*, and other Nations, which followed the *Genevian* Plat-form. *Marot's* Tranſlation ſaid by *Strada*, to have been ignorantly and perverſely done: as being but the work of a man, altogether unlearned; but not to be compared with that Barbarity, and Botching, which every where occurreth in the Tranſlation of *Sternhold*, and *Hopkins*. Which notwithſtanding being firſt allowed for private Devotion, they were by little and little, brought into the uſe of the Church: Permitted rather, than Allowed to be Sung, before and after Sermons; afterwards Printed, and bound up with the *Common-Prayer-Book*, and at laſt added by the Stationers at the end of the Bible. For though it be expreſſed in the Title of thoſe Singing *Pſalms*, that they were *Set forth and allowed to be Sung in all Churches, before, and after Morning, and Evening Prayer: and alſo before, and after Sermons*; yet, this Allowance ſeems rather to have been a Connivance, than an Approbation: No ſuch Allowance being any where found, by ſuch as have been moſt Induſtrious, and concerned in the ſearch thereof. At firſt it was, pretended only that the ſaid *Pſalms* ſhould be Sung *before, and after Morning, and Evening Prayer, and alſo before, and after Sermons*: which ſhews, they were not to be intermingled in the Publick Liturgie. But, in ſome tract of time, as the *Puritan* Faction grew in ſtrength, and confidence, they prevailed ſo far in moſt places, to thruſt the *Te Deum*, the *Benedictus*, the *Magnificat*, and the *Nunc Dimittis*, quite out of the Church. But of this more perhaps hereafter, when we ſhall come to the diſcovery of the *Puritan* practices, in the Times ſucceeding.

Next to the buſineſs of Religion, that which took up a great part of the publick Care, was the Founding and Eſtabliſhing of the new Hoſpital in the late diſſolved Houſe of *Grey Friers*, near *Newgate*, in the City of *London*; and that of St. *Thomas* in the Borough of *Southwark*. Concerning which we are to know, that the Church belonging to the ſaid Houſe, together with the Cloyſters, and almoſt all the publick Building, which ſtood within the Liberties, and Precincts thereof, had the good Fortune to eſcape that Ruin, which generally befel all other Houſes of that Nature. And ſtanding undemoliſhed, till the laſt Times of King *Henry*, it was given by him, not many days before his Death, to the City of *London*: together with the late diſſolved Priory, called Little St. *Bartholomew's*; which, at the Suppreſſion thereof, was valued at 305. pounds, 6. s. 7. d. In which Donation, there was Reference had to a Double End. The

one

An. Reg. 6. 1552. one for the Relieving of the Poor, out of the Rents of ſuch Meſſuages, and Tenements, as in the Grant thereof are contained, and ſpecified. The other for Conſtituting a Pariſh-Church, in the Church of the ſaid diſſolved *Gray-Friers*: not only for the uſe of ſuch as lived within the Precincts of the ſaid two Houſes: but for the Inhabitants of the Pariſhes of St. *Nicholas in the Shambles*, and of Saint *Exines*, ſcituate in *Warwick Lane end*, near *Newgate-Market*. Which Churches, with all the Rents and Profits belonging to them, were given to the City at the ſame time alſo, and for advancing the ſame ends, together with five hundred Marks by the year for ever; the Church of the *Grey-Friers* to be from thenceforth called *Chriſt-Church*, Founded by King *Henry the Eighth*. All which was ſignified to the City in a Sermon Preached at Saint *Paul's-Croſs*, by the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, on the thirteenth of *January*; being no more than a Fortnight before the death of the King: ſo that He wanted not the Prayers of the Poor, at the Time of His Death, to ſerve as a Counter-Ballance for thoſe many Curſes, which the poor Monks, and Friers had beſtowed upon Him in the Time of His Life.

In purſuance of this double Deſign, the Church of the ſaid *Friers* (which had before ſerved as a Magazine, or Store-houſe for ſuch *French-Wines*, as had been taken by Repriſe) was cleanſed, and made fit for Holy uſes, and *Maſs* again ſang in it on the thirteenth day of *January* before remembred, reſorted to by ſuch Pariſhioners, as were appointed to it by the King's Donation. After which followed (in the firſt years of King *Edward the Sixth*) the taking down of the ſaid two Churches, and building ſeveral Tenements, on the Ground of the Churches, and Church-Yards, the Rents therof to be employed for the further maintenance, and Relief of the Poor, living and loytering in, and about the City, to the great Diſhonour of the ſame. But neither the firſt Grant of the King, nor theſe new Additions, being able to carry on the work to the end deſired, it happened, that Biſhop *Ridley* preaching before the King, did much inſiſt upon the ſetling of ſome conſtant courſe for Relief of the Poor. Which Sermon wrought ſo far upon Him, that He cauſed the Biſhop to be ſent for, gave him great Thanks for his good Exhortation, and thereuponentred into Communication with him, about the deviſing of ſome Courſe, by which ſo great, and ſo good a Work ſhould be brought to paſs. His adviſe was, that Letters ſhould be written to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, for taking the buſineſs into Conſideration, in Reference to ſuch Poor, as ſwarmed in great numbers about the City. To which the King ſo readily hearkened, that the Letters were diſpatched, and Signed, before he would permit the Biſhop to go out of His Preſence. Furniſhed with theſe Letters, and Inſtructions, the Biſhop calls before him Sir *Richard Dobbs*, then Lord Mayor of *London*, with ſo many Aldermen, as were thought fit, to be adviſed with in the preſent buſineſs. By whom it was agreed upon, That a General Contribution ſhould be made by all wealthy, & well-affected Citizens, towards the advancement of a work ſo neceſſary for the publick good. For the effecting whereof, they were all called to their Pariſh-Churches, where by the ſaid Lord Mayor, their ſeveral Aldermen, and other Grave Citizens, they were by Eloquent Orations, perſwaded, how great, and how many Commodities, would enſue unto them, and their City; if the poor of divers ſorts were taken from out their Streets, Lanes, and Allies, and were beſtowed, and provided for in ſeveral Hoſpitals. It was therefore moved, that every man would ſignifie what they would grant towards the preparing and furniſhing of ſuch Hoſpitals, as alſo, what they would contribute weekly towards their Maintenance until they were furniſhed with a more Liberal Endowment. Which courſe prevailed ſo far upon them, that every man ſubſcribed according to his Ability, and Books were drawn in every Ward of the City, containing the ſum of that Relief: which they had contributed. Which being delivered unto the Mayor, were by Him humbly tendred to the King's Commiſſioners on the ſeventeenth of *February*.

This

This good Foundation being lai'd, a beginning was put to the Reparation of the decayed Buildings, in the *Gray-Friers*, on the twenty ſixth of *July*, for the Reception of ſuch poor, fatherleſs Children, as were then to be provided for at the publick Charge. The like Reparation alſo made of the ruinous Buildings belonging to the late diſſolved *Priory* of Saint *Thomas* in the Burough of *Southwark*, which the Citizens had then newly bought of the King, to ſerve for an Hoſpital of ſuch Wounded, Sick, and Impotent Perſons, as were not fit to be intermingled with the Sound. The Work ſo diligently followed in both places at once, that on the twenty third of *November*, the ſick and maimed people were taken into the Hoſpital of Saint *Thomas*, and into *Chriſt-Hoſpital* to the number of four hundred Children; all of them to have Meat, Drink, Lodging, and Cloths, at the Charge of the City, till other means could be provided for their future Maintainance. *An. Reg.* 6. 1552.

And long it was not, before ſuch further Means was provided for them, by the Bounty, and Piety of the King; then drawing as near unto his End, as his father was, when he lai'd the firſt foundation of that pious work. For hearing with what chearfulneſs the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, had conformed themſelves to the effect of his former Letters, and what a great advance they had made in the Work, commanded them to attend him on the tenth of *April*, gave them great thanks for their Zeal and forwardneſs, and gave for ever to the City his Palace of *Bridewel* (erected by K. *Henry the Eighth*) to be employ'd as a relieving houſe for ſuch Vagabonds, and thriftleſs poor, as ſhould be ſent thither to receive chaſtiſement, and be forced to labour. For the better maintainance whereof, and the more liberal endowment of the other Hoſpitals before remembrer, it was ſuggeſted to him; that the Hoſpital founded in the *Savoy* by King *Henry the ſeventh*, for the Relief of Pilgrims, and Travellers, was lately made the Harboug, or Relieving place for Loiterers, Vagabonds, and Strumpets, who ſunned themſelves in the fields all day, and at night found entertainment there. The Maſter and Brethren of the Houſe are thereupon ſent for to the King, who dealt ſo powerfully, and effectually with them, that they reſigned the ſame into his hands, with all the Lands and Goods thereunto belonging. Out of which he preſently beſtowed the yearly Rent of ſeven hundred Marks, with all the Beds, Bedding, and other Furniture, which he found therein, towards the maintainance of the ſaid Work-Houſe, and the Hoſpital of St. *Thomas* in *Southwark*. The Grant whereof he confirmed by his Letters Patents, bearing date the 26*th*. of *June*; adding thereunto a *Mort-Main* for enabling the City to purchaſe Lands, to the value of four thouſand Marks *per annum*, for the better maintainance of thoſe, and the other Hoſpitals. So that by the Donation of *Bridewel*, which He never built, and the ſuppreſſion of the Hoſpital in the *Savoy*, which he never endowed, he was entituled to the Foundation of *Bridewel*, St. *Bartholomew's*, and St. *Thomas*, without any charge unto himſelf.

But theſe laſt paſſages concerning the Donation of *Bridewel*, the ſuppreſſion of the Hoſpital in the *Savoy*, and the Endowment of the ſaid three Houſes with the Lands thereof, hapned not till the year enſuing, *Anno* 1553. though lai'd unto the reſt in the preſent Narrative, in regard of the Dependence, which it hath on the former Story. Nothing elſe memorable in the courſe of this preſent year, but the coming of *Cardanus*, the death of *Leland*, and the preferment of Doctor *John Taylor* to the See of *Lincoln*. The See made void by the death of Doctor *Henry Holbeach*, about the beginning of *Auguſt*, in the former year, and kept void, by ſome powerful men about the K. till the 26*th*. of *June*, in the year now preſent. At what time, the ſaid Doctor *Taylor*, who before had been Dean of that Church, was Conſecrated Biſhop of it. During which interval, the Patrimony of that great and wealthy Biſhoprick (one of the richeſt in the Kingdom) was ſo diſmembred in it ſelf, ſo parcelled, and marked out for a prey to others, that when the new Biſhop was to be reſtored unto his Temporals, under the Great Seal of *England*, (as the Cuſtom is) there was none of all his Ma-

An. Reg. 7. 1553. ours reſerved for him, but his Manour of *Bugden*, together with ſome Farms and Impropriations, toward the ſupport of his Eſtate: The reſt was to be raiſed out of the profits, perquiſits, and emoluments of his Jurisdiction; yet ſo, that nothing was to be abated in his Tenths, and firſt-fruits, which were kept up according to the former value.

As for *John Leland*; for whoſe death I find this year aſſigned: he had his Education in *Chriſt's* Colledge in *Cambridge*. Being a man of great parts, and indefatigable induſtry, he was imployed by King *Henry* the Eight to ſearch into the Libraries, and Collect the Antiquities of Religious Houſes, at ſuch time, as they lay under the fear of ſuppreſſion. Which work as he performed with more then ordinary diligence, ſo was he encouraged thereunto by a very Liberal exhibition, which he received annually from the late King *Henry*. But the King being dead, his exhibition, and encouragements, dyed alſo with him. So that the Lamp of his life being deſtitute of the Oil, which fed it, after it had been in a languiſhing condition all the reſt of his King's Reign was this year unfortunately extinguiſhed: unfortunately, in regard that he dyed diſtracted to the great grief of all that knew him, and the no ſmall ſorrow of many, who never ſaw him, but only in his painful, and laborious Writings. Which Writings, being by him preſented to the hands of King *Henry*, came afterwards into the power of Sir *John Cheek*, School-Maſter, and Secretary for the *Latine* tongue to the King now reigning. And though collected principally for the uſe of the Crown, yet, on the death of the young King, his Tutor kept them to himſelf as long as he lived, and left them at his death to *Henry* his eldeſt Son, Secretary to the Council Eſtabliſhed at *York*, for the *Northern* parts. From *Cheek*, but not without ſome intermediate conveyances, four of them came into the poſſeſſion of *William Burton* of *Leiceſterſhire*; who having ſerved his turn of them as well as he could, in his deſcription of that County, beſtowed them, as a moſt choiſe Rarity upon *Oxford* Library, where the Originals ſtill remain. Out of this Treaſury, whileſt it remained entire in the hands of *Cheek*, the learned *Cambden* was ſupplyed with much Excellent matter toward the making up of his deſcription of the Iſles of *Britain*; but not without all due acknowledgment to his Benefactour, whom he both frequently citeth, and very highly commendeth for his pains, and induſtry.

In the laſt place comes in *Cardanus*, an eminent Philoſopher, born in *Italy*, and one not eaſily over-matched by the then ſuppoſed Matchleſs *Scaliger*, having compoſed a Book, Entituled, *De varietate Rerum*, with an Epiſtle Dedicatory to King *Edward* the Sixth, he came over this year into *England* to preſent it to him; which gave him the occaſion of much conference with Him. In which he found ſuch dexterity in Him for encountring many of his Paradoxes in natural Philoſophy, that he ſeemed to be aſtoniſhed between Admiration, and Delight, and divulged his Abilities to be miraculous. Some paſſages of which diſcourſe *Cardanus* hath left upon Record in theſe words enſuing. *Decimum quintum, adhuc agebat Annum, cum interrogabat* Latine, *&c. Being yet* (ſaith he) *but of the age of fifteen years, he asked me in* Latine (*in which tongue he uttered his mind no leſs eloquently, and readily, then I could do my ſelf*) *what my Books, which I had dedicated unto him,* De varietate Rerum, *did contain? I anſwered, that in the firſt Chapter was ſhewed the cauſe of Comets, or blazing-ſtars, which hath been long ſought for, and hitherto ſcarce fully found. What cauſe* (*ſaid he*) *is that? The concourſe or meeting of the light of the wandring Planets, or ſtars. To this the King thus replyed again. For as much* (*ſaid he*) *as the motion of the ſtars keepeth not one courſe, but is diverſe and variable by continual Alteration, how is it then that the cauſe of theſe Comets, doth not quickly vade, or vaniſh, or that the Comet doth not keep one certain and uniform courſe and motion, with the ſaid ſtars and Planets? Whereunto I anſwered, that it moved indeed, but with a far ſwifter motion than the Planets, by reaſon of the diverſity*

verſity of Aſpects, as we ſee in Chriſtal, and the Sun, when a Rainbow re-bounds on a Wall, for a little change makes a great difference of the place. The King rejoyned, How can that be done without a ſubject? as the Wall is the Subject to the Rainbow. To which I anſwered, That as in the Galaxia, *or* Via lactea, *and in the Reflection of Lights, when many are ſet near one another, they do produce a certain Lucid and bright Mean.* Which Conference is thus ſhut up by that Learned Man, *That he began to favour Learning, before he could know it; and knew it, before he could tell what uſe he had of it*: And then bemoans his ſhort life, in theſe words of the Poet,

An. Reg. 7. 1553.

Immodicis brevis eſt Ætas, & rara Senectus.

Anno Regni Edw. *Sexti* 6. *An. Dom.* 1552, 1553.

SUch being the excellent Abilities of this hopeful Prince in Matters of Abſtruſer Learning, there is no queſtion to be made, but that he was the Maſter of ſo much Perſpicacity in his own Affairs, (as indeed he was, which might produce both Love, and Admiration in the Neighbouring Princes: Yet ſuch was the Rapacity of the Times, and the unfortunateneſs of his condition, that his Minority was abuſed to many Acts of ſpoil, and Rapine (even to an high degree of Sacriledge) to the raiſing of ſome, and the enriching of others, without any manner of improvement to his own Eſtate. For, notwithſtanding the great & moſt ineſtimable Treaſures which muſt needs come in, by the ſpoil of ſo many Shrines, and Images, the ſale of all the Lands belonging to *Chanteries, Colleges, Free-Chappels*, &c. And the dilapidating of the Patrimony of ſo many Biſhopricks, and Cathedral Churches; he was not only plunged in Debt, but the Crown-Lands were much diminiſhed, and impaired, ſince his coming to it. Beſides which ſpoils, there were many other helps, and ſome great ones too, of keeping him both before-hand, and full of mony, had they been uſed to his Advantage. The Lands of divers of the Halls, and Companies in *London*, were charged with Annual Penſions, for the finding of ſuch *Lights, Obits*, and Chantry-Prieſts, as were founded by the Donors of them. For the redeeming whereof, they were conſtrained to pay the ſum of Twenty thouſand pounds to the uſe of the King, by an Order from the Council-Table; not long before the payment of the firſt mony for the ſale of *Boloign Anno* 1550. And ſomewhat was alſo paid by the City, to the King, for the purchaſe of the Borough of *Southwark*, which they bought of him the next year. But the main glut of Treaſure was that of the four hundred thouſand Crowns, amounting in our Money to 133333*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* paid by the *French* King, on the ſurrendry of the Town, and Territory of *Boloign*, before remembred. Of which vaſt ſum, (but ſmall, in reference to the loſs of ſo great a ſtrength) no leſs then fourſcore thouſand pounds was laid up in the Tower; the reſt aſſign'd, to publick uſes, for the peace and ſafety of the *Kingdom*. Not to ſay any thing of that great yearly profit, which came in from the Mint, after the entercourſe ſettled betwixt Him and the King of *Sweden*, & the decrying ſo much bale mony, had begun to ſet the ſame on work. Which great Advantages notwithſtanding, He is now found to be in Debt to the *Bankers* of *Antwerp* & elſewhere, no leſs then 250000*l.* of *Engliſh* mony. Towards which, the ſending of his own Ambaſſadours into *France*, and the entertainment of the *French*, when they were in *England*, (the only two great Charges, which we find Him at in the whole courſe of His Reign) muſt be inconſiderable.

It was to no purpoſe for Him to look too much backward, or to trouble himſelf with enquiring after the ways, and means, by which He came to be involved in ſo great a Debt. It muſt be now his own care, and the endeavours of thoſe, who plunged Him in it, to find the ſpeedieſt way for His getting out.

An. Reg. 7. 1553. And first they fall upon a course to lessen the Expenses of His Court and family, by suppressing the Tables formerly appointed for young Lords, the Masters of the Requests, Serjeants at Arms, *&c.* which though it saved some mony, yet it brought in none. In the next place, it was resolved, to call such Officers to a present and publick Reckoning, who either had embezelled any of the Crown Lands, or inverted any of the King's mony to their private use. On which course they were the more intent, because they did both serve the King & content the people: but might be used by them as a scourge, for the whipping of those, against whom they had any cause of quarrel. Amongst which I find the new Lord *Paget* to have been fined six thousand pound (as before was said) for divers Offences of that nature, which were charged upon him. *Beaumont*, then Master of the Rolls had purchased Lands with the King's mony, made longer Leases of some other Crown Lands, then he was authorized to do by his Commission, and was otherwise guilty of much corrupt and fraudulent dealing. For expiating of which Crimes, he surrendred all his Lands and goods to the King, and seems to have been well befriended, that he sped no worse. The like Offences proved against one *Whaley*, one of the King's Receivers for the County of *York*; for which he was punished with the loss of his Offices, and adjudged to stand to any such fine, as by his Majesty, and the Lords of his Council should be set upon him. Which manner of proceeding, though it be for the most part pleasing to the common people, and profitable to the Common-Wealth; yet were it more unto the honour of a Prince, to make choice of such officers, whom he thinks not likely to offend, then to sacrifice them to the people, and his own displeasures, having thus offended.

But the main Engine at this time for advancing mony, was the speeding of a Commission into all parts of the Realm, under pretence of selling such of the Lands & goods of Chanterys, *&c.* as remain'd unsold; but, in plain truth, to seize upon all Hangings, Altar Cloths, Fronts, Parafronts, Copes of all sorts, with all manner of Plate, which was to be found in any Cathedral, or Parochial Church. To which rapacity the demolishing of the former Altars, and placing the Communion Table in the middle of the Quires, or Chancels of every Church (as was then most used) gave a very good hint, by rendring all such Furnitures, rich Plate, and other costly Utensils, in a manner useless. And that the business might be carryed with as much advantage to the King as might be. He gave out certain Instructions under his hand, by which the Commissions were to regulate themselves in their proceedings, to the advancement of the service. Amongst which pretermitting those, which seem to be preparatories only unto all the rest, I shall put down as many as I think material: And that being done, it shall be left to the Reader's judgment, whether the King, being now in the sixteenth year of his Age, were either better studyed in his own Concernments, or seemed to be worse principled in matters, which concerned the Church. Now the most material of the said Instructions were these, that follow.

1. *The said Commissioners shall, upon their view and survey taken, cause due Inventories to be made by Bills or Books indented, of all manner of Goods, Plates, Jewels, Bells, and Ornaments, as yet remaining, or any wise forth-coming, and belonging to any Churches, Chappels, Fraternities, or Gilds; and one part of the said Inventories to send and return to Our Privy Council, and the other to deliver to them, in whose hands the said Goods, Plate, Jewels, Bells, and Ornaments, shall remain, to be kept, and preserved. And they shall also give good charge and Order, that the same Goods, and every part thereof, be at all times forth-coming to be answered; leaving nevertheless in every Parish-Church, or Chappel, of common resort, one, two, or more Chalices, or Cups, according to the multitude of People, in every such Church, or Chappel; and also such Ornaments, as by their discretion shall seem requisite for the Divine Service in every such place for the time.*

2. *That*

2. *That because Information hath been made, that in many places great quantities of the said Plate, Bells, Jewels, Ornaments, hath been embezelled by certain private men, contrary to his Majestie's expres's Commandment in that behalf, the said Commissioners shall substantially, and justly enquire, and attain the knowledge thereof: by whose default the same is, or hath been, or in whose hands any part of the same is come. And in that point, the said Commissioners shall have good regard that they attain to certain Names, and dwelling Places of every person, or persons, that hath sold, alienated, embezelled, taken, or carryed away; or of such also, as have counselled, advised, and commanded any part of the said Goods, Plate, Jewels, Bells, Vestments, and Ornaments, to be taken, or carryed away, or otherwise embezelled. And these things they shall as certainly, and duly, as they can, cause to be searched, and understood.* An. Reg. 7. 1553.

3. *That upon full search and enquiry thereof, the said Commissioners, four, or three of them, shall cause to be called before them all such persons, by whom any of the said Goods, Plate, Jewels, Bells, Ornaments, or any other the Premises, have been alienated, embezelled, and taken away; or by whose means, and procurement, the same, or any part thereof hath been attempted, or to whose hands, or use, any of the same, or any profit for the same hath grown. And by such means, as to their discretions shall seem best, cause them to bring into these the said Commissioners hands, to Our use, the said Plates, Jewels, Bells, and other the Premises so alienated, for the true and full value thereof: certifying unto Our Privy Council the Names of all such as refuse to stand to, or obey their Order touching their delivery, or restitution of the same, or the just values thereof. To the intent, that, as cause and reason shall require, every man may answer to his doings in this behalf.*

4. *To these another Clause was added, touching the moderation, which they were to use in their Proceedings; to the end, that the effect of their Commission might go forward with as much quiet, and as little occasion of trouble, or disquiet to the Multitude, as might be; using therein such wise persuasions, as in respect of the place, and disposition of the people, may seem to their Wisdoms most expedient: yet so, that they take care for giving good and substantial Order to stay the inordinate and greedy Covetousness of such disordered people, as should go about to alienate any of the Premises; or otherwise to let them know, that according to Reason, and Order, such as have, or should contemptuously offend in that behalf, should receive such punishment, as to the quality of their doing should be thought most requisite.*

Such were the Faculties and Instructions, wherewith the Kings Commissioners were impowered and furnished. And doubt we not, but that they were as punctual and exact in the execution: which cannot better be discerned, than by that which is reported of their doings generally in all parts of the Realm, and more particularly in the Church of St. *Peter* in *Westminster*, more richly furnished, by reason of the Pomps of Coronations, Funerals, and such like solemnities, then any other in the Kingdom. Concerning which I find, in an old Chapter-Book belonging to it, that on *May* the 9. 1553. Sir *Roger Cholmley* Knight, Lord Chief Justice, and Sir *Robert Bowes* Knight, Master of the Rolls, the King's Commissioners, for gathering Ecclesiastical Goods, held their Session at *Westminster*, and called before them the Dean of that Cathedral, and certain others of the same House, and commanded them, by virtue of their Commission, to bring to them a true Inventory of all the Plate, Cups, Vestments, and other Ecclesiastical Goods, which belonged to their Church. Which done, the Twelfth day of the same Month, they sent *John Hodges*, *Robert Smalwood*, and *Edmund Best*, of the City of *Westminster*, (whom the said Commissioners had made their Collectors) with a Commandment to the Dean and Chapter, for the delivery of the said Goods; which were by *Robert Crome* Clerk, Sexton of the said Church, delivered to the said Collectors, who left no more unto the Church, than two Cups with

An. Reg. 7. 1553. with the Covers all gilt; One white Silver Pot, Three Herſe-Cloths, Twelve Cuſhions, One Carpet for the Table, Eight Stall-Cloths for the Quire, Three Pulpit-Cloths, Nine little Carpets for the Dean's Stall, Two Table-Cloths: the reſt of all the rich Furniture, maſſie Plate, and whatſoever elſe was of any value, (which queſtionleſs muſt needs amount to a very great Sum) was ſeized on by the ſaid Collectors, & clearly carryed away by Order, from the ſaid Commiſſioners. The like done generally in all the other parts of the Realm, into which the Commiſſioners began their Circuits in the Month of *April*, as ſoon as the ways were open, and fit for Travail. Their buſineſs was to ſeize upon all the Goods remaining in any Cathedral, or Pariſh-Churches, all Jewels of Gold, and Silver, Croſſes, Candleſticks, Cenſers, Chalices, and ſuch like; with their ready Mony: As alſo, all Copes, and Veſtments of Cloth of Gold, Tiſſue, and Silver; together with all other Copes, Veſtments, and Ornaments, to the ſame belonging. Which general ſeizure being made, they were to leave one Chalice, with certain Table-Cloths, for the uſe of the Communion-Board, as the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhould think fit: the Jewels, Plate, and ready mony, to be delivered to the Maſter of the King's Jewels in the Tower of *London*; the Cope of Cloth of Gold, and Tyſſue, to be brought into the King's Wardrobe; the reſt to be turned into ready mony, and that mony to be paid to Sir *Edmond Peckam*, the King's Cofferer, for the defraying of the Charges of His Majeſtie's Houſhold.

But notwithſtanding this great care of the King on the one ſide, and the double-diligence of his Commiſſioners on the other, the Booty did not prove ſo great, as the Expectation. In all great Fairs, and Markets, there are ſome *Foreſtallers*, who get the beſt Penny-worths to themſelves, and ſuffer not the Richeſt and moſt gainful Commodities to be openly ſold. And ſo it fared alſo in the preſent Buſineſs, there being ſome, who were as much before-hand with the King's Commiſſioners in embezelling the ſaid Plate, Jewels, and other Furnitures, as the Commiſſioners did intend to be with the King, in keeping always moſt part unto themſelves. For when the Commiſſioners came to execute their Powers in their ſeveral Circuits, they neither could diſcover all, or recover much of that, which had been purloined; ſome things being utterly embezelled by Perſons not reſponſible; in which Caſe, the King, as well as the Commiſſioners, was to loſe his Right: but more concealed by Perſons not detectable; who had ſo cunningly carryed the ſtealth, that there was no tracing of their Foot-ſteps. And ſome there were, who, being known to have ſuch Goods in their poſſeſſion, conceived themſelves too Great to be called in queſtion; connived at willingly by thoſe, who were but their Equals, and either were, or meant, to be Offendors in the very ſame kind. So that although ſome profit was hereby raiſed to the King's Exchequer; yet the far greateſt part of the prey came to other hands: Inſomuch, that many private men's Parlour's were hung with Altar-Cloths, their Tables, and Beds covered with Copes, inſtead of Carpets, and Coverlids; and many made Carouſing Cups of the Sacred Chalices, as once *Belſhazzar* celebrated his drunken Feaſt in the ſanctified Veſſels of the Temple. It was a ſorry Houſe, and not worth the naming, which had not ſomewhat of this Furniture in it, though it were only a fair large Cuſhion made of a Cope, or Altar-Cloth, to adorn their Windows, or make their Chairs appear to have ſomewhat in them of a *Chair of State*. Yet how contemptible were theſe Trappings, in compariſon of thoſe vaſt ſums of mony, which were made of Jewels, Plate, and Cloth of Tyſſue, either conveyed beyond the Seas, or ſold at home, and good Lands purchaſed with the mony; nothing the more bleſſed to the Poſterity of them, that bought them, for being purchaſed with the Conſecrated Treaſures of ſo many Temples.

But

An. Reg. 7. 1553.

But as the King was plunged in Debt, without being put to any extraordinary charges in it, so was He decayed in his Revenue, without selling any part of His Crown Lands towards the payment of His Debts. By the suppressing of some, and the surrendring of other Religious Houses, the Royal *Intrado* was so much increased in the late King's time; that, for the better managing of it, the King erected first the Court of *Augmentation*, and afterwards the Court of *Surveyours*. But in short time, by his own profuseness, and the Avaritiousness of this King's Ministers, it was so retrenched, that it was scarce able to find Work enough for the Court of *Exchequer*. Hereupon followed the dissolving of the said two Courts in the last Parliament of this King, beginning on the first, and ending on the last day of *March*. Which, as it made a loud noise in the Ears of the people, so did it put this Jealousie into their Minds, That, if the King's Lands should be thus daily wasted without any recruit, He must at last prove burthensom to the common Subject. Some course is therefore to be thought on, which might pretend to an increase of the King's Revenue, and none more easie to be compassed, then to begin with the suppression of such Bishopricks, and Collegiate Churches, as either lay furthest off, or might best be spared. In reference whereunto, it was concluded, in a Chapter held at *Westminster*, by the Knights of the Garter, That from thenceforth the said most noble Order of the *Garter* should be no longer entituled by the Name of *St. George*, but that it should be called the *Order of the Garter* only; and that the Feast of the said Order should be celebrated upon *Whitson-Eve*, *Whitson-day*, and *Whitson-Monday*, and not on St. *George*'s day, as before it was. And to what end was this concluded; and what else was to follow upon this conclusion, but the dissolving of the Free Chappel of St. *George* in the Castle of *Windsor*, and the transferring of the Order to the Chappel of King *HENRY* the Seventh, in the Abbey of *Westminster*? Which had undoubtedly been done, and all the Lands thereof converted to some powerful Courtiers, under pretence of laying them to the Crown, if the King's Death, which happened within four Months after, had not prevented the Design, and thereby respited that Ruine, which was then intended.

The like preservation happened, at the same time also, in the Church of *Durham*, as liberally endowed as the most, and more amply priviledged, then the best in the King's Dominions. The Bishops hereof by Charter, and long Prescription, enjoyed and exercised all the Rights of a *County Palatine* in that large Tract of Ground, which lies between the *Tees*, and the *Tine*, best known in those parts by the Name of the *Bishoprick*; the Diocess containing also all *Northumberland*, of which the Bishops, and the *Percies*, had the greatest shares. No sooner was Bishop *Tonstal* committed to the *Tower*, which was on the Twentieth of *December*, 1551. but presently an Eye was cast upon his Possessions. Which, questionless, had followed the same fortune with the rest of the Bishopricks, if one, more powerful than the rest, had not preserv'd it from being parcell'd out as the others were, on a strong confidence of getting it all unto himself. The Family of the *Percies* was then reduced to such a point, that it seemed to have been quite expired; a Family which first came in with the *Norman* Conquerour, by whom enriched with most of the forfeited Estates of *Morchar*, *Gospatrick*, and *Waltheof*, the three last Earls of *Northumberland*, of the *Saxon* Race. But, this Line ending in the latter times of King *HENRY* the First, *Josseline* of *Lorain*, descended from the Emperor last *CHARLES* the *Great*, and one of the younger Brothers of *Adeliza*, the Wife of the King, enrich'd himself by marriage with the Heir-General of this House, upon condition, that keeping to himself the *Arms* of his own *Family*, he should assume the Name of *Percy*, to remain always afterward unto his Posterity. Advanced in that respect, by the Power and Favour of *John* of *Gaunt*, to the

An. Reg. 7. 1553. the Rank and Title of the Earls of *Northumberland*, at the Coronation of King *Richard the Second*. They held the same with great Power, and Honour, (the short interposing of the Marquess *Mountacute* excepted only) till toward the latter end of King *Henry the Eighth*. At what time it happened, that *Henry* Lord *Peircy*, the sixth Earl of this House, had incurred the heavy displeasure of that King: First, for an old affection to the Lady *Ann Bollein*, when the King began first to be enamoured of her excellent Beauties; and afterwards for denying to confess a Precontract to have been formerly made between them; when the King (now as weary of her, as before he was fond) was seeking some fair Pretences to divorce himself from her, before she was to lose her Head. He had no Children of his own; and *Thomas* his Brother, and next Heir, was, to his greater grief, attainted of Treason, for being thought to have a chief hand in the *Northern* Rebellion, *Anno* 1536. In both respects, he found himself at such a loss, and the whole Family without hope of a Restitution to its antient splendour; that, to preserve himself from running into further danger, he gave unto the King the greatest part of that fair Inheritance; and, dying not long after, left his Titles also to the King's disposing.

The Lands, and Titles, being thus fallen into the Crown, continued undisposed of, till the falling of the Duke of *Somerset*; when *Dudley*, Earl of *Warwick*, having some projections in his Head beyond the greatness of a Subject, advanced himself unto the Title of Duke of *Northumberland*; not doubting, but he should be able to possess himself in short time also of all the Lands of that family which were then remaining in the Crown. To which estate, the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and all the Lands belonging to it, could not but be beheld as a fair Addition, if at the least it might be called an addition, which was of more value, than the Patrimony, to which it was to have been added.

He had long Reigned without a Crown, suffering the King for some years to enjoy that Title, which was to be transferred (if all Contrivances held good) upon one of his Sons, whom he designed in Marriage to the eldest Daughter of the House of *Suffolk*. And then how easie was it for him, having a King of his own begetting, a Queen of his own making, the Lords of the Council at his beck, & a Parliament to serve his turn for all occasions, to incorporate both the Lands of the *Peircies*, and the *Patrimony* of that *Church*, into one Estate, with all the Rights, and Privileges of a *County Palatine*. *Count Palatine* of *Durham*, Prince *Palatine* of *Northumberland*, or what else he pleased, must be the least he could have aimed at, in that happy Conjuncture; happy to him, had the Event been answerable unto his Projections; but miserable enough to all the rest of the Kingdom, who should not servilely submit to this glorious Upstart. Upon which Grounds, as the Bishoprick of *Durham* was dissolved by *Act of Parliament*, under pretence of patching up the King's Revenue; so the greatest part of the Lands thereof had been kept together, that they might serve for a Revenue to the future *Palatine*. But all these projects failing in the death of the King, and his own Attaindure, not long after the *Peircies* were restored by Queen *Mary* to their Lands, and Honours, as the Bishop was unto his Liberty, and to most of his Lands; it being almost impossible, that such a fair Estate should fall into the hands of the Courtiers, and no part of it be left sticking in those glutinous fingers.

For to begin the Year withall, the King was taken with a very strong Cough in the Month of *January*, which at last ended in a Consumption of the Lungs; the seeds of which Malignity were generally supposed to have been sown in the last Summer's progress, by some over-heating of himself in his sports, and exercises. But they, that looked more narrowly into the matter, observed some kind of decayings in him from the time that Sir *Robert Dudley*, the third Son of *Northumberland*, was admitted into a place of ordinary attendance about his Person, which was on the same Day, when his Father was created *Duke*. For where-

as

as moſt men gave themſelves no improbable hopes, that betwixt the Spring time of his life, the growing ſeaſon of the year, and ſuch Medicinal applications as were made unto him, the diſeaſe would wear it ſelf away, by little and little, yet they found the contrary. It rather grew ſo faſt upon him, that when the Parliament was to begin on the firſt of *March*, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, were Commanded to attend him at *White-Hall*, inſtead of waiting on him from thence to *Weſtminſter*, in the uſual manner. Where being come, they found a Sermon ready for them (*the Preacher being the Biſhop of London*) which otherwiſe was to have been Preached in the *Abby-Church*; and the Great Chamber of the Court accommodated for an Houſe of *Peers* to begin the Seſſion. For the opening whereof, the King then ſitting under the Cloth of State, and all the Lords, according to their Ranks, and Orders, he declared by the Lord Chancellor *Goodrick*, the cauſes of his calling them to the preſent Parliament, and ſo diſmiſt them for that time. A Parliament which began, and ended in the Month of *March*, that the Commiſſions might the ſooner be diſpatched to their ſeveral Circuits, for the ſpeedier gathering up of ſuch of the Plate, Copes, Veſtments, and other Furnitures, of which the Church was to be ſpoiled, in the time of his ſickneſs. *An. Reg.* 7. 1553.

Yet in the midſt of theſe diſorders there was ſome care taken for advancing both the honor and the intereſt of the *Engliſh*-Nation, by furniſhing *Sebaſtian Cabol* for ſome new diſcoveries. Which *Sebaſtian*, the Son of *John Cabol* a *Venetian* born, attended on his firſt imployment under *Henry* the ſeventh, *Anno* 1497. At what time they diſcovered the *Barralaos*, and the Coaſts of *Canada*: now called *New-France*, even to the 67½. degree of *Northern* Latitude. Bending his courſe more toward the *South*, and diſcovering a great part of the ſhoars of *Florida*, he returned for *England*; bringing with him three of the *Natives* of that Country, to which the name of *New-Found-Land* hath been ſince appropriated. But finding the *KING* unhappily Embroyled in a War with *Scotland*, and no preſent Encouragements to be given for a further Voyage, he betook himſelf into the ſervice of the *KING* of *SPAIN*, and after forty years and more, upon ſome diſtaſt, abandoned *SPAIN*, and offered his ſervice to this *KING*. By whom, being made *Grant-Pilot of England*, in the year 1549. he animated the *Engliſh Merchants*, to the finding out of a paſſage by the *North-Eaſt Seas* to *Cathay*, and *China*; firſt enterpriſed under the Conduct of Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, who unfortunately periſhed in the Action; himſelf, and all his Company, being Frozen to Death (all the particulars of his Voyage being ſince committed to Writing) as was certified by the Adventurers in the year next following. It was upon the twentith of *May* in this preſent year that this Voyage was firſt undertaken, three great ſhips being well manned, and fitted for the Expedition; which afterwards was followed by *Chancelour*, *Burroughs*, *Jackman*, *Jenkinſon*, and other noble Adventurers, in the times ſucceeding. Who though they failed of their Attempt in finding out a ſhorter way to *Cathay*, and *China*; yet did they open a fair Paſſage to the *Bay* of Saint *Nicholas*, and thereby laid the firſt foundation of a Wealthy Trade betwixt us, and the *Muſcovites*.

But the *KING'S* Sickneſs ſtill encreaſing, who was to live no longer than might well ſtand with the deſigns of the *DUKE of Northumberland*; ſome Marriages are reſolved on, for the Daughters of the *DUKE of Suffolk*, in which the *KING* appeared as forward, as if he had been one of the Principals in the Plot againſt him. And ſo the matter was contrived, that the *Lady JANE*, the eldeſt Daughter to that *DUKE*, ſhould be Marryed to the Lord *Guilford Dudly*, the fourth Son (then living) of *Northumberland*, all the three Elder Sons having Wives before, that *Katherine* the ſecond Daughter of

An. Reg. 7. 1553. *Suffolk*, should be marryed to the Lord *Henry Herbert*, the Eldest Son of the Earl of *Pembrook*, whom *Dudley* had made privy to all his Counsels; and the third Daughter, named *Mary*, being Crook-backed, and otherwise not very taking, affianced to *Martin Keys*, the *KING'S* Gentleman-Porter. Which Marriages together with that of the Lady *Katherine*, one of the Daughters of Duke *Dudly*, to *Henry* Lord *Hastings*, Eldest Son of the Earl of *Huntington*, were celebrated in the end of *May*, or the beginning of *June*, (for I find our Writers differing in the time thereof) with as much Splendour and solemnity, as the *KING'S* weak Estate, and the sad Condition of the *Court* could be thought to bear. These Marriages all solemnized at *Durham*-House in the *Strand*, of which *Northumberland* had then took possession in the name of the Rest, upon a Confidence of being Master very shortly of the whole Estate. The noise of these Marriages bred such Amazement in the Hearts of the common people, apt enough in themselves to speak the worst of *Northumberland's* Actions; That there was nothing left unsaid, which might serve to shew their hatred against him, or express their pity toward the *KING*. But the *DUKE* was so little troubled at it, that on the contrary he resolved to Dissemble no longer, but openly to play his Game, according to the Plot and project; which he had been Hammering ever since the Fall of the *DUKE of Somerset*, whose Death he had contrived on no other Ground, but for laying the way more plain, and open to these vast ambitions.

The *KING* was now grown weak in Body, and his spirits much decayed by a languishing Sickness; which Rendred him more apprehensive of such Fears and Dangers, as were to be presented to him, then otherwise he could have been in a time of strength.

In which Estate, Duke *Dudly* so prevailed upon him, that he consented at the last to a transposition of the Crown from his natural Sisters, to the Children of the Dutchess of *Suffolk*; Confirming it by Letters Patents, to the Heirs Males of the Body of the said Dutchess. And for want of such Heirs Males to be Born in the life-time of the *KING*, the Crown immediately to descend on the Lady *JANE* (the eldest Daughter of that House) and the Heirs of her Body, and so with several Remainders, to the rest of that Family. The carriage of which Business, and the Rubs it met with in the way, shall be reserved to the particular story of the Lady *JANE* when she is brought unwilling upon the Stage, thereon to Act the part of a Queen of *England*. It sufficeth in this place to note, that the *KING* had no sooner caused these Letters Patents to pass the Seal, but his Weakness more visibly encreased, then it did before. And as the *KING'S* Weakness did encrease, so did the *DUKE of Northumberland's* Diligence about him; for he was little absent from him, and had always some well-assured, to Espy how the State of his Health changed every Hour; And the more joyful he was at the Heart, the more Sorrowful appearance did he outwardly make. Whither any tokens of Poyson did appear, Reports are various. Certainly his Physicians discerned an invincible Malignity, in his Disease; and the Suspicion did the more encrease, for that the Complaint proceeded chiefly from the Lights; a part, as of no quickness, so no seat for any sharp Disease. The Bruit whereof being got amongst the People, they break out into immoderate Passions; Complaining that, for this cause, his two Uncles had been taken away; that for this cause the most Faithful of his Nobility, and of his Council were disgraced, and removed from Court; that this was the reason why such were placed next his Person, who were most assuredly disposed, either to commit, or permit, any Mischief; that now it did appear, that it was not vainly conjectured some years before, by Men of Judgment and Fore-

sight,

ſight, that after *Sommerſet*'s Death the King ſhould not long Enjoy his Life. But the *DUKE* regarded not much the muttering Multitude, knowing full well, that Rumours grow ſtale, and Vaniſh with Time; and yet, ſomewhat to abate, or Delay them for the preſent, he cauſed ſpeeches to be ſpread abroad that the *KING* began to be in a Recovery of his Health, which was the more readily Believed, becauſe moſt deſired it to be true. To which Report the General Judgment of his Phyſicians gave no little countenance, by whom it was affirmed, that they ſaw ſome hopes of his Recovery, if he might be removed to a Better, and more Healthful Air. But this, *DUKE Dudley* did not like of, and therefore he ſo dealt with the *LORDS* of the Council, that they would by no means yield unto it, upon pretenſe of his Inability to endure any ſuch Remove. *An. Reg.* 7. 1553.

And now, the time being near at hand, for the laſt Act of this Tragedy; a certain Gentlewoman, accounted a fit Inſtrument for the purpoſe, offered her Service for the Cure; giving no ſmall aſſurance of it, if He might be committed wholly to her diſpoſing. But from this Propoſition the *KING'S* Phyſicians ſhewed themſelves to be very averſe, in regard, that as ſhe could give no reaſon, either of the nature of the Diſeaſe, or of the part afflicted; ſo ſhe would not declare the means, whereby ſhe intended to work the Cure. Whoſe Oppoſition notwithſtanding, it was in time reſolved by the Lords of the Council, that the Phyſicians ſhould be diſcharged, and the Ordering of the King's Perſon committed unto her alone. But ſhe had not kept him long in hand, when He was found to have fallen into ſuch Deſperate Extremity, as manifeſtly might Declare, that his Death was haſtened, under pretenſe of finding out a more quick way for reſtoring of His Health. For now it viſibly appeared, that His vital Parts were mortally ſtuffed. Which brought Him to a difficulty of ſpeech, and breathing; that his Legs ſwelled, his Pulſe failed, and his skin changed colour; with many horrid ſymptoms of approching Death. Which being obſerved, the Phyſicians were again ſent for, when it was too late; and ſent for (as they gave it out) but for Faſhion only; becauſe it was not thought fit in Reaſon of State, that a King ſhould die, without having ſome Phyſicians in attendance of him; by ſome of which it was ſecretly whiſpered, That neither their Advice nor Applications, had been at all regarded in the courſe of his Sickneſs, That the King had been ill dealt with, more than once, or twice; and that, when by the Benefit, both of his Youth, and of careful means, there were ſome fair hopes of his Recovery, He was again more ſtrongly Over-lai'd then ever. And for a further proof, that ſome undue Practiſes had been uſed upon him, it is Affirmed by a Writer of the *Popiſh* Party, who could have no great cauſe to pity ſuch a Calamitous End, not only that the Apothecary, who poyſoned him, as well for the Horrour of the Offence, as the Diſquietneſs of his Conſcience, did, not long after drown himſelf; but that the Landreſs, who waſhed his Shirts, loſt the skin of her fingers. Againſt which general apprehenſions of ſome ill Dealing toward this unfortunate Prince, it can be no ſufficient Argument (if any Argument at all) that Queen *Mary* cauſed no Enquiry to be made about it, as ſome ſuppoſed ſhe would have done, if the ſuſpicion had been raiſed upon any good Grounds, For it may eaſily be Believed, that ſhe who afterwards admitted of a Conſultation for Burning the Body of Her Father, and cutting off the Head of Her Siſter, would not be over-Careful in the ſearch, and puniſhment of thoſe, who had precipitated the Death of her Brother.

The differences which were between them in the point of Religion, and the King's forwardneſs in the Cauſe of the Lady *Jane*; His rendring Her uncapa-

An. Reg. 7. 1553. able, as much as in Him was, to ſucceed in the Crown; and leaving her in the Eſtate of *Illegitimation*, were thought to have enough in them of a *Superſedeas* unto all Good Nature. So that the King might dye by ſuch ſiniſter Practiſes, without putting Queen *MARY* to the trouble of enquiring after them; who thought Her Self to have no Reaſon of being too ſollicitous in ſearching out the ſecret Cauſes of his death, who had been ſo injurious to Her in the time of His Life. A Life, which laſted little, and was full of trouble; ſo that Death could not be unwelcome to Him, when the hopes of his Recovery began to fail him. Of which if he deſired a Reſtitution, it was rather for the Church's ſake, then for His own. His dying Prayers not ſo much aiming at the prolonging of His Life, as the continuance of Religion: Not ſo much at the freeing of Himſelf from His Diſeaſe, as the preſerving of the Church from the danger of *Popery*. Which dying Prayer, as it was taken from his Mouth, was in theſe words following:

Lord God, deliver me out of this miſerable, and wretched life, and take me among thy Choſen. Howbeit, not my Will, but Thine be done. Lord, I commit my Spirit to Thee. O Lord, Thou knoweſt, how happy it were for Me, to be with Thee: Yet, for thy Choſen's ſake, ſend me Life, and Health, that I may truly ſerve Thee. Oh my Lord God! bleſs my people, and ſave Thine Inheritance. O Lord God, ſave thy Choſen People of England. *Oh Lord God! defend this Realm from* Papiſtry, *and maintain thy true Religion, that I, and my People, may praiſe thy Holy Name, for Jeſus Chriſt his ſake.*

With this Prayer, and other Holy Meditations, He prepared that pious Soul for God; which he ſurrendred into the hands of his Creator, on the ſixth of *July*, toward Night, when he had lived fifteen years, eight Months, and four and twenty days: Of which, he had Reigned ſix years, five Months, and eight days over. His body, kept a while at *Greenwich*, was, on the eighth of *Auguſt*, removed to *Weſtminſter*, and, on the morrow after, ſolemnly Interred amongſt His Anceſtours, in the *Abbey*-Church. In the performance whereof, the Lord Treaſurer *Pawlet*, with the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Pembroke*, ſerved as principal Mourners; the Funeral Sermon Preached by Doctor *Day*, then ſhortly to be re-eſtabliſhed in the *See* of *Chicheſter*. And, if the dead be capable of any felicity in this preſent World, He might be ſaid, to have had a ſpecial part thereof, in this particular, *viz.* That, as he had cauſed all Divine Offices to be celebrated in the *Engliſh* Tongue, according to the *Reformation*, which was made in the time of his Life; ſo the whole Service of the day, together with the form of Burial, and the Communion following on it, were Officiated in the *Engliſh* Tongue (according to the ſame Model) on the day of his Obſequies. But whileſt theſe things were Acting on the Church of *Weſtminſter*, Queen *Mary* held a more beneficial Obſequie for him (as ſhe then imagined) in the Tower of *London*, where ſhe cauſed a ſolemn *Dirige*, in the *Latine* Tongue, to be Chanted in the Afternoon; and, the next day, a Maſs of *Requiem*, to be ſung for the good of his Soul: At which, both ſhe, and many of Her Ladies, made their accuſtomed Offerings, according to the Form, and Manner of the Church of *Rome*.

Such was the Life, and ſuch the death of this excellent Prince, whoſe character I ſhall not borrow from any of our own *Engliſh* Writers, who may be thought to have been byaſſed by their own Affections, in ſpeaking more, or leſs, of Him, then he had deſerved. But I ſhall ſpeak him in the words of that Great Philoſopher *Hierome Cardanus*, an *Italian* born; and, who profeſſing the Religion of the Church of *Rome*, cannot be rationally accuſed of Partiality in his Character of Him.

There

There was in Him (saith he) *a towardly Disposition, and pregnancy, apt to all Humane Literature: as who, being yet a Child, had the knowledge of divers Tongues: First, of the* English, *His own Natural Tongue; of the* Latine *also, and of the* French: *Neither was He ignorant (as I hear) of the* Greek, Italian, *and* Spanish *Tongues, and of other Languages, peradventure, more. In His own, in the* French, *and in the* Latine *Tongue, singularly perfect; and, with the like facility, apt to receive all other. Neither was He ignorant in* Logick, *in the Principles of* Natural Philosophy, *or in* Musick. *There was in Him, lacking neither Humanity, a Princely Gravity, and Majesty, for any kind of towardliness, beseeming a Noble King. Briefly, it might seem* A Miracle of Nature, *to behold the Excellent Wit, and Forwardness, that appeared in Him; being yet but a Child. And this* (saith he) *I speak not Rhetorically, to amplifie things, or to make them more, then Truth is; nay, the Truth is more, then I do utter.* So He, in reference to His Personal Abilities; and Qualifications: And for the rest, that is to say, his piety to Almighty God, His Zeal to the Reformation of Religion, His care for the well-ordering of the *Common-Wealth*, and other qualities belonging to a *Christian* King (so far as they could be found in such tender years,) I leave them to be gathered from the passages of His Life, as before laid down: Remembring well, that I am to play the Part of an *Historian*, and not of a *Panegyrist*, or *Rhetorician*. An. Reg. 7. 1553.

As for the manner of his Death, the same Philosopher leaves it under a suspicion, of being like to fall upon him, by some dangerous practise. For, whether he divined it by his ART in *Astrology* (having calculated the Scheme of His Nativity) or apprehended it by the course, and carriage of business, he made a dangerous Prediction; when he fore-saw, that the King should shortly die a violent death; and (as he reporteth) fled out of the Kingdom, for fear of further danger, which might follow on it.

Of any publick Works of Piety, in the Reign of this KING, more then the Founding and Endowing of the Hospitals before-remembred, I find no mention in our Authors; which cannot be affirmed of the Reign of any of His Predecessours, since their first receiving of the Gospel. But their Times were for building up, and his unfortunate Reign was for pulling down. Howsoever, I find his Name remembred amongst the Benefactours to the University of *Oxford*, and, by that Name, required to be commemorated in all the Prayers before such Sermons; as were Preached ordinarily by any of that Body, in Saint *Marie's* Church, or at Saint *Paul's-Cross*, or finally in the *Spittle* without *Bishops-Gate*, on some solemn Festivals. But, possibly it is, that his Beneficence did extend no further, then either to the Confirmation of such Endowments, as had been made unto that University by King *Henry the Eighth*, or, to the excepting of all Colleges in that, and the other University, out of the *Statute*, or *Act* of *Parliament*, by which all Chantries, Colleges, and Free-Chappels, were conferred upon him. The want of which Redemption, in the Grant of the said Chantries, Colleges, Free-Chappels to King *Henry the Eighth*, strook such a Terrour unto the Students of both Universities, that they could never think themselves secure, till the expiring of that Statute by the death of the King; notwithstanding a very pious and Judicious Letter, which had been written to the King in that behalf, by Doctor *Richard Cox*, then Dean of *Christ-Church*, and Tutor to his Son, Prince *Edward*.

But, not to leave this Reign, without the Testimony of some Work of Piety, I cannot but remember the Foundation of the Hospital of *Christ* in *Abindon*, as a Work, not only of this Time, but the King's own *Act*. A *Guild*, or *Brotherhood*, had been there founded in the Parish-Church of Saint *Hellens*, during the Reign of King *Henry the Sixth*, by the procurement of one Sir *John Gollafrie* (a near Neighbouring Gentleman) for Building, and Repairing certain Bridges,

and

An. Reg. 7. 1553. and High-ways, about the Town; as alſo, for the Suſtenance, and Relief of thirteen poor people, with two, or more Prieſts, for performing all Divine Offices, unto thoſe of the *Brother-hood*. Which being brought within the compaſs of the *Act* of Parliament, by which all Chanteries, Colleges, and Free-Chappels, were conferred on the Crown: the Lands hereof were ſeized on, to the uſe of the King; the Repairing of the Ways, and Bridges, turned upon the Town, and the poor left deſtitute, in a manner, of all Relief. In which condition it remained, till the laſt year of the King, when it was moved by Sir *John Maſon*, one of the *Maſters of Requeſts* (a Town-born Child; and one of the pooreſt mens Children in it) to erect an Hoſpital in the ſame, and to Endow it with ſuch of the Lands, belonging to the former *Brother-hood*, as remained in the *Crown*, and to charge it with the Services, and Pious Uſes, which were before incumbent on the old Fraternity. The Suitor was too powerful to be denyed, and the Work too charitable in it ſelf to be long demurr'd on, ſo that he was eaſily made *Maſter* alſo of this *Requeſt*. Having obtained the King's conſent, he cauſed a handſome Pile of Building to be erected near the Church, diſtributed into ſeveral Lodgings, for the uſe of the poor, and one convenient Common-Hall, for diſpatch of buſineſs: to which he lai'd ſuch Farms, and Tenements in the Town, and elſewhere, as had been veſted in the *Brother-hood* of the *Holy-Croſs*, before remembred; and committed the Care, and Governance of the whole Revenue, to a Corporation of twelve Perſons, by the Name of the *Maſter and Governours of the Hoſpital of* Chriſt *in* Abindon. All which he fortified, and aſſured to the Town for ever, by Virtue of this His Majeſtie's Letters Patents, bearing date the nineteenth of *May* in the ſeventh and laſt year of His Reign, *Anno* 1553. And ſo I conclude the Reign of King *Edward the Sixth*, ſufficiently remarkable for the Progreſs of the *Reformation*; but otherwiſe tumultuous in it ſelf, and defamed by Sacrilege, and ſo diſtracted into Sides, and Factions; that, in the end, the King Himſelf became a Prey to the ſtrongeſt Party: which could not otherwiſe be ſafe, but in his Deſtruction, contrived on purpoſe, (as it was generally ſuppoſed) to ſmooth the Way to the Advancement of the Lady *Jane Grey* to the Royal Throne. Of whoſe ſhort Reign, Religious Diſpoſition, and Calamitous Death, We are next to ſpeak.

THE

AN

APPENDIX

TO THE FORMER

BOOK,

Touching the Interpoſings made in Behalf of the Lady

JANE GRAY,

Publickly Proclaimed

QUEEN of

ENGLAND.

Together with the Hiſtory of Her Admirable Life, Short Reign, and moſt Deplorable Death.

Prov. xxxi 29.

Many Daughters have done vertuouſly; but thou excelleſt them all.

Vell. Paterc. lib. 2.

Genere, Probitate, Formâ, *Romanorum* Eminentiſſima, & per omnia, Deis. quám hominibus, ſimilior Fœmina.

Cambd. *in* Reliquiis.

Miraris Janam Graio *Sermone loquutam?*
Quo primum nata eſt tempore, Graia *fuit.*

LONDON, Printed, *Anno Dom.* 1670.

THE LIFE and REIGN OF QUEEN JANE.

Anno Domini 1553.

THE Lady *JANE GRAY*, whom King *EDWARD* had Declared for His next Succeſſour, was Eldeſt Daughter of *HENRY* Lord *GRAY*, Duke of *Suffolk*, and Marqueſs *Dorſet*, deſcended from *THOMAS* Lord *GRAY*, Marqueſs *Dorſet*, the Eldeſt Son of Queen *ELIZABETH*, the only Wife of *EDWARD the Fourth*, by Sir *JOHN GRAY*, Her former Husband. Her Mother was the Lady *Frances's* Daughter; and in fine, one of the Co-Heirs of *Charls Brandon*, the late Duke of *Suffolk*, by *Mary*, His Wife, Queen *Dowager* to *Lewis the Twelfth* of *France*, and youngeſt Daughter of King *HENRY the Seventh*, Grandfather to King *EDWARD* now Deceaſed. Her High Deſcent, and the great Care of King *HENRY the Eighth*, to ſee her happily, and well beſtowed in Marriage, Commended Her unto the Bed of *Henry*, Lord Marqueſs *Dorſet*, before-remembred; A man of known Nobility, and of Large Revenues; poſſeſs'd not only of the Patrimony of the *Grays* of *Groby*, but of the whole Eſtate of the Lord *Harrington*

An. 1553. *rington*, and *Bonvile*: which descended on him in the Right of his Grand-mother, the Wife of the first Marquess of *Dorset*, of this Name, and Family. And it is little to be doubted, but that the Fortunes of the House had been much increased, by the especial Providence, and Bounty of the said Queen *Elizabeth*; who cannot be supposed to have neglected any Advantage, in the Times of her Glory, and Prosperity, for the Advancement of Her Children by her former Husband. In these Respects, more than for any Personal abilities, which he had in himself, he held a very fair esteem amongst the Peers of the Realm: rather Beloved, then Reverenced by the Common people. For, as he had few Commendable Qualities, which might produce any High Opinion of his Parts, and Merit: so was he guilty of no Vices, which might blunt the Edge of that Affection in the Vulgar sort; which commonly is born to Persons of that Eminent Rank. His Wife, as of an Higher Birth, was of greater Spirit: but one, that could accommodate it to the will of her Husband. Pretermitted in the Succession to the Crown, by the last Will, and Testament of King *Henry the Eighth*: not out of any Disrespect, which that King had of Her; but, because he was not willing to think it probable, that either she, or the Lady *Eleanor*, Her younger Sister, (whom he had pretermitted also in that Designation) could live so long, as to survive His own three Children, and such, as, in the course of Nature, should be issued from them.

Of this Marriage there were born three Daughters, that is to say, *Jane*, *Katherine*, and *Mary*. Of which, the eldest, being but some Months older than the late King *Edward*, may be presumed to have took the name of *Jane*, from the Queen *Jane Seimour*; as *Katherine*, from Queen *Katharine Howard*, or Queen *Katharine Parr*; and *Mary*, from the Princess *Mary*, the eldest Daughter of King *Henry*, or in Relation to Her Grand-Mother, His youngest Sister. But the great Glory of this Family was the Lady *Jane*, who seemed to have been born with those Attractions, which seat a Sovereignty in the face of most beautiful Persons; yet was Her mind endued with more Excellent Charms, then the Attractions of Her face: Modest, and Mild of Disposition, Courteous of Carriage, and of such Affable Deportment, as might Entitle Her to the Name of *Queen of Hearts*, before She was designed for Queen over any Subjects. Which Native, and Obliging Graces, were accompanyed with some more profitable ones, of Her own Acquiring; which set an higher Value on them, and much encreased the same, both in Worth, and Lustre. Having attained unto that Age, in which other young Ladies used to apply themselves, to the Sports, and Exercises of their Sex: She wholly gave her mind to good Arts, and Sciences; much furthered in that pursuit, by the care, and diligence of one Mr. *Elmer*, who was appointed for Her Tutor; the same (if my Conjecture deceive me not) who afterwards was deservedly Advanced, by Queen *Elizabeth*, to the See of *London*. Under his charge she came to such a large Proficiency, that she spake the *Latine*, and *Greek* Tongues, with as sweet a fluence, as if they had been Natural, and Native to her; Exactly skilled in the Liberal Sciences, and perfectly well Studied in both kinds of Philosophy.

For proof whereof, there goes a Story, that Mr. *Roger Ascham* (being then Tutor to the Princess *Elizabeth*) came to attend Her once at *Broadgates*, a House of Her Father's neighbouring to the Town of *Leicester*: where he found Her in Her Chamber, reading *Phædon Platonis* in *Greek*, with as much delight, as some Gentlewomen would have read a Merry tale in *Geoffery Chaucer*. The Duke her Father, the Dutchess, and all the rest of the Houshold, were at that time hunting in the Park: which moved him to put this Question to Her, "How she "could find in Her heart to lose such excellent Pastimes? To which she very chearfully returned this Answer, "That all the Pastimes in the Park were a "shadow only of the Pleasure, and Contentment, which she found in that book; adding moreover, "That one of the greatest blessings God ever gave her, was in "sending her sharp Parents, and a gentle School-Master, which made Her take

"delight

"delight in nothing ſo much, as in Her ſtudy. By which agreeableneſs of Diſpoſition, and eminent proficiency in all parts of learning, ſhe became very dear to the young King *Edward*; to whom *Fox* not only makes Her equal, but doth acknowledge her alſo to be his Superiour in thoſe Noble Studies. And for an Ornament ſuperadded to her other Perfections, ſhe was moſt zealouſly affected to the true Proteſtant religion, then by law eſtabliſhed; which ſhe embraced, not out of any outward compliance with the preſent current of the Times; but becauſe Her own moſt Excellent Judgment had been fully ſatisfied in the Truth, and purity thereof. All which together did ſo endear her to the King, that he took great delight in her Converſation, and made it the firſt ſtep to that Royal Throne, to which he afterwards deſigned her in the Time of his ſickneſs. *An.* 1553.

Thus lived ſhe in theſe ſweet Contentments, till ſhe came unto the years of Marriage, when ſhe, that never found in her ſelf the leaſt ſpark of Ambition, was made the moſt unhappy Inſtrument of another man's. *Dudly* of *Warwick*, a Perſon of a proud, deceitful, and aſpiring Nature, began to entertain ſome Ambitious thoughts, when *Edward* firſt began to Reign: but kept them down, as long as his two Uncles lived together, in Peace, and Concord. But, having found a means to diſſolve that knot, occaſioned by the Pride, and Inſolency of the Dutcheſs of *Sommerſet*, one as ill-Natured as himſelf, he firſt made uſe of the Protectour to deſtroy the Admiral, and after ſerved himſelf by ſome Lords of the Court, for humbling the Lord Protectour to an equal Level with the reſt of the Council. Finding by this Experiment, how eaſie a thing it was to ſerve his Turn by them on all other Occaſions, he drew unto himſelf the managing of all Affairs; none being ſo hardy, as to queſtion any of his Actions, and much leſs to croſs them. But not content with being looked on as the chief in power, he is reſolved to make himſelf the firſt in Place; thinking no private greatneſs to be anſwerable to ſo great a Merit, as he had fancyed in himſelf. Thus buſying his unquiet thoughts upon new Deſigns, and paſſing from one imagination to another, he fixed at laſt upon a purpoſe of Husbanding the Opportunities to his beſt Advantage; in transferring the Crown into his own Family, which he thought capable enough of the higheſt Honours.

For why (ſaid he) within himſelf, ſhould not the Son of a *Dudly*, being the more Noble Houſe of the two, be thought as capable of the Imperial Crown of this Realm, as the Son, or Grand-Child of a *Seimour*. Though I pretend not to be born of the Race of Kings; yet I may give a King to *England* of my Race and Progeny, on as good ground, as any which derive themſelves from *Owen Tudor*, the Anceſtour of the Boy now Reigning. That Family pretended only from a Daughter to the Houſe of *Sommerſet*, and there are now ſome Daughters of the Houſe of *Suffolk*, which may pretend as much as ſhe. If by a Match into that Houſe, I can find a way to bring the Crown into my own; I ſhall want no Preſidents at home, and find many abroad. Some dangers may preſent themſelves in the purſuit of this Enterpriſe: but dangers are to be deſpiſed, as in all great Actions; ſo chiefly, when a Crown is aimed at. It is reſolved, that I will try my Fortune in it: which if it proſper to my wiſh, I ſhall live Triumphantly; if I ſink under the Attempt, I ſhall periſh Nobly. Which being concluded, and reſolved on, he firſt inſinuates himſelf into the good affections of the Marqueſs of *Dorſet*; whom he aſſiſted in his ſuit for the Title of *Suffolk*, which without him was not to be gained: exalts himſelf to the like Glorious Title of Duke of *Northumberland*, that he might ſtand on equal ground with the proudeſt of them: and in a word ſo cunningly prepareth his *Toils* for the Duke of *Sommerſet*, that at the laſt he fell into them, never to be ſet free again, untill Death releaſed him; all which Particulars have been at large laid down in the former Hiſtory. And this being done, he ſuffered the young King to wear out all the following year, the better to avoid all Popular ſuſpition, that His Uncle's Death was only haſtened to make way for His. And poſſible it is, that he might have tired it out a little longer; but for a ſmart Jeſt, which He

An. 1553. He put upon this Ambitious Miniſter. The King took great delight in his Bow, and Arrows: and ſhooting one day at the Butt (as He uſed to do) hit the very White. *Well aimed, my Liege,* ſaid Merrily the Mighty Duke: *But you aimed better,* ſaid the King, *when you ſhot off the head of my Uncle* Sommerſet: which words ſo ſtang the Conſcience of the guilty man, that he could not think himſelf ſecure, but by accelerating his Deſign, for ſettling the Crown upon the Head of one of his Children, according to the plot, which he had hammered in the Forge of his Wretched Brain.

For now, the King beginning ſenſibly to decay, he takes his time, to enter into communication with the Duke of *Suffolk*, about a marriage to be made betwixt the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, his fourth Son, and the Lady *Jane Gray*, the Duke's eldeſt daughter: which, with the reſt of the Marriages before-mentioned, being propounded & concluded (for he was grown too great, & known to be too dangerous to be denied in any reſonable Suit) a day was ſet, in which this Excellent Lady was to be tranſplanted into the Family of the *Dudlies*. A day, which ſhe expected with a Virgin modeſty, and, after the Solemnity of the Nuptial Rites delivers her pure body to the chaſt embraces of a Vertuous Conſort; who, of all *Dudlie*'s Brood, had nothing of the Father in him. All which ſucceeding to his wiſh, he ſets himſelf to the accompliſhing of that project, which he had long before deſigned. The King was now grown weak in Body, and decayed in Spirits, and in that weak State he takes his Opportunities to inculcate to him, what infinite bleſſings had been derived from Him on this Church, & Nation, by thn bleſſed Reformation of Religion, ſo happily begen, and brought to ſuch perfection by him: That it muſt therefore be his Care ſo to provide for the continuance of thoſe infinite bleſſings, that Poſterity might enjoy the Benefit, and Comfort of it, which would gain him a more precious Memory amongſt his Subjects, then all his other Princely Virtues: That nothing was more feared by all ſorts of people, then that the Crown Imperial (if it ſhould pleaſe Almighty God to call him to a Crown of Glory) would fall upon the Head of the Lady *Mary*, a Princeſs paſſionately affected to the Intereſs of the Church of *Rome*, and one, who by her Marriage with ſome potent Prince of that Religion, might captivate the Free-born *Engliſh* Nation to a Foreign Servitude; That both h s ſiſters, being born of diſputed Marriages, and howſoever being but his half ſiſters only, and by ſeveral Ventures, could neither be Heirs to him, nor to one another, by the known Laws of the Land: which neither Acts of Parliament, nor the laſt Will, and Teſtament of the King deceaſed, were of power to alter; That the young Queen of *Scots* was an *Alien* born, by Conſequence uncapable of any Inheritance in the Realm of *England*, and had beſides preferred the Alliance of the *French* before that of His Majeſty, which rendered her as unworthy, as ſhe was uncapable; That, for the better carrying on of that bleſſed Work of Reformation, the Peace, and happineſs of his people, the preventing of all emergent Miſchiefs, and his own everlaſting Fame, it was not poſſibe to make a more happy proviſion, then by transferring the Crown to the Lady *Jane*, a Lady of ſuch excellent Virtues, as were ſufficient to adorn the Richeſt Diadem; That there was no Queſtion to be made, but that His Majeſty knew, as well as any, the admirable qualities of that Matchleſs Lady, Her Zeal to the Religion, here by Him eſtabliſhed, the agreeableneſs of Her Converſation with his own Affections, and could not but conceive that Nation to be infinitely happier then all others, which might fall under the Command of ſo mild a Government; And finally, That he was bound by his Duty to God, the Light of his own Conſcience, and the love he had to all his Subjects, to lay aſide all natural Affections to his Father's Houſe, in reſpect of that great Obligation, which he had to God's Glory, and the true Religion; following therein the Example of our Lord, and Saviour, who looked both for his Brothers, and Siſters, amongſt his Diſciples, without relating to his neareſt Kindred by *Joſeph*, or *Mary*.

By

By these suggestions, and inducements, he much enclined the King to hearken to his propositions. For furtherance whereof he caused such, as were about him, to entertain him with continual discourses of the Divine perfections, and most Heavenly Graces of the Lady *Jane*; the high Esteem, in which she was with all the Subjects, for her Zeal, and Piety; the everlasting Fame, which would wait upon him, by providing such a successour to enjoy the Crown, in whom Virtues would survive to succeeding Ages. Then which, no Musick could sound sweeter in the Ears of the King, whom he knew to have an affectionate sympathy with that excellent Lady, as being much of the same age, brought up in the same studies; as near to him in the sweetness of Her disposition, as she was in Bloud; and of a Conversation so agreeable to him, as if they had been but the same person in divers habits. And they all plied their Game so cunningly, that the weak King, not being able to withstand so many Assaults, did at last condescend to that, which he found not only most conformable to their Importunities, but to his own Affections also. Order was taken thereupon, that an Instrument should be drawn in due Form of Law, for the transposing of the Crown to the Children of the Lady *Frances*, Dutchess of *Suffolk*, and Daughter to *Mary*, the *French* Queen, one of the Sisters of King *Henry*, His Majestie's Father. In which Instrument, nothing was to be defective, which either could be drawn from the Grounds of Law, or the Rules of Polity, to justifie, and endear the Action. In drawing up whereof, there was none thought fitter to be used, then Sir *William Cecil*, one of the chief Secretaries of Estate, who having before served *Dudlie*'s Turn against his old Master, the Duke of *Somerset*, was looked on, as the readiest man for the present service. 1553.

The pretensions, taken from the Law, for excluding the King's two sisters from the Right of Succession, were grounded; First, Upon the Invalidity of their Mother's Marriage: both being made void by legal sentences of divorce, and those divorces ratified by Acts of Parliament. In which the said two Sisters were declared to be illegitimate, and consequently uncapable of any of those Favours, which were intended to them by the Act of succession, made in the thirty fifth year of the late King *Henry*, or by the last Will, & Testament, of that King, which was built upon it. In the next place it was pretended, that the said two sisters, *Mary*, and *Elizabeth*, being but of half bloud to the King now Reigning (admitting them to have been born in lawful Wedlock) were not in any Capacity by the Common-Law, (the old good Law of *England*) to be Heirs unto Him, or to succeed in any part of that Inheritance, which came unto Him by His Father. It was considered also, that by the known Rules, and Principles of the Common-Law, no manner of person was Inheritable to any Estate of Lands, or Tenements, in the Realm of *England*, who was not born under the King's Allegiance, as King of *England*, but in the case of Naturalization by Act of Parliament. Which seemed to be a sufficient Bar against all Titles, and Demands, for the Line of *Scotland*, although derived from *Margaret*, the Eldest Daughter of King *Henry the Seventh*. And whereas the Lady *Frances*, Dutchess of *Suffolk*, might seem both by the Law of Nature, and the Right of succession, to have precedency in Title before her daughter; yet was no injury offered to her: in regard, that she was willing to pass by all her personal Claims, for the Preferment of her Children. Which Pretermissions of the Mother were neither new, nor strange in the succession to the Crown of this Kingdom. Not new; because the like was done by *Maud* the Empress, for the Advancement of her Son King *Henry the Second*: nor strange; because it had been lately practised in the Person of the Lady *Margaret*, Countess of *Richmond*, in giving Way to the Preferment of King *Henry the Seventh*, the first King of the House now Regnant.

The reasons, or pretexts, which seem'd to be built on polity, and point of state, were: first, the unavoidable danger of Reducing this Free, and Noble Realm, under the vassalage, and servitude, of the Bishop of *Rome*; if either of the King's

two

An. 1553. two Sisters, in their several Turns, should marry with a Foreign Prince of that Religion; or otherwise, by the Transport of their own Affections, submit their Scepters to the *Pope*.

It was considered also; That, by such Marriages, not only many Foreign Customs, and Laws, would be introduced: but that there might follow an Abolishment of those Antient Laws, upon which the Native Rights, of all the Subjects, seemed to have dependance. Besides, that possibly the Realm might hereby be annexed to some greater Kingdom: of which, in time, it would be reckoned for a Member, and consequently be reduced unto the Form of a *Province*; to the utter subversion of the antient Dignity, and Estate thereof. Which whensoever it should happen, it was neither impossible, nor improbable, that the people, upon a just sence of the indignities, & pressures, might elect some popular & seditious man to be their K. who, to countenance his own unworthiness, & obscurity, would little regard, what Contumelie he cast upon the falling family of the Kings before him. To which, perchance some further Countenance might be added from the *Holy Scripture*: where *Solomon* is found to be preferred unto the Throne by *David*, before *Adonijah*; the youngest Son, before the eldest; a Child, before a man experienced, and well grown in years. And some examples also might be had of the like Transpositions, in the Realm of *Scotland*, in *Hungary*, *Naples*, and elsewhere: enough to shew, that nothing had been done in this great Transaction, which was not to be presidented in other Places. Upon all which Considerations, it was thought most agreeable to the rules of polity, that the King by Letters Patents, under the Great Seal of *England*, should so dispose of the Possession of the *Crown*, (with such Remainders, and Reversions, as to him seemed best) as might prevent such inconveniencies, & emergent mischiefs, as might otherwise happen: which could not better be effected, then by setting the Crown on the Head of the Lady *Jane*; a Lady of a Royal bloud, born in the Realm, brought up in the Religion now by Law established; Marryed already to a person of Desert, and Honor; and such an one, in whom all those Graces were concentred, which were sufficient to adorn all the rest of Her Sex.

Thus Reasons being thus prepared, the next Care was, to have the Instrument so contrived in due form of Law, that nothing might be wanting in the stile and Legalities of it, which might make it any way obnoxious to Disputes, and Questions. For the doing whereof, it was thought necessary to call in the Assistance of some of the Judges, and others of His Majesties Council learned in the Laws of this Realm; by whose Authority it might be thought more passable amongst the people. Of all which Rank, none was thought fitter to be taken into the Consultation, then Sir *Edward Montague*; not only as Chief Justice of the *Common Pleas*, and very well experienced in his own Profession: But because, he being one of the Executors of the King deceased, his concurrence, with the rest of the Council, seemed the more considerable. A Letter is therefore sent unto him on the eleventh of *June*, subscribed by the Lord Treasurer, the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Bedford*, and *Pembroke*, the Lord Admiral *Clinton*, the Lord *Darcie*, Sir *John Gale*, Sir *William Peter*, Sir *William Cecil*, and Sir *John Cheek*. By the Tenour whereof, he was commanded to attend upon their Lordships the next day, in the afternoon, and to bring with him, Sir *John Baker*, *Chancellour* of the *first-Fruits* and *Tenths*, Master Justice *Bromeley*, together with the *Attorney*, and *Sollicitour General*. Being brought into the King's Presence, at the time appointed, whom they found attended by the Lord Treasurer, and some others of those, who had subscribed the former Letter: the King declared Himself with a weak Voice to this Effect; *viz.* That *He had considered, in his Sickness, of the Estate of his Realm; which, if it should descend on the Lady* Mary, *who was then unmarryed, it might so happen, that She might marry a Stranger born, whereby not only the Laws of the Realm might be changed and altered; but all his own Proceedings in Religion, might be also reversed; That it was his Pleasure therefore,*

fore, that the Crown ſhould Deſcend, after His Deceaſe, unto ſuch Perſons, and in ſuch Form, as was contained in certain Articles, then ready to be ſhewed unto them, to be by them digeſted, and diſpoſed of, in due Form of Law. An. 1553.

Theſe Articles, when they had peruſed, and conſidered of, they ſignified unto the King, that they conceived them to be contrary to the Act of *Succeſſion*; which, being made in *Parliament*, could not be fruſtrated, or made ineffectual but by *Parliaments* only. Which anſwer notwithſtanding, the King, without allowing further time, or deliberation, commanded them to take the Articles along with them, and give the buſineſs a diſpatch, with all ſpeed as might be. But finding greater difficulties in it, then had appeared unto their Lordſhips, they made a Report unto them at their next attendance, that they had conſidered of the King's Articles, and the Act of Succeſſion; whereby it appeared manifeſtly, that, if they ſhould make any Book concerning the King's Commandment, they ſhould not only be in danger of Treaſon, but their Lordſhips alſo. The ſum of which Report being certified to the Duke of *Northumberland*, (who, though abſent, was not out of Call) he came in great Rage, and Fury, to the Council-Chamber, called the *Chief Juſtice* Traitour; affirmed, that he would fight in his ſhirt, in that Quarrel, againſt any man living; and behaved himſelf in ſuch an outragious manner, as put both *Mountague*, and Juſtice *Bromely*, in a very great fear, that he would have ſtruck them. Called to the Court again by a Letter of the fourteenth of the ſame Month, they found the King more earneſt in it, then He was before; requiring them, with a ſharp Voice, and a diſpleaſed countenance, to diſpatch the Book, according to the Articles delivered to them; and telling them, that he would have a *Parliament* ſhortly to Confirm the ſame. When nothing elſe would ſerve the turn, Anſwer was made, That his Commandment ſhould be obeyed; upon Condition, that they might be commiſſionated ſo to do, by his Majeſties Warrant, under the Great Seal of *England*; and have a General pardon for it, when the Deed was done.

Not daring longer to reſiſt, and having made as good proviſion, as they could, for their own Indemnity; they betook themſelves unto the Work, digeſted it in form of Law, cauſed it to be Engroſſed in Parchment, and ſo diſpatched it for the Seal, to the Lord Chancellor *Goodrick*, ſufficiently prepared before-hand not to ſtick upon it. But then appeared another difficulty amongſt the Lords of the Council: ſome of which, not well ſatisfied with theſe proceedings, appeared as backward in ſubſcribing to the Inſtrument, before it went unto the Seal; as the Great Lawyers had done at the firſt, in being brought to the Employment. But ſuch was the Authority, which *Dudley*, and his party, had gained amongſt them, that ſome for fear, and ſome for favour, did ſubſcribe at laſt: a zeal to the Reformed Religion prevailing in it upon ſome; a doubt of looſing their Church-Lands more powerfully over-ſwaying others; and all in fear of getting the diſpleaſure of that Mighty Tyrant, who by his Power, and Practices, carryed all before him. The laſt, that ſtood it out, was Arch-biſhop *Cranmer*. Who, being ſent for to the Court, when all the Lords of the Council, and moſt of the Judges of the Realm had ſubſcribed the Inſtrument, refuſed to put his hand unto it, or to conſent to the Diſheriſon of the late King's Daughters. After much Reaſoning of the caſe, he requires a longer time of deliberation; conſults about it with ſome of the moſt Learned Lawyers, and is finally ſent for by the King: who, having fully ſet his heart upon the Buſineſs, did uſe ſo many Reaſons to him, in behalf of Religion, and plyed him with ſuch ſtrong perſwaſions in purſuance of them; that at the laſt he ſuffered himſelf to be overcome by His Importunities, and ſo ſubſcribed it with the reſt. Only Sir *James Hales*, one of the *Juſtices* of the *Common-Pleas*, carryed the Honour of a Reſolute, and conſtant Man: not only from thoſe of his own Rank, but even from all the Lords of the Council, and almoſt all the Peers of the Realm to boot; who, being a man obſerved to be both Religious, and upright, did very worthily refuſe to ſubſcribe, and was afterwards as unworthily requited by Queen *Mary* for it.

An. 1553. Yet, notwithſtanding all theſe Rubs, the project was driven on ſo faſt by the haſty Duke, that by the one and twentieth of *June*, the Letters Patents were made ready to paſs the Seal: which was about a fortnight before the death of the King. During which Interval, he had another Game to Play: which was the getting into his Power the Princeſs *Mary*; whom, of all others, he moſt feared, as the moſt likely Perſon to deſtroy his whole contrivance. For well he knew, that, if ſhe ſtood upon Her Right, as no doubt ſhe would, ſhe was not only ſure of a ſtrong party in the Realm, who ſtill remained in good Affections to the Church of *Rome*; but, that Her party here would be backed, and countenanced by Her Alliances abroad, who could not but prefer, and ſupport her Intereſs againſt all pretenders. He therefore muſt make ſure of Her, or elſe account all Void, and Fruſtrate, which was done already. And, that he might make ſure of Her, he ſo prevailed, that Letters were directed to Her, in the King's Name, from the Lords of the Council: Willing Her forthwith to reſort to the King; as well to be a comfort to Him in his ſickneſs, as to ſee all Matters well Ordered about him. The Lady, ſuſpecting no lurking Miſchief, addreſſed Her ſelf with all ſpeed to the Journey; expreſſing great Joy, that either Her Company, or Her ſervice ſhould be eſteem'd Needful to the King. But, as ſhe was upon the way, and within half a Day's Journey of the Court, ſhe received Advice, both of the King's deſperate Eſtate, and of the *Duke*'s Deſigns againſt Her: whereupon ſhe returned in haſte to Her Houſe at *Hoveden*; where, in a very ſhort time, ſhe heard the ſad News of her Brother's Death: who dyed upon the ſixth of *July*, as before was ſaid. Which being the ſame day of the Month, on which King *Henry* had taken off the Head of Sir *Thomas More*, for his Adheſion to the *Pope*, the Intereſs of Queen *Katharine* Dowager, and the Princeſs *Mary*, gave an occaſion unto thoſe of the *Romiſh* party, to look upon it, as a piece of divine Retribution, in taking away the life of his only Son, on the ſame day alſo.

Two days the death of the King was by ſpecial Order kept ſo ſecret, that it was known to very few about the Court. And it concerned them ſo to do; partly in expectation of the coming of the Princeſs *Mary*, whom they knew to be upon the way: and partly to make ſure of the City of *London*; the Favour and fidelity whereof, was of great Importance for the carrying on of the deſign. But, underſtanding by their Eſpials, that the Princeſs *Mary* was retired; a meſſage was ſent on *Saturday*, the eighth of *July*, to Sir *George Barns*, the Lord Mayor of *London*; requiring him, in the Name of the Lords of the Council, to give his Attendance at the Court, & bring with him ſix of the principal Aldermen, ſix Merchants of the ſtaple, and as many of the Company of Merchant-Adventurers. No haſte was wanting on their parts. And coming at the time appointed, they were privily informed by ſome of the Council (but in the Name of all the reſt) that the King was dead, and that he had declared by His Letters Patents, under the Great Seal of *England*, ſubſcribed by all the Lords of the Council, and almoſt all the Peers of the Realm, That His Couſin, the Lady *Jane Gray*, was to ſucceed him in the Crowns of *England*, and *Ireland*; as the moſt True, Certain, and Undoubted Heir of all his Dominions. Which being ſignified unto them, it was no hard matter to obtain their Conſent to that, which they were not able to deny. And ſo, upon a promiſe of their beſt Aſſiſtance to promote the Cauſe, and to keep ſecret the King's Death, untill further Order, they were diſmiſſed unto their Houſes.

It is an Antient Cuſtom of the Kings of *England*, immediately on the Death of their Predeceſſors, to provide their Lodgings in the *Tower*. Taking poſſeſſion, as it were, by that Royal Fortreſs, of the reſt of the Kingdom; and from thence paſſing in a ſolemn, and Magnificent manner, through the principal ſtreets of *London*, to their Coronation. According to which Antient Cuſtom, the Lodgings in the *Tower* being fitted, and prepared, for the *Queen*'s Reception: the Lords of the Council paſſed over from *Greenwich* on *Munday*, the

the tenth of the same Month. A Letter had been brought the night before from the Princess *Mary*, who had received Advertisement of Her Brother's Death: notwithstanding all their care, and diligence, in labouring to conceal it from his nearest servants; which made them meet the earlier, and in greater numbers, to return an Answer thereunto. The Princess knew her own Right, and the Wrong, which was intended to her: both which she signified unto them, in these following words: *An.* 1553.

My Lords,

WE Greet You well; and have received sure Advertisement, that Our Dearest Brother, the King, Our late Sovereign Lord, is departed to God's Mercy. Which News how woful they be unto Our Heart, He only knoweth, to whose Will, and Pleasure, We must, and do humbly submit Us, and Our Wills. But, in this so lamentable a Case, that is, to wit, after His Majestie's Departure, and Death, concerning the Crown, and Governance of this Realm of England, *with the Title of* France, *and all things thereto belonging; what hath been provided by Act of* Parliament, *and the Testament, and Last Will of Our Dearest Father; besides other Circumstances Advancing Our Right; You know, the Realm, and the whole World knoweth: the Rolls, and Records appear, by the Authority of the King, Our said Father, and the King Our said Brother, and the Subjects of this Realm. So that We verily trust, that there is no good true subject, that is, can, or would pretend to be ignorant thereof: And of Our part, We have of Our selves caused, and as God shall aid, and strengthen Us, shall cause, Our Right, and Title in this behalf, to be Published, and Proclaimed accordingly. And albeit this so Weighty a Matter seemeth strange, that the Dying of Our said Brother, upon* Thursday *at night, last past, We hitherto had no knowledge from You hereof; yet We consider Your Wisdom, and Prudence to be such, that having eftsoons amongst You Debated, Pondred, and well-weighed this present case, with Our Estate, Your Own Estate, the Common-Wealth, and all Our Honours; We shall, and may conceive Great Hope, and Trust, with much assurance in Your Loyalty, and service; and therefore for the time interpret, and take things, not to the worst, that Ye yet will, like Noble Men, Work the best. Nevertheless We are not ignorant of Your Consultations, to Undo the Provisions made for Our Preferment; nor of the Great Hands, and Provisions forcible, wherewith You be Assembled, and Prepared: by whom, and to what end, God, and You know; and Nature cannot, but fear some evil. But be it, that some Consideration Politick, or whatsoever thing else, hath moved You thereto; yet, doubt ye not, My Lords, but We can take all these Your doings, in Gracious Part; being also Right-Ready to remit, and fully Pardon the same; and that to Eschew Bloudshed, and Vengeance, against all those, that can, or will intend the same; trusting also assuredly, that Ye will take, and accept this Grace, and Vertue, in Good Part, as appertaineth; and that We shall not be Enforced to use the service of other Our True Subjects, and Friends: which, in this Our Just, and Right Cause, God, in whom all Our affiance is, shall send Us. Wherefore, My Lords, We require You, and charge you, and every of You, of Your Allegiance, which You owe to God, and Us, and to none other: for Our Honour, and the Surety of Our Person, only imploy Your selves; and forthwith, upon receipt hereof, cause Our Right, and Title to the Crown, and Governance of this Realm, to be Proclaimed in Our City of* London, *and other places, as to Your Wisdoms shall seem Good, and as to this case appertaineth; not failing hereof, as Our very Trust is in You. And this Our Letter, Signed with Our Hand, shall be Your sufficient Warrant in that behalf.*

Given under Our Signet, at our Mannour of Kenning-Hall, *the ninth of* July, 1553.

An. 1553. This Letter seem'd to give their Lordships no other trouble, than the returning of an Answer. For well they knew, that she could do no less, then put up Her Claim; and they conceived that she was not in a condition for doing more. Only it was thought fit to let Her know, what she was to trust to: the better to prevent such Inconveniencies, as might otherwise happen. And to that end an Answer was presently dispatched, under the Hands of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellour *Goodrich*, Bishop of *Ely*, the Dukes of *Northumberland*, and *Suffolk*; the Marquesses of *Winchester*, and *Northampton*; the Earls of *Arundel*, *Shrewsbury*, *Huntington*, *Bedford*, and *Pembroke*; the Lords *Cobham*, and *Darcie*; Sir *Thomas Cheny*, Sir *Robert Cotton*, Sir *William Peter*, Sir *William Cecil*, Sir *Joh Cheek*, Sir *John Mason*, Sir *Edward North*, Sir *Robert Bowe*. The Tenour whereof was as followeth:

Madam,

WE have received Your Letters the ninth of this Instant, Declaring Your Supposed Title, which You Judge Your Self to have to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and all the Dominions thereunto belonging. For Answer whereof this is to Advertise You, that for as much as Our Sovereign Lady Queen Jane *is, after the Death of Our Sovereign Lord King* Edward the Sixth *(a Prince of most Noble Memory) Invested, and Possessed with the just, and Right Title, in the Imperial Crown of this Realm; not only by Good Order of Old Antient Laws of this Realm; but also by Our late Sovereign Lord's Letters Patents, Signed with His Own Hand, and Sealed with the Great Seal of* England, *in presence of most part of the Nobles, Counsellours, Judges, with divers others, Grave, and Sage Personages, Assenting, and Subscribing the same: We must therefore, as of most Bound Duty, and Allegiance, and Assent unto Her said Grace, and to none other: except we should (which Faithful Subjects cannot) fall into grievous, and unspeakable Enormities. Wherefore We can no less do, both for the quiet of the Realm, and You also: to advertise you, that for as much as the Divorce, made between the King of Famous Memory, King* Henry the Eighth, *and the Lady* Katharine *Your Mother, was necessary to be had, both by the Everlasting Laws of God, and also by the Ecclesiastical Laws, and the most part of the Noble, and Learned Universities in Christendom, and Confirmed also by the sundry Acts of* Parliaments, *remaining yet in Force, and thereby You justly made Illegitimate, and Un-heritable to the Crown Imperial of this Realm, and the Rules, and Dominions, and Possessions of the same; You will upon just consideration hereof, and of divers other Causes, Lawful to be Alledged for the same, and for the just Inheritance of the Right Line, and Godly Order, taken by the late King, Our Sovereign Lord King* Edward the Sixth, *and agreed upon by the Nobles, and Greatest Personages aforesaid; Surcease by any pretence, to vex, or molest, any of Our Sovereign Lady Queen* Jane *Her Subjects, from their True Faith, and Allegiance, due unt Her Grace; assuring You, that if you will, for Respect, shew Your Self Quiet, and Obedient (as You ought) You shall find Us all, and several, ready to do You any Service, that We with Duty may; and be glad with Your quietness to preserve the Common State of this Realm, wherein You may be otherwise grievous to Us, to Your Self, and to them.*

And thus We bid You most Heartily well to fare, &c.

These Letters being thus dispatched, and no further danger seeming to be feared on that side, all things are put in Readiness against the coming of the Queen; who the same day, about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, was brought

brought by water to the Tower; attended by a Noble Train, of both Sexes, from *Durham* House in the *Strand*, where she had been entertained, as a part of *Dudley*'s Family, ever since Her Marriage. She could not be ignorant of that, which had been done in Order unto her advancement to the Royal Throne; and could not but conceive, that Her being Conducted to the Tower, in that solemn manner, did portend somewhat, which looked toward a Coronation. But still she hoped, that either she should hear some good News of the King's Recovery, or of the Altering of His Purpose; and that she might be suffered to enjoy those Divine Contentments, which she had found in the Repose of a studious Life. But when she came into the presence of the two Dukes, Her Father, and Her Father-in-Law: She observed their Behaviour towards Her, to be very different from that, which they had used before. To put Her out of which Amazement, it was signified to Her by the Duke of *Northumberland*; That *The King was Dead*, and *that He had Declared Her for His next Successour in the Crown Imperial*; That *This Declaration was Approved by all the Lords of the Council, most of the Peers, and all the Judges of the Land, which they had Testified by the Subscription of their Names, and all this Ratified, and Confirmed by Letters Patents, under the Great Seal of* England; That *The Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and some of the Principal Citizens had been spoke with-all, by whom they were assured of the Fidelity of the rest of the City*; That *There was nothing wanting, but Her Grateful Acceptance of the High Estate, which God Almighty, the Sovereign Disposer of all Crowns, and Scepters, (never sufficiently to be thanked by Her, for so great a Mercy) had advanced Her to*; That *Therefore She should chearfully take upon Her, the Name, Title, and Estate of Queen of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *with all the Royalties, and Preheminencies to the same belonging; Receiving at their hands the First-Fruits of the Humble Duty (now tendred by them on their Knees) which shortly was to be payed to Her, by the rest of the Kingdom.* *An.* 1553.

This speech being ended, the poor Lady found Her Self in a great perplexity, not knowing whether she should more lament the Death of the King, or Her Adoption to the Kingdom: the first loss not to be repaired, the next Care possible to be avoided. She looked upon the Crown, as a great Temptation; to resist which, she stood in need of all the Helps, which both Philosophy, and Divinity, could suggest unto Her. And she knew also, that such Fortunes, seldom knocked twice for entrance at the same Man's Gate: but that, if once refused, they are gone for ever. Taking some time therefore of Deliberation, she summoned a Council of her purest Toughts; by whose advice, half drowned in Tears, (either as sorrowing for the King's death, or fore-seeing her own) she returned an Answer in these Words, or to this Effect; That *The Laws of the Kingdom, and Natural Right, standing for the King's Sister, she would beware of burthening Her weak Conscience with a Yoke, which did belong to them*; That *she understood the Infamy of those, who had permitted the violation of Right to gain a Scepter*; That *it were to mock God, and deride Justice, to scruple at the stealing of a shilling, and not at the Usurpation of a Crown.*

Besides (said she) *I am not so young, nor so little read in the Guils of Fortune, to suffer my self to be taken by them. If she inrich any, it is but to make them the Subject of her Spoil; If she raise others, it is but to pleasure her self with their Ruins. What she adored but yesterday, is to day her Pastime. And, if I now permit her to adorn, and Crown me, I must to Morrow suffer her to crush, and tear me in pieces. Nay with what Crown doth she Present me. A Crown, which hath been Violently and shamefully wrested from* Katharine *of* Arragon; *made more unfortunate by the Punishment of* Ann Bulloign, *and others, that wore it after Her. And why then would you have me add my Blond to theirs, and to be the third Victime, from whom this Fatal Crown may be ravished with the Head that wears it? But in Case it should not prove Fatal unto me, and that all its Venom were consumed; if Fortune should give me Warranties of her Constancy: should I be well advi-*

sed

An. 1553. *vised to take upon me these Thorns, which would dilacerate, though not kill me out-right; to burthen my self with a Yoke, which would not fail to torment me, though I were assured not to be strangled with it? My Liberty is better, then the Chain you proffer me, with what precious stones soever it be adorned, or of what Gold soever framed. I will not exchange my Peace for Honourable and precious Jealousies, for Magnificent, and Glorious Letters. And, if you love me sincerely, and in good earnest, you will rather wish me a secure, and quiet Fortune, though mean, then an exalted Condition exposed to the Wind, and followed by some dismal Fall.*

It had been happy for Her self, Her Fathers, and their several Families, if they had suffered themselves to be overcome by such powerful Arguments; which were not only perswasive, but might seem convincing; had they not all been fatally hurried unto their own Destruction. But the Ambition of the two Dukes was too strong, and violent, to be kept down by any such prudent Considerations. So that being wearied at the last with their Importunities, and overcome by the entreaties of Her Husband, whom she dearly loved, she submitted unto that necessity, which she could not vanquish; yielding her Head with more unwillingness to the Ravishing Glories of a Crown, then afterwards she did to the stroak of the Ax. The point being thus concluded on, the two Dukes, with all the rest of the Lords of the Council, swore Allegeance to her. And on the same day, about five of the Clock in the afternoon, they caused Her solemnly to be proclaimed Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, *&c.* in many of the principal Streets in *London*; and after by degrees, in most of the Chief Cities, Towns, and Places of greatest Concourse, and Resort of People. In which Proclamation it was signified, That, by the Letters Patents of the late King *Edward*, bearing Date the twenty first of *June* last past, the Lady *Jane Gray*, Eldest Daughter to the Duchess of *Suffolk*, had been declared his true and lawful Successor to the Crown of *England*, the same to be enjoyed after Her Decease, the Heirs of Her Body, *&c.* as in the said Letters Patents, more especially did at large appear. Which Proclamation, though it was published in the City with all solemnities, and that the concourse of People was exceeding great, yet their Acclamations were but few; which served as a sufficient Argument to the Friends and Followers of the Princess *Mary*, that they were rather drawn together out of Curiosity to behold some unusual Spectacle; then out of any purpose to congratulate at the Queen's advancement. And so far some of them declared their dislike thereof; that, the next Day, one *Gilbert Pot* was set on the Pillory in *Cheapside*, his Ears first nailed, and afterwards cut off, for certain words, which he had spoken at the publishing of the Proclamation; a Trumpet sounding at the Time of the Execution, and an Herald in his Coat of Arms publickly noting his offence in a form prescribed. A severity neither safe, nor necessary (the party being of no better condition, then a Vintner's Boy) as the case then stood.

For the next day the Lords received Advertisement from divers hands, that many persons of Quality were drawn together at *Kenning-Hall-Castle* in *Norfolk* to offer their service and assistance, to the Princess *Mary*; who finding, by the answer which she had received from the Lords of the Council, that no good was otherwise to be done, resolved not to be wanting to Her own Pretensions, and to that end gave chearful Entertainment to all comers, which either favoured Her Title, or embraced Her Religion. Amongst such Gentlemen, as were certified to the Lords of the Council; I find the names of the Earl of *Bath*, Sir *Thomas Wharton*, son to the Lord *Wharton*, Sir *John Mordant*, son to the Lord *Mordant*, Sir *William Drury*, Sir *John Shelton*, Sir *Henry Bedingfield*, Mr. *Henry Jenningham*, Mr. *John Sulierd*, Mr. *Richard Higham* of *Lincoln's-Inn*. It was advertised also, that the Earl of *Sussex*, and Mr. *Henry Ratcliff* his son, were coming towards Her with their Forces: which last Advertisement gave the Business some appearance of Danger; for what else was to be expected, but that the Countenance and Encouragement of so great

great a perſon might draw many more unto the ſide; who otherwiſe would have been content to be lookers on, in caſe they had not moved againſt Her. Prevention, in ſuch caſes, was the wholſomeſt Phyſick: which therefore was to be adminiſtred, with all ſpeed that might be, before thoſe Companies encreaſed, and were united under ſome Commander, which might gain them the Reputation of a little Army, little at firſt, but like enough to become formidable to their Enemies, if not broken in time. Some Forces therefore to be ſent under the conduct, and command, of ſome Perſon who was well-affected to the cauſe, to ſcatter thoſe ſmall Companies, before they grew unto an Head, to ſeiſe upon the Lady *Mary*, and bring Her with him to the Court, where they knew well enough how to make ſure of her. For which Employment none more fit, then the Duke of *Suffolk*, who had the greateſt ſtock going in the preſent Adventure, and whoſe affection to the *Queen*, being raiſed out of the Bowels of Nature, would prompt him to diſpatch the ſervice, with his utmoſt diligence. And becauſe poſſibly the Lady *Mary*, hearing of theſe Preparations, might fly for ſafety into *Flanders*, and create more Trouble to them there, then ſhe could at home; it was thought neceſſary, that ſuch ſhips, as lay upon the *Downs*, ſhould be Commanded to attend on the Coaſt of *Norfolk*, to intercept Her on the Way; if peradventure ſhe ſhould think of flying to the *Emperour's* Court. *An.* 1553.

So was it counſelled, and concluded. But the matter could not be carryed ſo cloſe, as not to come to the *Queen's* Knowledge; to whom the leaſt drop of Her Father's bloud was far more precious, than all the Kingdoms in the world: ſo that, with tears in her eys, and voice as mournful as her face, ſhe beſought ſuch of the Lords, as ſhe conceived to be moſt tenderly affected towards her, to be her Mediatours to the reſt of the Council, that her Father might be ſuffered to remain with Her; and that ſome other Man, more exerciſed in deeds of Arms, might be ſent out on that Employment. Nor was the motion made in vain. For ſome there were, who ſecretly had as great a mind to put *Northumberland* upon the ſervice; as ſhe could be to have her Father excuſed from it. They ſaw how things were like to go, and how generally the people were enclined to King *Henrie's* Children, and could not promiſe to themſelves any long ſecurity under that Power, which they had put into the hands of a weak young Lady, who muſt be altogether governed by Duke *Dudlie's* Counſels. Of whom they ſtood in ſo great fear, that none of them durſt oppoſe his Doings, or ſtear their courſe unto that point, which moſt they aimed at, and which they doubted not to gain, if they could find a Way to ſend him from the Council-Table. No way more probable, then this, and this they meant to husband to the beſt advantage, uſing their beſt endeavors to perſwade him to the undertaking of the preſent ſervice; *For who*, ſaid they, *can be ſo proper, as Your Grace, to undertake this Expedition into* Norfolk, *where Your late Victories hath made Your Name ſo Terrible to all ſorts of People, as may diſperſe them without Battail. For ſhould the Matter come to Blows, (which God prohibit) what man ſo able as Your ſelf in the Art of War, the Order of Encamping, the putting of Your Men into ſuch a Figure, as may beſt ſuit with the Advantages, which are offered to You; and animating the moſt Cowardly Souldiers, not only by Your own Exemplary Valour, but by ſtrong Perſwaſions? Whom have we in the Realm ſo dexterous in point of Treaty, ſo able to perſwade the Enemy to lay down Arms (which is the Nobleſt Way of conquering the true-born* Engliſh) *if once it came unto Parle*, as they hoped it would. Beſides the *Queen* had made it her moſt earneſt ſuit, that her Father might be ſpared to ſtay with her, till thoſe Terrors, and Affrights were over; and had moreover pointed out his Grace, as the abler Man, and more fit for Action; then which what can be further ſaid, to prompt Your Grace to lay faſt hold upon all opportunities, for obliging her, who may hereafter find ſo many Ways for obliging you.

Swelling with vain Glory, and tickled with the frequent mention of his dear abilities, he ſuffered himſelf to be entreated to an action of ſuch fame, and merit,

An. 1553. rit, as that, which they presented to him. And signifying his Assent, with a feigned Unwillingness, he told them; That *He would make Ready his own Power on the morrow after, not doubting, but They would send Theirs with him, or speed them after him*; That *He must recommend the Queen unto Their Fidelity: of whose Sacred Person he desired Them to be very tender.* All which they Promised him to do. And, having thus settled the Affairs, they made the *Queen* acquainted, in *Northumberland*'s Presence, with how great readiness he had took the danger of that Action upon himself, to give Her the Contentment of enjoying her Father's company, till the present storm was over-blown; who humbly thanked the *Duke* for so great a favour, and chearfully desired him not to be wanting to the publick & his personal safety. That evening, & the greatest part of the next day, being spent in raising men, and making other necessary preparations for the Expedition; he repairs again to the Court, and once more putting them in mind of hastning their forces; and, appointing *New-Market* for the place of their *Rendezvous*, he took his leave of them, in these Words, or to this Effect. *My Lords* (said he) *I, and these other Noble Personages, with the whole Army, that now goes forth, as well for the behalf of You, and Yours, as for the Establishing of the Queen's Highness, shall not only adventure our Bodies, and Lives, amongst the Bloudy strokes, and Cruel Assaults, of our Adversaries in the open Fields: but also we do leave the Conservation of our Selves, Children, and Families, at home here with You, as altogether committed to your Trust, and Fidelity. Whom if we thought You would, through Malice, Conspiracy, or Dissension, leave us, Your Friends, in the Briars, and betray us; we could as well sundry ways fore-see, and provide for our own safe-guards, as any of You, by betraying us, can do for Yours. But now, upon the only Trust, and Faithfulness of Your Honours whereof we think our selves most assured we do hazard our Lives: which Trust, and Promise, if You shall Violate, hoping thereby of Life, and Promotion; yet shall not God count You innocent of our Bloods, neither acquit You of the Sacred Holy Oath of Allegiance, made freely by You to this Virtuous Lady, the Queen's Highness*: "Who, by Your, and Our Enticement, is rather of force "placed therein, then by Her own seeking, and Request. *Consider also, that God's Cause, which is the Preferment of His Word, and the fear of the return of* Popery, *hath been (as Ye have hitherto always said) the Original cause, whereupon Ye (even at the first motion) granted Your good Wills, and Consents thereunto, as by Your Hand-Writing appeareth. And think not otherwise, but that, if You mean deceit, though not forthwith, yet hereafter God will revenge the same. I can say no more, but in this troublesome time wish You to use constant hearts; abandoning all Malice, Envy, and private Affections.*

Which said, and having paused a little, he shut up his Address in these following Words. *I have not spoken to You, my Lords, in this sort, upon any mistrust I have of Your Fidelities; of which, always, I have ever hitherto, conceived a trusty Confidence: but I have only put You in Remembrance thereof, what chance of Variance soever might grow amongst You in my absence. And this I pray You, that You would not wish me less good speed in this Journey, then You would have Your selves.* To which last words, one of them is reported to have thus replyed. *My Lord, If You mistrust any of Us in this matter, Your Grace is much mistaken in us. For which of Us can wish his hands clean of the present Business; for, if we should shrink from You, as one that is culpable, which of Us can excuse himself, as being guiltless?* Little the more assured by this quick return, he went to take his Leave of the *Queen*, where he found his Commission ready Sealed, together with certain Instructions, subscribed by all the Lords of the Council, in which his Marches were lai'd out, and Limited from one day to another. Conditions not to be imposed on any, who Commands in Chief; nor to have been accepted by him: but that it was a matter of his own desiring. And he desired it for these Reasons, (so strongly was he caught in a snare of his own devising) partly because he would be thought to have

have Acted nothing, but by Authority of the Council, which he ſuppoſed might ſerve for his Indemnity, if the Tide ſhould turn; and partly, that the blame of all miſcariages might be laid on them, if he were foiled in the Adventure. But ſo inſtructed, he takes Leave, embraced by all the Lords, with great demonſtrations of Affection, according to the wonted diſſimulation in Princes Courts; by none more paſſionately, than by thoſe, who moſt abhorred his pride, and falſhood. Amongſt which it is ſaid of the Earl of *Arundel*, (upon whom he had put more Diſgraces, and Affronts, than on all the reſt) that he ſeemed to expreſs much ſorrow at the Duke's departure; in regard he was not Ordered to be one of his Company, in whoſe preſence he could finde in his heart to ſpend his blood, and to lay his life down at his feet. Accompanied with the Marqueſs of *North hampton*, the Lord *Gray*, and others, he paſſeth by water in his Barge to *Durham*-Place, and from thence to *White-Hall*, where they muſtered their men. And the next Morning being *Friday*, the fourteenth of the Moneth, he ſets forward with a Body of ſix hundred Horſe, their Arms, & Ammunition being ſent before; and Sir *John Gates* (of whoſe Fidelity, and Adheſion, he was well aſſured) following not far behind with the reſt of his Company. Paſſing through *Shore-ditch*, he found the Streets to be thronged with People, but could hear nothing of their Prayers for their Proſperous journey. Inſomuch, that turning to the Lord *Gray*, he could not chooſe but ſay unto him; *The people preſs to ſee us: but not one bids, God ſpeed us.* On *Saturday*-night, he comes to *Cambridge*, where he aſſured himſelf of all Obedience and Conformity, which either the Univerſity or that Town could give him: as being Chancellour of the one, and Seneſchal, or High-Steward of the other; two Offices incompatible in themſelves, and never united in one perſon, before or ſince. At night, he ſends for Doctour *Edward Sandys*, Maſter of *Katharine-Hall*, and Vice-Chancellour of the Univerſity, to Supper with him: whom he enjoyns to Preach before him the next day. A ſervice not to be performed, and much leſs declined, without manifeſt danger. But the Good man, ſubmitting to the preſent neceſſity, betakes himſelf to his Study, and his Prayers, falls on a Text exceeding proper to the preſent Exigent (being that of *Joſhuah*, *Chap.* 1. *v.* 16.) but handled it ſo Warily, and with ſuch Diſcretion, that he much ſatisfied the one, without giving any juſt advantage againſt him to the other Party. On *Munday* Morning, the Duke with his whole Power, goes forward to St. *Edmonds-Bury*, where he lodged that night. But, inſtead of hearing News of thoſe Supplies which were to attend him at *New-Market*, he receives Letters from ſome Lords of the Council, ſo full of Trouble and Diſcomfort, that he Marched back again to *Cambridge*, on the morrow after. And there we will leave him for a time, betwixt Hope, & Fear, leſs confident, and worſe attended, than he was, at his firſt coming thither; as being not only deſerted by a great part of his Company, but in a manner by himſelf. *An.* 1553.

In the mean time the Princeſs *Mary* was not idle: but ſerved Her ſelf of all Advantages, which were offered to Her. Comforted, and encouraged by ſo many perſons of quality, as She had about Her. She ſends unto the Mayor of *Norwich* on the Twelfth of *July*, requiring him, and the reſt of the Magiſtrates of that City, to Proclaim Her Queen. Which though they at that time refuſed to do, becauſe they had no certain knowledge of the Death of the King; yet, on the next day, having received good aſſurance of it, they did not only Proclaim Her Queen (as She had deſired) but ſent Her Men, and Ammunition to advance the Service. Not finding *Norfolk* men ſo forward as She had expected, She removes with Her ſmall Party into *Suffolk*, and puts Her Self into *Framlingham*-Caſtle, a Caſtle Scituate near the Sea, from whence She might conveniently eſcape into *Flanders*, if Her Affairs ſucceeded not to Her Hopes, and Prayers. Here She firſt takes upon Her the Name of Queen, and by that Name diſpatcheth Letters to the *Peers* of the Realm; requiring Them, and all other Her faithful Subjects, to repair unto Her Succour. And, for the firſt handſel of good Fortune, it hapned, that the ſix ſhips, which were appointed to hover on the Coaſt

An. 1553. of *Norfolk*, were driven by foul weather into the Haven of *Yarmouth*, where *Jerningham*, above-mentioned, was busie in raising men, to maintain Her quarrel. By whom the Captains, and the Mariners, were so cunningly dealt with, that they put themselves under his Command, drew all their Ordnance on shore, and left their Ships to be disposed of at his pleasure. About which time Sir *Edward Hastings*, the Brother of *Francis* Earl of *Huntington*, being Commissionated by the Duke of *Northumberland* to raise four thousand men for the present Service, pass'd over with his men to the other side, and joyned himself to Her Party also. The News whereof being brought unto the *Lords*, which remained in *London*, hastened the Execution of that Design, which had been formerly contrived by some amongst them.

For no sooner had the Great Duke put himself on his March toward *Camlridg*, but some began to shew themselves in favour of the Princess *Mary*, and to devise how they might extricate themselves out of those perplexities, into which they had been brought by his Ambition. Amongst which none more forward, than the Earl of *Pembroke*, in whom he had placed more Confidence, than in all the others. Who, together with Sir *Thomas Cheyny*, Lord Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*; with divers others, endeavoured to get out of the *Tower*, that they might hold some secret Consultation with their Friends in *London*: but were so narrowly watched, that they could not do it. On *Sunday*, the sixteenth of the Moneth, Doctour *Nicholas Ridley*, Bishop of *London*, is ordered by the Lords of the Council, to Preach at St. *Paul's* Cross, and in his Sermon, to advance the Title of Queen *Jane*, and shew the invalidity of the Claim of the Lady *Mary*. Which he performed according to such Grounds of Law, and Polity, as had been laid together in the Letters Patents of King *Edward*, by the Authority, and Consent of all the *Lords* of the Council, the greatest Judges in the Land, and almost all the Peers of the Kingdom. But then, withall, he press'd the Incommodities, and Inconveniences which might arise, by receiving *Mary* for their *Queen*; prophecying that, which after came to pass: Namely, that She would bring in a Forreign Power to Reign over this Nation; and that She would subvert the True Religion, then Established by the Laws of this Realm. He also shewed, that, at such time as she lived in his Diocess, he had Travailed much with Her, to reduce Her to the True Religion; but that (though otherwise She used him with great Civility) She shewed Her self so stiff and obstinate, that there was no hope to be conceived, but that She would disturb, and destroy all that, which with such great Labour had been setled in the Reign of Her Brother. For which Sermon he incurred so much displeasure, that it could never be forgiven him, when the rest were pardoned: by whose Encouragement, and Command he had undertook it. But this Sermon did not work so much on the People, as the ill News which came continually to the *Tower*, had prevailed on many of the Lords. For presently, upon that of the six Ships which were Revolted from the Queen, Advertisement is given that the Princess *Mary* was proclaimed *Queen* in *Oxfordshire* by Sir *John Williams*, and others; in *Buckinghamshire* by the Lord *Windsore*, Sir *Edward Hastings*, &c. and in *Northamptonshire*, by Sir *Thomas Tresham*. And, which was worse than all the other, that the Noble-Mens Tenants refused to serve their Lords against Her.

Upon the first bruit of which Disasters, the Lord Treasurer *Pawlet* gets out of the *Tower*, and goes unto his House in *Broad-street*: which made such a powerful apprehension of some dangerous practises to be suddenly put in execution, that the Gates of the *Tower* were locked about seven of the Clock, and the Keyes carried to the Queen. And though the Lord Treasurer was brought back about twelve at night, yet now the knot of the Confederacy began apparently to break. For, finding by intelligence from so many Parts of the Realm, but chiefly by the Lord Treasurer's return, that generally the People were affected to the Title of the Princess *Mary*, they thought it most expedient for them

them, to Declare themselves in Her Favour also, and not to run themselvs, their Friends, and Families, on a certain Ruin. But all the Difficulty was, in finding out a way, to get out of the *Towor*: the *Gates* whereof were so narrowly watched: that no man could be suffered to go in, and out; but by the Knowledg, and Permission of the Duke of *Suffolk*. But that, which their own Wisdom, could not, the Duke of *Northumberland's* Importunity effected for them; who, failing of the Supplies, which the *Lords* had promised to send after him, as before is said, had pressed them earnestly, by his Letters, not to be wanting to their own Honour, and the Publick Service. This gave them a fair Colour to procure their Liberty from that Restraint, by representing to the *Queen*, & the *Duke* Her Father, that the Supplies expected, and all things necessary to the same, could not be raised, unless they were permitted personally to attend the business; both for the Pressing of the Men, providing them of all things needful, and choosing fit Commanders, to conduct them in good order to the Duke of *Northumberland*. Which seemed so reasonable to the Duke of *Suffolk*, a Man of no great Depth himself, and so not like to penetrate into the bottom of a deep Design; that he gave way to their Departure for the present: little conceiving, that they never meant to come back again, till the State was altered. *An.* 1553.

Being thus at their desired Liberty, the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, & *Pembroke*, together with Sir *Thomas Cheyny*, and Sir *John Mason*, betake themselves immediately to *Baynard's* Castle: an House belonging then (as now) to the Earls of *Pembroke*. To which Place they were followed not long after, by almost all the rest of the Lords of the *Council*; bringing with them as many of the Nobilty, then about the Town, as they conceived to stand fair for the *Princess Mary*. And, that the Meeting might be held with less Suspicion, it was given out to be upon a Conference with *Laval*, the *French* Ambassadour, about Affairs of great Importance for the Weal of both Kingdoms. No sooner had they took their Places: but the Earl of *Arundel*, who had held Intelligence with the *Princess*, ever since the first Extremities of Her Brother's Sickness, inveighed most bitterly against the Duke of *Northumberland*. "And, after he had ripped up the "Acts of his former Life, and burthened him with all, that had been done un-"justly, cruelly, or amiss, in King *Edward's* time; he at last descends to the "Treacherous Act of the Disherison of the Children of the late King *Henry*: "professing, that he wondred, how he had so enthralled such persons, as the Lords there present, as to make them Instruments of his wickedness. *For was it not*, saith he, *by Our Consent, and Suffrages; that the Duke of* Suffolk's *Daughter, the same* Northumberland's *Daughter-in-Law, hath took upon Her the Name, and Title of* Queen of England: *though it be nothing but the Title; the Soveraign Power remaining wholly in the Hands of* Dudly, *who contrived the Plot that he might freely exercise his Tyranny, on our Lives and Fortunes. Religion is indeed the thing pretended. But suppose we have no regard to these Apostolical Rules;* Evil must not be done, that Good may come thereof; *and*, We must obey, even Evil Princes, not for Fear, but for Conscience-sake: *Yet, how doth it appear, that the Princess* Mary *intends any alteration in Religion? Certainly, having been lately Petitioned to in this Point by the* Suffolk-men, *She gave them a very hopeful Answer. And what a mad Blindness is it, for the avoidance of an uncertain Danger to precipitate our selves into a most certain Destruction? I would we had not erred in this kind. But Errours past, cannot be recalled: some may peradventure be amended; wherein speedy Execution of-times happily supplieth former Defects. Recollect Your selves then, and so make use, of Your Authority, that the Princess* Mary, *the undoubtedly Lawful Heir, may publickly be Proclaimed* Queen of England, *&c. No other way but this, as the Case now stands, to recover our lost Honours, and preserve the State.*

The Earl of *Pembroke* was a man altogether unlettered, but so well skilled in humouring King *Henry the Eigth*, that he had raised himself to a great Estate; for which he could not but express some sense of Gratitude, in doing

An. 1553. good Offices for his Children. And having been formerly ſuſpected to have had too great a part in *Northumberland*'s Counſels, he conceived himſelf obliged to wipe off that Stain, by declaring his Zeal and Reſolution in the Cauſe of the Princeſs. And, therefore, aſſoon as the Earl of *Arundel* had concluded his Speech, he very cheerfully profeſſed, that he approved, and would ſubſcribe the Propoſition, and therewithal laying his Hand upon his Sword, he ſignified his Readineſs and Reſolution to defend the Lady *Mary*'s Cauſe againſt all Opponents. The reſt of the Lords, encouraged by theſe good Examples, and ſeeing nothing, but apparent Danger on all ſides, if they did the contrary, came to a ſpeedy Concluſion with them, and bound themſelves to ſtand together, in Defence of the late Kings Siſters, againſt all their Enemies. Which being thus ſo generouſly and unanimouſly agreed upon, a Meſſenger is preſently diſpatched to the Lord Mayour, requiring him to repair to *Baynard*'s Caſtle within an hour: and to bring with him the Recorder, and ſuch of the Aldermen of the City, as to him ſeemed beſt. Who being come accordingly at the time appointed; their *Lordſhips* told them, in few words, as well their Reſolution, as their Reaſon of it: and ſo deſired their Company to *Cheap-ſide*-Croſs to Proclaim Queen *Mary*. Which ſaid, without any further Diſpute about the Title, they rode all together in good order, through Saint *Paul*'s Church-Yard; till they came to the *Gate*, which openeth into the Street: where they found ſuch Multitudes, and Throngs of People; whom the Noiſe of ſuch a Confluence at *Baynard*'s Caſtle, and the going down of the Lord Mayour, and Aldermen, had drawn together; that they could hardly force a Way through them to come to the *Croſs*. But being come thither at the laſt, though with much ado, Sir *Chriſtopher Barker*, Knight of the *Bath*, and Principal *King at Arms*, Proclaimed, by the Sound of Trumpet, the Princeſs *Mary*, Daughter of King *Henry the Eighth*, and Queen *Katherine*, His Wife, to be the Lawful, and Undoubted Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, adding thereto that ſacred Title of *Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of* England; which She retained till the beginning of the following *Parliament*, and then reſcinded all thoſe *Acts*, by which it had been formerly united to the Crown of this Realm. The *Proclamation* being ended, they went together in a Solemn Proceſſion, to Saint *Paul's* Church, where they cauſed the *Te Deum* to be ſung, with the Rights accuſtomed, and ſo diſmiſſed the Aſſembly to their ſeveral dwellings. Being returned to *Baynard's* Caſtle, the Earl of *Arundel*, and the Lord *Paget*, are preſently diſpatched to *Framlingham*, with thirty Horſe, to give the *Queen* a Narrative of the whole Proceedings. Some Companies are alſo ſent to aſſure the *Tower*, and to Command the Duke of *Suffolk*, to diſcharge the Family, and Attendants, of the Lady *Jane*; to ſignifie unto Her, that She muſt lay aſide the Name, and Title of *Queen*, and ſuffer Her ſelf to be reduced to the Rank of a private perſon. All which, he readily obeyed (as eaſily ſubject to Deſpair, as before he had been ſwelled with Ambitious hopes) and the next day adjoyns himſelf to the reſt of the *Council*, ſubſcribing amongſt others to ſuch Inſtructions, as were to be diſpatched to the Duke of *Northumberland*, for the diſbanding of his Forces; and carrying himſelf like an obedient and dutiful Subject, as he ought to do.

But there was little need of this Meſſage, and none at all of the other. For the noiſe of theſe loud acclamations, which were made at the Proclaiming of the new *Queen*, paſſing from one Street to another, came at laſt to the *Tower*, before the Meſſage had been ſent to the Duke of *Suffolk*, where they were heard by the Lady *Jane* (now no longer *Queen*) with ſuch Tranquility of Mind, and Compoſedneſs of Countenance; as if She had not been concerned in the Alteration. She had before received the offer of the *Crown*, with as even a Temper, as if it had been nothing, but a *Garland* of Flowers: and now She lays aſide the thought thereof with as much contentedneſs, as She could have thrown away that *Garland*, when the *ſcent* was gone. The time of her Glo-

ries

ries was ſo ſhort, but *a nine Days wonder*; that it ſeem'd nothing but a *Dream*, out of which She was not ſorry to be awakened. The *Tower* had been to Her a *Priſon*, rather than a *Court*, and interrupted the Delights of Her former Life by ſo many Terrours; that no day paſſed without ſome new Alarms to diſturb her Quiet. She doth now know the worſt, that Fortune can do unto Her. And having always feared, that there ſtood a Scaffold ſecretly behind the Throne. She was as readily prepared to act her Part upon the one, as upon the other. If ſorrow, and affliction did at any time invade Her thoughts, it was rather in reference to Her Friends, but moſt of all unto Her Husband, who were to be involved in the Calamity of her Misfortunes; than upon any apprehenſions, which She had of Her Self. And hereunto the bringing in of ſo many Priſoners, one day after another, gave no ſmall Encreaſe: brought hither for no other Reaſon, but becauſe they had ſeemed forward in contributing towards Her Advancement. In the middeſt of which Diſconſolations, the reſtoring of the *Duke*, Her Father, to his former Liberty gave ſome Repoſe unto Her Mind: whoſe ſufferings were more grievous to her, than Her own Impriſonment. And then to what a miſerable extremity muſt his Death have brought her? And though the Attainder, and Death of the Duke of *Northumberland*, which followed very ſhortly after, might tell Her in Effect, what She was to truſt to; Yet ſhe was willing to diſtinguiſh betwixt his Caſe, and her own; betwixt the Principal, and the Acceſſaries, in the Late Deſign. In which Reſpect She gave Her ſelf no improbable Hopes; that poſſibly the like Mercies, which was ſhewed to Her Father, might poſſibly be extended unto others, and amongſt others to Her Husband, as innocent as Her ſelf, from any open Practice againſt the *Queen*. And who could tell, but that it might deſcend on Her ſelf at laſt? whom no Ambition of Her own had tempted to the acceptation of that Dangerous Offer, which She beheld as the greateſt Error of Her Life, and the only Stain of all Her Actions. *An.* 1553.

But neither the *Queen's* Fears, nor the publick Juſtice of the Land, could be ſo ſatisfied. It was held Treaſon to accept of a Kingdom offered: to which She could pretend no right; whileſt the *Queen* was living. And, if Examples of that Nature ſhould paſs unpuniſhed, no Prince could poſſibly be ſafe, nor Titles valid, as long, as any Popular Spirit could pretend a Colour to advance ſome other to the Throne. Upon which Reaſon of *State* She was brought to Her Trial at the *Guild-Hall* in *London*, on the third of *November*, accompanied with Her Husband, the Lord *Guilford Dudley* (his Company never, till that Hour, unwelcome to Her) together with Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*, the Lord *Ambroſe Dudly*, the ſecond Son, then living, to the Duke of *Northumberland*. Sentence of Death paſſed upon them all: though at that time not executed upon any of them. The Lord *Ambroſe* was reſerved unto better Fortunes: as the *Arch-Biſhop* was to a more miſerable, but more Glorious Death. And for Her ſelf, and Her dear Husband, it was conceived; that, now the Law had done its part in their Condemnation, the *Queen* in pity of their Youth, and Innocence, would have gone no further. But, as they were firſt brought under this Affliction, by the inordinate Ambition of the Duke of *Northumberland*; ſo ſhall they ſhortly find an end of all their Troubles, by the raſh and unadviſed Attempts of the D. of *Suffolk*. For upon *Wyat's* breaking out in *Kent*, and the Earl of *Devon-Shire* in the *Weſt*, the *Duke* had been prevailed with, amongſt many others, to appear in the action. To which he unadviſedly yielded, cauſed *Proclamation* to be made in ſome Towns of *Leiceſter-ſhire*, againſt the *Queen's* intended Marriage with the *Prince* of *Spain*, and drew together many of his Friends, and followers, to oppoſe that Match. And though he was diſcomfited, within few days after: yet the *Queen* ſaw, that ſhe could promiſe Her ſelf neither Peace, nor Safety; as long as the *Lady Jane* was preſerved alive. Whoſe Reſtitution to the Throne muſt be the matter chiefly aimed at, in theſe Inſurrections; though other Colours were deviſed, to diſguiſe the Buſineſs.

Her Death is now reſolved upon; but firſt ſhe muſt be practiſed with to change

*An.*1553. change Her Religion; as the Great Duke of *Northumberland* had done before. To which end *Feckenam* is employed: not long before made Dean of St. *Paul's*, and not long after *Abbot* of *Weſtminſter*; a Man, whoſe great Parts promiſed him an eaſie Victory over a poor Lady of a broken, and dejected ſpirit; but it proved the contrary. For ſo well had ſhe ſtudied the concernments of Her own Religion, and managed the Conference with him, with ſuch a readineſs of Wit, ſuch conſtancy of Reſolution, and a judgement ſo well-grounded in all helps of Learning: that She was able to make Anſwer to his ſtrongeſt Arguments; as well to Her great Honour, as his Admiration. (The ſubſtance of which *Conference*, he that liſts to ſee, may find it in the *Acts*, and *Monuments*, fol. 1296.) So that, not able to prevail with her in the Change of Religion, he made offer of his ſervice to prepare her for Death: which though ſhe thankfully accepted of, as finding it to proceed from a good affection; yet ſoon he found, that ſhe was alſo beforehand with him in thoſe Preparations, which are fit and neceſſary for a dying *Chriſtian*. *Friday*, the 9 of *Feb.* was firſt deſigned for the day of Her Execution; but the deſire of gaining her to the Church of *Rome* procured Her the ſhort *Reſpite* of three days more. On *Sunday-night*, being the *Eve* unto the Day of Her Tranſlation. She wrote a Letter in the *Greek* Tongue, at the end of the *Teſtament*, which She bequeathed as a Legacy to Her ſiſter the Lady *Katharine*; which being ſuch a lively Picture of the Excellent Lady, may well deſerve to be continually kept in Remembrance of Her, and is this, that followeth.

I Have here ſent you (Good Siſter Katharine) *a Book, which although it be not outwardly trimmed with Gold, yet inwardly it is more worth, than pretious Stones. It is the Book* (Dear Siſter) *of the* Law of the Lord. *It is his* Teſtament *and laſt Will, which he bequeathed unto us, Wretches; which ſhall lead you to the Path of eternal Joy, and, if you With a good mind read it, and with an earneſt mind do purpoſe to follow it, it ſhall bring you to an immortal, and everlaſting Life. It ſhall teach you to live, and learn you to die. It ſhall win you more, than you ſhould have gained by the poſſeſſion of your woful Father's Lands. For as, if God had proſpered him, you ſhould have inherited his Lands: ſo, if you apply diligently this Book, ſeeking to direct your Life after it, you ſhall be an inheritour of ſuch Riches; as neither the Covetous ſhall withdraw from you, neither Thief ſhall ſteal, neither yet the Moths corupt. Deſire with* David (Good Siſter) *to underſtand the* Law of the Lord God. *Live ſtill to die, that you (by Death) may purchaſe Eternal life; and truſt not that the tenderneſs of your Age ſhall lengthen your Life; for as ſoon, if God calls, goeth the young, as the old, and labour always to learn to die. Defie the World: Deny the Divel: and Deſpiſe the Fleſh; and delight your ſelf only in the Lord. Be penitent for your Sins, and yet deſpair not. Be ſtrong in Faith, and yet preſume not, and deſire, with Saint* Paul, to be diſſolved, and to be with Chriſt, *with whom, even in Death, there is Life. Be like the good Servant, and even at Midnight, be waking; leſt, when Death cometh, and ſtealeth upon you, like a Thief in the night, you be with the evil Servant found ſleeping; and, leſt for lack of Oyl, you be found like the five fooliſh Women, and like him, that had not on the Wedding-Garment; and then ye be caſt out from the Marriage. Rejoyce in* Chriſt, *as I do. Follow the ſteps of your Maſter* Chriſt, *and take upon you your Croſs. Lay your ſins on his back, and always embrace him. And, as touching my Death, rejoyce, as I do* (good Siſter) *that I ſhall be delivered of this Corruption, and put on Incorruption. For I am aſſured, that I ſhall, for loſing of a mortal Life, win an immortal one. The which I pray God to grant you, and ſend you of his* Grace, *to live in his Fear, and to die in the true* Chriſtian *Faith: from the which in God's Name, I exhort you, that you never ſwerve, neither for Hope of Life, nor for Fear of Death. For, if you will deny his Truth, to lengthen your Life, God will deny you, and yet ſhorten your Days: and if you will cleave unto him, he will prolong your Days to your Comfort, and to his Glory. To the which Glory*

God

God bring me now, and you hereafter, when it pleaſeth him to call you. Fare you well (Good Siſter) *and put your only truſt in God, who only muſt help you.* An. 1553.

The Fatal Morning being come, the *Lord Guilford* earneſtly deſired the Officers, that He might take His Farewell of Her. Which though they willingly permitted, yet, upon notice of it, ſhe adviſed the contrary; aſſuring Him, "That "ſuch a meeting would rather add to his Afflictions, than encreaſe that quiet, "wherewith they had poſſeſſed their ſouls for the ſtroke of Death, that He de- "manded a Lenitive, which would put fire into the wound; and that it was to be "feared Her preſence would rather weaken than ſtrengthen Him, that He ought "to take courage from his Reaſon, & derive conſtancy from his own heart, that "if his ſoul were not firm, & ſetled, She could not ſettle it by Her eys, nor con- "firm it by Her words; that he ſhould do well to remit this Interview to the o- "ther World, that there indeed Friendſhips were happy, and Unions undeſol- "vable; and that theirs would be Eternal, if their ſouls carried nothing with "them of Terreſtrial, which might hinder them from rejoycing. All She could do was to give Him a farewel out of a Window, as he paſſed toward the place of His diſſolution: which He ſuffered on the *Scaffold* on *Tower-Hill* with much *Chriſtian* meekneſs. His dead body being lai'd in a *Car*, and His Head wrapped up in a Linen-cloth, were carried to the *Chappel* within the *Tower*; in the way to which, they were to paſs under the Window of the Lady *Jane*, where She had given Him His *Fare-well*. A ſpectacle ſufficient to diſanimate a couragious Heart, not armed with the Conſtancy, and Reſolution of ſo brave a Vertue. The Spectacle endured by Her with the leſs Aſtoniſhment, becauſe She knew She was upon the point of meeting with Him in a better Conjuncture: where they ſhould never find the like Intermiſſion of their Joys, and Happineſſes.

It was once reſolved on by the *Court*, that She ſhould dy on the ſame *Scaffold* with Her Husband: but it was feared, that being both pittied, and beloved by the common People, ſome ſuddain Commotion might be raiſed: if ſhe were publickly brought forth to Her Execution. It was therefore held the ſafer courſe that a *Scaffold* ſhould be erected for Her within the Verge of the *Tower*: on which ſhe might ſatisfie the greateſt ſeverity of the Law without any danger to the State. Towards which being to be led by Sir *John Gage* (who was then *Conſtable* of the *Tower*) he deſired Her to beſtow ſome ſmall Gift upon him, to be kept as a *Memorial* of Her, To gratifie which deſire, She gave him Her *Table-Book*: in which She had written three *Sentences* in *Greek*, *Latine*, and *Engliſh*, as She ſaw Her Husband's Body brought unto the *Chappel*; which She beſought him to accept as Her laſt bequeſt. The *Greek* to this effect: That, *If His Executed Body ſhould give Teſtimony againſt Her before men; His moſt bleſſed Soul ſhould give an Eternal proof of Her Innocence in the preſence of God*: the *Latine* added; that *Humane Juſtice was againſt His Body; but the Divine Mercy would be for His Soul*: and then concluded thus in *Engliſh*, that, *If her fault deſerved Puniſhment, Her Youth, at leaſt, and Her Imprudence, were worthy of Excuſe; and that God, and Poſterity, would ſhew Her Favour.*

Conducted by *Feckman* to the *Scaffold*, She gave not much heed unto his Diſcourſes; but kept Her Eys upon a *Prayer-Book* of Her own. And, being mounted on the *Throne*, from which She was to receive a more excellent *Crown*, than any, which this vile Earth could give Her, She addreſſed Her ſelf in ſome few words to the ſtanders by; letting them know, that *Her Offence was not for having lay'd her hand upon the Crown, but for not rejecting it with ſufficient Conſtancy*; That *She had leſs erred through Ambition, than out of Reſpect, and Reverence to her Parents*; acknowledging nevertheleſs, that *Her Reſpect was to be accounted as a Crime, and ſuch Reverence, to deſerve a puniſhment*; That *She would willingly admit of Death; ſo to give ſatisfaction to the injured State; that by Obedience to the Laws, She might voluntarily take off the Scandal, which She had given*

An. 1553. *given by Her conſtrained Obedience to Her Friends, and Kindred*, concluding finally, that *She had juſtly deſerved this puniſhment, for being made the Inſtrument (though the unwilling Inſtrument) of another's Ambition; and ſhould leave behind Her an Example, that Innocence excuſeth not great Miſdeeds; if they any way tend to the Deſtruction of the Common-Wealth.* Which ſaid, and deſiring the people to recommend Her in their Prayers, to the mercies of God, She cauſed Her ſelf to be diſrobed by ſome of Her Women, who with wet Eys, and heavy Hearts, performed that Office, which was no more unwelcome, than if it had been nothing, but the preparation to the Death of *Sleep*, and not unto the *Sleep* of Death. And being now ready for the *Block*, with the ſame clear, and untroubled Countenance, wherewith ſhe had acted all the reſt of her *Tragedy*, She ſaid aloud the *Pſalm* of *Miſerere mei, Deus*, in the *Engliſh* Tongue: and ſo ſubmitted Her pure Neck to the Executioner.

Touching the *Bonds, Recognizances, Grants, Conveyances*, and other *Legal Inſtruments*, which had been made in the ſhort Reign of this Queen, a doubt was raiſed amongſt our Lawyers, whether they were good and valid in the Law, or not. The reaſon of which Scruple was, becauſe that Interval of time, which paſſed betwixt the Death of King *Edward*, on the ſixth of *July*, and the Proclaiming of Queen *Mary* in all parts of the Realm, was in the Law to be eſteemed as a part of Her Reign, without any notice to be taken of the interpoſing of the Lady *Jane*: in the firſt year of whoſe Reign, the ſaid *Bonds, Recognizances, Grants*, &c. had their ſeveral *Dates*. And thereupon it was Enacted in the following *Parliament*, That *all* Statutes, Recogniſcances, *and other* Writings *whatſoever, knowledged, or made, by, or to any Perſon, or Perſons, Bodies Politick, or Corporate, being the Queen's Subjects, ſince the ſixth day of July laſt paſt, until the firſt day of Auguſt then next following, under the Name of the Reign of any other Perſon, than under the Name of the ſaid Queen's Majeſtie, with the Stile appropriated, or united to Her Majeſtie's Imperial Crown, ſhall be as good, and effectual in the Law, to all intents, purpoſes, conſtructions, and meanings; as, if upon the making thereof, the Name of the ſaid Queen* MARY, *with Her Stile appropriated, had been full and plainly expreſſed in the ſame.* With a *Proviſo* notwithſtanding, that *all Grants, Letters Patents, and Commiſſions, made by the ſaid Lady* Jane, *to any Perſon, or Perſons whatſoever, ſhould be reputed void, and of none effect.* Which *Proviſo* ſeems to have been added, not only for making void of all ſuch *Grants* of the Crown-Lands, as had paſſed in the Name of the ſaid *Queen Jane* (if any ſuch *Grants* were ever made) but for invalidating the *Commiſſion* granted to the Duke of *Northumberland* for raiſing Arms in Her behalf. The pleading whereof though it could not be allowed for his Indemnity, when he ſtood at the Bar, might poſſibly have raiſed ſome Reproach or Trouble, to his *Peers*, and *Judges*, if the Integrity of their Proceedings had been called in queſtion.

Such was the end of the ſhort Life, but far ſhorter Reign, of the Lady *Jane*. Her Reign but of nine Days, and no more: her Life not twice ſo many years, as She Reigned days. Such was the end of all the Projects of the two great *Dukes*, for Her advancement to the Crown, and their own in Hers. To which as She was raiſed without any blows; ſo ſhe might have been depoſed without any blows: if the Ax had not been more cruel on the *Scaffold*, than the Sword in the Field. The Sword had never been unſheathed: but when the *Scaffold* was once Erected, and the Ax once ſharpened, there followed ſo many Executions after one another, till the Death of that *Queen*; that, as her Reign began in the blood of thoſe, who took upon them the purſuit of this *Lady's Title*; ſo was it ſtained more foully in the Blood of ſuch, as were Martyred in all parts for Her *Religion*. To the Relation of which *Executions*, *Deaths*, and *Martyrdoms*, and other the Calamities of that Tragical, and unproſperous *Reign*, we muſt next proceed.

AFFAIRS
OF
CHURCH and STATE
IN
ENGLAND,
During the Life and Reign
OF
QUEEN MARY.

Heb. 11. 35, 36, 37.

35. *Some of them were tortured, not accepting deliverance; that they might obtain a better Reſurrection.*

36. *And others had trial of cruel mockings and ſcourgings; yea moreover of bonds and impriſonment.*

37. *They were ſtoned, they were ſawn aſunder, were tempted, were ſlain with the ſword; they wandred about in Sheep-skins and Goat-skins, being deſtitute, afflicted, tormented, &c.*

Vell. Paterc. Lib. 2.

Hujus temporis fortunam ne deflere quidem quiſpiam ſatis digne potuit; nemo exprimere verbis poteſt.

Tantum Relligio potuit ſuadere malorum.

LONDON,
Printed for *H. Twyford*, *J. Place*, *T. Baſſet*, and *W. Palmer*,
Anno Dom. 1670.

The Parentage, Birth, and first Fortunes of the Princeſs

MARY,

The Eldeſt Daughter of K. *Henry* the Eighth, before Her coming to the *CROWN.*

With a Brief Narrative of Her Mother's Misfortunes, from the firſt Agitating of the Divorce, till the time of Her Death; and that which followed thereupon.

MARY, the eldeſt Daughter of King *Henry* the Eighth, and of *Katherine* his firſt wife, Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Iſſabella* Kings of *Spain*, was born at *Greenwich* on the 18th day of *February*, *Anno* 1516. Her Mother had before been marryed to *Arthur* Prince of *Wales*, the elder Brother of King *Henry*; but whether bedded by him or not, (more than as to ſome old Formalities of Court, on the like occaſions) was not commonly known: But he dying within few months after, King *Henry* the Seventh, the father of the deceaſed Prince, was ſecretly dealt with by the Agents of the ſaid *Ferdinand* and *Iſſabella*, to proceed unto a ſecond Marriage between *Henry* Duke of *York*, his now only ſon, and their daughter *Katherine*. To which King *Henry* readily condeſcendeth, upon divers Reaſons; partly to be aſſured of the aſſiſtance of the Kings of *Spain*, againſt all practiſes of the *French*; and partly that ſo great a Treaſure, as the Rents and Profits of the Princeſſe's jointure might not be carryed out of the Kingdom, as needs muſt be, if ſhe ſhould be marryed to a Prince of another Nation. This being agreed on by the Parent of either ſide, Pope *Julius* the 2d. is ſollicited for a Diſpenſation: to the Grant whereof he willingly yielded, knowing how neceſſary it was to the Peace of Chriſtendom, that thoſe Kings ſhould be united in the ſtricteſt Leagues of Love and Amity. Which comming to the knowledge of the Princeſs *Katherine*, who underſtood her own condition better than her father or mother, ſhe cauſed thoſe words, *vel forſan cognitam*, to be inſerted into the Bull or Diſpenſation; and this ſhe did for the preventing of all ſuch diſputes as might ariſe about the validity of the Marriage, in caſe the conſummation of it ſhould be openly known; though afterwards thoſe words were uſed as the ſhrewdeſt Argument for the invalidating of the Marriage, when it came in queſtion. And ſome ſuch thing was thought to have prevailed with King *Hen-* *An.* 1516.

ry the ſeventh, for deferring the advancement of *Henry* his ſecond ſon to the Style, Title, and Dignity of Prince of *Wales*, that he might firſt be well aſſured, that no Child was likely to be born of the former Marriage, to whom that Title might more properly and of right belong.

The diſpenſation being thus granted, Prince *Henry*, being then eleven years of age, or thereabouts, is ſolemnly contracted to the Princeſs *Katherine*, who muſt needs have a very great ſtock, as well of Chriſtian-Prudence, as of Virgin-Modeſty, to wait the growing up of a Husband being then a Child, and one of whoſe affection to her, when he ſhould come to Man's eſtate, ſhe had no aſſurance; and ſo it proved in the event: For *Henry* had no ſooner finiſhed the fourteenth year of his age, when, either by the compunction of conſcience, the perſwaſion of ſome that wiſh'd him well, or upon conſideration of the diſproportion of age which was then between them, (the Princeſs being eight years the elder) he reſolved upon the breaking and annulling of the ſaid Contract, in which his Parents had engaged him. To which end, making his addreſs to Doctor *Richard Fox*, then Biſhop of *Winchester*, he openly renounceth the ſaid Contract, not by word only, but by ſubſcription of his name to a legal Inſtrument, containing the effect of that Renunciation, his Reſolution never to proceed any further in it, and his Reaſons for it. Which Inſtrument he publiſhed in the preſence of *John Read*, a publick Notary, (the Biſhop ſitting then at *Richmond*, as in Court or Conſiſtory) and witneſſed unto by *Miles Daubeney*, Lord Chamberlain to King *Henry* the ſeventh, and father of *Henry* Earl of *Bridgwater*; Sir *Charls Sommerſet* Banneret, created afterwards Earl of *Worceſter*; Dr. *Nicholas Weſt*, after Biſhop of *Ely*; Dr. *Thomas Ronthall*, after Biſhop of *Durham*; and Sir *Henry Mainie*. The Inſtrument it ſelf, extant in the Hiſtory of *John Speed*, may be there conſulted. And in purſuance of this Act, he waved the Conſummation of the Marriage from one time to another, till the death of his father, which happened on the 22 of *April*, *An.* 1509. he being then within two months of the age of eighteen years. But being now come unto the Crown by the death of his father, Reaſon of ſtate prevailed ſo far beyond that of Conſcience, that he conſented to the conſummation of the Marriage, which before he had ſolemnly renounced, and did accordingly celebrate thoſe unhappy Nuptials (the cauſe of ſo much trouble both to him and others) on the ſecond of *June*, and cauſed her to be Crown'd with with him on the 24th. of the ſame month. This marriage was bleſt within the year by the birth of a ſon, whom the King cauſed to be Chriſtned by the name of *Henry*; and five years after with another, who lived not long enough to receive his Baptiſm.

But *Henry*, the firſt-born, not living to be two months old, the King remained childleſs till the birth of this daughter *Mary*, the preſumptive Heir of his Dominions; committed in her Infancy to the care and charge of the Lady *Margaret*, daughter of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and by the King (in reference to her deſcent from the houſe of the *Montacutes*) advanced unto the
1519. Style and Title of Counteſſe of *Salisbury*, *An.* 1513. And herein it was thought, that the *Queen* had a particular aim beyond that of the King, and that ſhe rather choſe to commit her daughter to the care of that Lady, than of any other in the Kingdom; to the end, that ſome affection growing to her by any of the Counteſſe's ſons, her daughter's Title to the Crown might be corroborated by the Intereſſe of the Houſe of *Clarence*. And ſo far her deſign ſucceeded, that the Princeſs *Mary* always carryed ſuch a dear affection to *Reginald Pole*, her ſecond ſon, (beſt known by the name of *Cardinal Pole* in the following times) that when ſhe came unto the Crown, ſhe would have made choice of him for her husband before any other, if the neceſſity of her affairs, and ſome artifices uſed to illude that purpoſe, had not changed her mind. She had ſcarce liv'd to the third year of her age, when ſhe was promiſed in marriage
1519. to the *Daulphine* of *France*, with a Portion of 333000 Crowns, to be paid by her Father, and as great a Joynture to be made by the *French* King *Francis*,

as

as ever had been made by any King of that Country. And ſo far did the buſineſs ſeem to be acted in earneſt, that it was publickly agreed upon in the treaty for the Town of *Tournay*, that the Eſpouſals ſhould be made within four months, by the ſaid two Kings, in the name of their Children; in purſuance whereof, as the *French* King ſent many rich gifts to ſome leading men of the Court of *England*, to gain their good liking to this League, ſo he ſent many coſtly Preſents to the Princeſs *Mary*, the deſigned wife (if Princes could be bound by ſuch deſignations) of the heir of *France*.

But war beginning to break out between the *French* and *Spaniards*, it was 1528.
thought fit by *Charles* the fifth, being then Emperour of *Germany*, and King of *Spain*, to court the favour of the *Engliſh*; for the obtaining whereof, his neerneſs to Queen *Katharine*, being ſiſter to the *Queen*, his Mother, gave him no ſmall hopes. Upon this ground he make a Voyage into *England*, is Royally feaſted by the King, inſtalled ſolemnly Knight of the Order of the Garter, in the Caſtle of *Windſor*, and there Capitulates with the King, amongſt other things, to take to wife his daughter *Mary*, as ſoon as ſhe ſhould come to the years of marriage; it was alſo then and there agreed, that aſſoon as ſhe was twelve years old, the Emperour ſhould ſend a proxie to make good the contract & eſpouſe her *per verba de præſenti* in the uſual form, that in the mean time the King of *England* ſhould not give her in marriage unto any other, that a diſpenſation ſhould be procured from the Pope, at the charge of both Princes, in regard that the parties were within the ſecond degree of conſanguinity; that within four months after the contract, the Princeſs ſhould be ſent to the Emperour's Court, whether it were in *Spain* or *Flanders*, at the ſole charge of the King of *England*, and married within four days after her comig thither, in the face of the Church; her portion limited to 400000 crowns, if the King ſhould have no iſſue male, but to be inlarged to 600000 crowns more, if the King ſhould have any ſuch iſſue male to ſucceed in the Kingdom. A jointure of 50000 crowns *per annum*, to be made by the Emperour, the one part thereof to be laid in *Flanders*, and the other in *Spain*; and finally, that if either of the ſaid two Princes ſhould break off this marriage, he ſhould forfeit 400000 crowns to the party injured.

And now who could have thought but that the Princeſs *Mary*, muſt have 1525.
been this Emperour's wife, or the wife rather of any Prince, then one that was to be begotten by this Emperour, on another woman, though in concluſion ſo it hapned. As long as *Charles* had any need of the aſſiſtance and friendſhip of *England*, ſo long he ſeemed to go on really in the promiſed marriage, and by all means muſt have the Princeſs ſent over preſently to be declared Empreſs, and made Regent of *Flanders*. But when he had taken the *French* King at the battel of *Pavia*, ſackt *Rome*, and made the Pope his priſoner, he then conceived himſelf in a condition of ſeeking for a wife elſewhere, which might be preſently ripe for Marriage, without ſuch a tedious expectation, as his tarrying for the Princeſs *Mary* muſt needs have brought him. And thereupon he ſhuts up a marriage with the Lady *Iſſabell*, *Infanta* of *Polugall*, and daughter to another of his Mother's ſiſters. For which being queſtioned by the King, he lays the blame upon the importunity of his Council, who could not patiently permit him to remain unmarryed, till the Princeſs *Mary* came to age; and who beſides had cauſed a ſcruple to be ſtarted, touching her illegitimation, as being born by one that had been Wife to his eldeſt brother. King *Henry* thereupon proceeds to a new treaty with the *French*, to whom his friendſhip at the time of their King's captivity had been very uſeful; which is by them as chearfully excepted, as by him it had been franckly offered. She had before been promiſed to the Daulphin of *France*, but now ſhe is deſign'd for the ſecond ſon, then Duke of *Orleance*, who afterwards, by the death of his elder brother, ſucceeded his father in the Crown. But whilſt they were upon the treaty, the former queſtion touching her legitimation, was again revived by the Biſhop of *Tarbie*, one of the Commiſſioners for the *French*, which thought it

ſeem'd

ſeem'd not ſtrong enough to diſſolve the treaty which the *French* were willing to conclude (as their affairs then ſtood) upon any conditions; yet it occaſioned many troubles in the Court of *England*, and almoſt all Chriſtendom beſides.

1526. For now the doubt being ſtarted a ſecond time, and ſtarted now by ſuch, who could not well ſubſiſt without his friendſhip, began to make a deep impreſſion in the mind of the King, and to call back ſuch paſſages to his remembrance, as otherwiſe would have been forgotten. He now bethinks himſelf of the Proteſtation which he had made in the preſence of Biſhop *Fox* before remembred, never to take the Lady *Katherine* for his wife; looks on the death of his two ſons, as a puniſhment on him for proceeding in the marriage; and caſts a fear of many inconveniencies, or miſchiefs rather, which muſt inevitably befall this Kingdom, if he ſhould die, and leave no lawful iſſue to enjoy the Crown. Hope of more Children there was none, and little pleaſure to be taken in a converſation; which the diſproportion of their years, & a greater inequality in their diſpoſitions, muſt render leſs agreeable every day than other. In this perplexity of mind, he conſults his *Confeſſor*, by whom he was adviſed to make known his griefs to Cardinal *Wolſie*, on whoſe judgment he relied in moſt other matters; which hapned ſo directly to the Cardinal's mind, as if he had contrived the project. The Emperour had lately croſs'd him in his ſuit for the Popedom, and ſince denyed him the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo*, with the promiſe whereof he had before bound him to his ſide. And now the Cardinal reſolves to take the opportunity of the King's diſtractions, for perfecting his revenge againſt him. In order whereunto, as he had drawn the King to make peace with *France*, and to conclude a marriage for his daughter with the Duke of *Orleance*; ſo now he hopes to ſeparate him from the bed of *Katherine*, the Emperour's Aunt, and marry him to *Madam Rhinee*, the *French* Queens ſiſter, who afterwards was wife to the Duke of *Ferrara*. About which time the Picture of Madam *Margaret*, the ſiſter of King *Francis*, firſt marryed to the Duke of *Alanzon*, was brought amongſt others into *England*, by *Thomas Bolen*, Viſcount *Rochford*, at his return from the *French* Court, where he had been Ambaſſador for the King of *England*: which firſt occaſioned a report in the common people, and afterwards a miſtake in our common Chronicles, touching this Ladie's being deſigned by *Wolſie* for a wife to his Maſter; whereas ſhe was at that time actually marryed to the Count of *Albret*, King of *Navarre* in title, and in title only.

1527. But *Rochford* brought with him out of *France* another Piece, which more excelled the picture of the Dutcheſs of *Alanzon*, then that Dutcheſs did the ordinary beauties in the Court of *France*; that is to ſay, his daughter *Anne*, whom he had bred up for a time in the houſe of the Dutcheſs, which render'd her an exact miſtriſs of the gaities and garb of the great *French* Ladies. Appearing in the Court of *England*, ſhe ſhewed her ſelf with ſo many advantages above all other Ladies about the *Queen*, that the King eaſily took notice of her. Whether more captivated by the Allurements of her beauty, or the facetiouſneſs of her behaviour, it is hard to ſay; certain it is, that he ſuffered himſelf to be ſo far tranſported in affection towards her, that he could think of nothing elſe, but what might tend to the accompliſhment of his deſires; ſo that the ſeparation from the bed of *Katherine*, which was but coldly followed upon caſe of *Conſcience*, is now more hotly proſecuted in the heat of *Concupiſcence*. In the mean time the King adviſeth with the Cardinal, and the Cardinal with the moſt learned men in the Realm of *England*. By whom it was modeſtly reſolved, that the King had a very juſt ground to conſult the Pope, and to uſe all lawful means for extricating himſelf out of thoſe perplexities, in which this marriage had involved him. The Pope had been beholden to the King, for procuring his liberty, when the *Imperialiſts* held him priſoner in the Fort of St. *Angelo*, and was in reaſon bound to gratifie him for ſo great a benefit. But then withall, he neither was to provoke the Emperour, nor hazard the

the Authority and Reputation of the See Apoſtolick, by running on the King's errand with more haſte than ſpeed. He therefore goes to work like a Pope of *Rome*, and entertains the King with hopes; without giving the Emperour and his adherents, any cauſe of deſpair. A Commiſſion is therefore granted to two Cardinals, that is to ſay, Cardinal *Thomas Wolſie*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Laurence Campegius*, whom *Henry* ſome few years before, had made Biſhop of *Saliſbury*; both beneficiaries to the King, and therefore like enough to conſult more his intereſt, then the *Queen's* contentment.

Of the erecting of a Court *Legantine* in the *Convent* of the *Black Friers* in *London*, the citing of the King and Queen to appear before them, the Kings pathetical Oration in the bemoaning of his own misfortunes, and the *Queen's* Appeal from the two Cardinals to the Pope, I ſhall now ſay nothing; leaving the Reader for thoſe paſſages to our common *Annals*. Suffice in this place to note, that while the buſineſs went on favourable in the King's behalf, *Wolſie* was given to underſtand of his deſperate loves to Miſtriſs *Bollen*, which repreſented to him two enſuing miſchiefs, not to be otherwiſe avoided, then by ſlackning the courſe of theſe proceedings. For firſt, he ſaw that if the King ſhould be divorc'd definitively from his preſent wife, he ſhould not be able to draw him to accept of Madam *Rhenee* the *French* Queen's ſiſter, which was the mark he chiefly aimed at. And ſecondly, he feared that Miſtriſs *Anne* had brought ſo much of the *Lutheran* with her, as might in time become deſtructive to the Church of *Rome*. Of this he certifies the Pope, the Pope recals *Campegius*, and revokes his Commiſſion; leaving the King to caſt about to ſome new ways to effect his purpoſe. And at this time it hapned, that Dr. *Thomas Cranmer* (who afterwards obtained to the See of *Canterbury*) diſcourſing with ſome of the Kings Miniſters, about the intricateneſs and perplexity of this great affair; declared, for his opinion in it, that it were better for the King to govern himſelf therein, by the judgment and determination of the Univerſities beyond the ſeas, then to depend upon the ſhifts and Artifices of the Court of *Rome*. Which being told unto the King, he diſpatched *Cranmer* unto *Rome*, in the company of *Rochford*, now made Earl of *Wiltſhire*, to maintain the King's cauſe by diſputation; and at the ſame time employs his agents to the Univerſities of *France* and *Italy*, who being under the Command of the *French* King, or the power of the Pope, gave ſentence in behalf of *Henry*, condemning his marriage with the Lady *Katherine*, the Relict of his Brother, to be ſimply unlawful in it ſelf, and therefore not to be made valid by a diſpenſation from the Popes of *Rome*. 1528. 1529.

The putting the King upon this courſe, proved the fall of *Wolſie*; who growing every day leſs then other in the King's eſteem, was brought within the compaſs of a *Præmunire*, and thereby ſtript of all his good to an infinite value; removed not long after unto *York*, and there arreſted of High Treaſon by the Earl of *Northumberland*, and committed to the cuſtody of Sir *William Kingſton*, being then Lieutenant of the Tower. By whom conducted towards *London*, he departed this life in the Abbey of *Leiceſter*: his great heart not being able to endure ſo many indignities, as had been lately put upon him, and having cauſe to fear much worſe than his former ſufferings. But the removing this Rub, did not much ſmooth the way to the King's deſires. The Queen's appeal unto the Pope, was the greateſt difficulty, from which ſince ſhe could not be removed, it muſt be made unprofitable and ineffectual, for the time to come. And thereupon a Proclamation is ſet forth on the 19 of *September*, 1530. in theſe following words, *viz.* "The King's Highneſs "ſtreightly chargeth and commandeth, That no manner of perſon, of what e-"ſtate, degree or condition, he or they be of, do purchaſe or attempt to pur-"chaſe, from the Court of *Rome*, or elſewhere, nor uſe, nor put in execution, "divulge or publiſh, any thing heretofore within this year paſſed, purchaſed, "or to be purchaſed hereafter; containing matter prejudicial to the High "Authority, Juriſdiction, and prerogative Royal of this ſaid Realm, or to 1530.

"the

"the lett, hinderance, or impeachment, of his Grace's Noble, and Vertuous in-
"tended purposes in the premises; upon pain of incurring his Highnesse's in-
"dignation, and imprisonment, and farther punishment of their bodies, for
"their so doing, at his Grace's pleasure; to the dreadful example of all others.

This was the Prologue to the down-fall of the Pope in *England*, seconded by the Kings taking to himself the Title of *Supream Head* of the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, acknowledged in the Convocation, and confirmed in Parliament, and ending finally in an Act intituled, *An Act for extinguishing the Authority of the Bishops of* Rome. And in all this the King did nothing but what he had example and Authority for, at that very time; for in the year 1520 (being but ten years before the setting forth of this Proclamation) *Monsieur d' Lautreth*, Governour for the *French* King, in the Dukedom of *Millain*, taking a displeasure against Pope *Leo* the tenth, deprived him of all his jurisdiction within the Dukedom. And that being done, he so disposed of all Ecclesiastical affairs, that the Church there was supremely governed by the Bishop of *Bigorre* (a Bishop of the Church of *France*,) without the intermedling of the Pope at all. The like we find to have been done by the Emperour, *Charles* the fifth, who being no less displeased with Pope *Clement* the eighth, abolished the Papal power and jurisdiction, out of all the Churches of his Kingdom in *Spain*, which though it held but for a while (till the breach was closed) yet left he an example by it (as my Author noteth) that there was no necessity of any Pope or supreme Pastor in the Church of Christ. And before either of these Acts or Edicts came in point of practice, the learned *Gerson*, Chancellor of the University of *Paris* (when the Popes power was greater far, than it was at the present) had writ and published a discourse, entituled, *De auferibilitate Papæ*, touching the total abrogating of the Papal Office. Which certainly he had never done, had the Papal Office been found essential, and of intrinsecal concernment to the Church of Christ. According unto which position of that learned man, the greatest Princes of those times did look upon the Pope, and the Papal power, as an *Excrescence* at the least in the body mystical, subject and fit to be pared off, as occasion served. And if they did, or do permit him to retain any part of his former greatnes, it is permitted rather upon self-ends, or Reasons of state, or otherwise to serve their turn by him as their need requireth, then out of any opinion of his being so necessary, that the Church cannot be well governed, or subsist without him.

ut præfecto sacri Bigoranno *Episcopo, omnia sive Romani Pontificis auctoritate administraventur.* Thuan.

Ecclesiasticam disciplinam citra Romani nominis authoritatem posse consecrari.

1531. But leaving these disputes to some other place, we must return unto the *Queen*. To whom some Lords are sent in the end of *May*, *An.* 1531. declaring to her the determinations of the Universities, concerning the pretended marriage betwixt her and the King. And therewith they demanded of her; whether, for quieting the Kings conscience, and putting an end to that debate, she would be content to refer the matter to four Bishops, and four temporal Lords. But this she absolutely refused, saying, She was his lawful Wife, that she would stand to her Appeal, and condescend to nothing in that particular, but by the counsel of the Emperour, and the rest of her friends. This answer makes the King more resolute, more open in the demonstration of his affections to the Lady *Anne Bollen*, whom he makes Marchioness of *Pembrook*, by his Letters Patents, bearing date the first of *September*, 1532. takes her along with him to *Callis* in *October* following, there to behold the glorious enterview betwixt him and the French King; and finally, privately marryeth her within few days after his return, the divorce being yet unsentenced betwixt him and the Queen. Not long after which, it was thought necessary to the King, to call a Parliament, wherein he caused an Act to pass, that no person should appeal for any cause out of this Realm, to the Pope of *Rome*; but that all Appeals should be made by the party grieved from the Commissary to the Bishop, from the Bishop to the Archbishop, and from the Archbishop to the King as had been anciently observed amongst the first Kings of the House of *Normandy*. It was also enacted in the same, that all causes Ecclesiastical

1532.

tical Cogniſances, in which the King himſelf was a Party, ſhould be determined finally in the Upper-Houſe of Convocation, without being bound to make recourſe to the Court of *Rome*. During the ſitting of which Parliament it is declared by Proclamation, that Queen *Katherine* ſhould no longer be called *Queen*, but Princeſs Dowager, as being the Widow of Prince *Arthur*, not the Wife of King *Henry*.

Warham Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the mean time dying, *Cranmer* is deſigned for his Succeſſor in that eminent dignity; which he unwillingly accepts of, partly in regard that he was marryed at that time, and partly in reference to an Oath which he was to take unto the Pope at his Conſecration. But the King was willing, for his own ends, to wink at the one, and the Pope was not in a condition (as the caſe then ſtood) to be too peremptory in the other. So that a Proteſtation being admitted of, not being otherwiſe bound to the Pope, than ſhould be found agreeable to the Word of God, and the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, he takes his Oath, and receives the Epiſcopal Conſecration, the 30th of *March*, 1533. the Parliament ſtill ſitting which before we ſpake of. At his firſt entrance into the Houſe of Convocation, he propounds two Queſtions to be conſidered and diſputed by the Biſhops and Clergy; the firſt was, Whether the marrying of a Brother's wife, carnally known, though without any iſſue by him, be ſo prohibited by the Will and Word of God, as not to be diſpenc'd withall by the Pope of *Rome*. The ſecond was, Whether it did appear, upon the Evidence given in before the Cardinals, that *Katherine* had been carnally known by Prince *Arthur*, or not. Both Queſtions being carryed in the Affirmative, though not without ſome Oppoſition in either Houſe, in the firſt eſpecially; it was concluded thereupon in the Convocation, and not long after in the Parliament alſo, That the King might lawfully proceed to another Marriage.

Theſe preparations being made, the Marriage precondemned by Convocation, and all Appeals to *Rome* made ineffectual by Act of Parliament, the new Archbiſhop (upon his own deſire & motion, contain'd in his Letters of the 11th of *April*) is authoriſed by the King, under his *Sign Manual*, to proceed definitively in the Cauſe. Who thereupon, accompanyed with the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Wells*, and *Lincoln*, and divers other perſons to ſerve as Officers in that Court, repaired to *Dunſtable* in the beginning of *May*; and having a convenient place prepared in the form of a Conſiſtory, they ſent a Citation to the Princeſs Dowager, who was then at *Amptill*, (a Mannor-houſe of the King's about ſix miles off) requiring her to appear before them at the day appointed; which day being come, and no appearance by her made, either in Perſon, or by Proxie, (as they knew there would not) ſhe is called peremptorily every day, fifteen days together; and every day there was great poaſting betwixt them and the Court, to certifie the King and *Cromwell* (a principal ſtickler in this buſineſs) how all matters went. In one of which, from the new Archbiſhop, extant in the *Cottonian* Library, a Reſolution is ſignified to *Cromwell* for comming to a final Sentence on *Fryday* the 18th of that Month, but with a vehement conjuration both to him and the King, not to divulge ſo great a ſecret, for fear the Princeſs Dowager on the hearing of it, either before, or on the day of paſſing Sentence, ſhould make her appearance in the Court: "For (ſaith he) if the noble Lady *Katherine* ſhould, upon "the bruit of this matter, either in the mouthes of the Inhabitants of the "Country, or by her Friends, or Counſel, hearing of this bruit, be moved, "ſtirred, counſelled, or perſwaded to appear before me, in the time, or afore "the time of Sentence, I ſhould be thereby greatly ſtaid and let in the Pro"ceſs, and the King's Grace's Counſel here preſent ſhall be much uncertain "what ſhall be then further done therein. For a great bruit and voice of the "people in this behalf, might perchance move her to do the thing, which per"adventure ſhe would not if ſhe hear little of it. And therefore I pray you "to ſpeak as little of this matter as you may, and to move the King's High-

"neſs ſo to do, for conſideration above recited. But ſo it hapned to their wiſh, that the Queen, perſiſting conſtant in her Reſolution of ſtanding to the Judgment of no other Court than the Court of *Rome*, vouchſafed not to take any notice of their proceeding in this Cauſe. And thereupon, at the day and time before deſigned, ſhe was pronounced to be *Contumax* for defect of Appearance; and by the general conſent of all the Learned men then preſent, the ſentence of the Divorce was paſſed, and her Marriage with the King declared void, and of none effect.

Of all theſe doings, as the Divorced *Queen* would take no notice, ſo by her Officers and Attendants ſhe was ſerved as in her former capacity. Which comming to the King's knowledge, he ſends the Duke of *Suffolk* and ſome others in the month of *July*, with certain Inſtructions given in Writing, to perſwade her, to ſubmit to the Determinations of the King and State, to lay aſide the Title of *Queen*, to content her ſelf with that of the *Princeſs Dowager*; and to remove her from the Biſhop of *Lincoln's* houſe at *Bayden*, where ſhe then remained, to a place called *Somerſham*, belonging to the Biſhop and Church of *Eli*. To none of which when ſhe would hearken, an Oath is tendred to her Officers and the reſt of her Houſhold, to ſerve her only in the capacity of Princeſs Dowager, and not as formerly in the notion of a *Queen* of *England*. Which at the firſt was generally refuſed amongſt them, upon a Reſolution which had been made in the Caſe by *Abel* and *Berket*, her two Chaplains; that is to ſay, That having already took an Oath to ſerve her as *Queen*, they could not with a good conſcience take any other. But in the end, a fear of loſing their ſaid places, but more of falling into the King's diſpleaſure, ſo prevailed upon them, that the Oath was taken by moſt of them; not ſuffered from thenceforth to come into the *Queen's* preſence, (who looked upon them as the betrayers of her Cauſe) or to perform any ſervice about her Perſon. Some Motives, to induce her to a better conformity, were ordered to be laid before her; none like to be more prevalent, than that which might concern the Intereſt of her daughter *Mary*. And therefore it was offered to her conſideration, "That chiefly, and above all things, ſhe ſhould have regard to "the Honourable, and her moſt dear Daughter, the Lady Princeſs; from "whom, in caſe the King's Highneſs (being thus enforced, exagitated, and "moved by the unkindneſs of the Dowager) might alſo withdraw his Princely "eſtimation, goodneſs, zeal, and affection; it would be to her no little re-"gret, ſorrow, and extream calamity. But the wiſe *Queen* knew well enough, that if ſhe ſtood, her Daughter could not do amiſs; whereas there could be nothing gained by ſuch ſubmiſſions, but the diſhonour of the one, the Baſtardiſing of the other, and the excluding of them both from all poſſibility of being reſtored in time to come to their firſt condition.

Finding ſmall hopes of any juſtice to be done her in the Realm of *England*, and not well able to endure ſo many indignities as had been daily put upon her, ſhe makes her complaint unto the Pope, whom ſhe found willing to ſhow his teeth, though he could not bite. For preſently hereupon a Bull is iſſued, for accurſing both the King and the Realm: the Bearer hereof not daring to proclaim the ſame in *England*, cauſed it to be ſet up in ſome publick places in the Town of *Dunkirk*, (one of the Haven Towns of *Flanders*) that ſo the roaring of it might be heard on this ſide of the Sea. To which it was not ſafe to bring it. But neither the Pope, nor the Queen Dowager got any thing by this raſh adventure, which only ſerved to exaſperate the King againſt them, as alſo againſt all which adheared unto them. For in the following Parliament, which began on the 25th. of *January*, and ended on the 30th. of *March*, an Act was paſs'd, inhibiting the payment of Firſt-fruits to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and for the Electing, Conſecrating, and Confirming of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops in the Realm of *England*, without recourſe unto the Pope, *cap.* 20. Another Act for the Attaindure of *Elizabeth Barton*, commonly called the *holy Maid of Kent*, with many other her adhearents, for ſtickling in the cauſe of

the

the Princeſs Dowager, *cap.* 12. and finally, of *Eſtabliſhing the Succeſſion* in the Crown Imperial of this Realm, *cap.* 22. In which laſt Act, the ſentence of the Divorce was confirmed and ratified, the Princeſs *Mary* declared to be illegitimate, the Succeſſion of the Crown entailed on the King's Iſſue by Queen *Anne Bollen*, an Oath preſcribed for all the Subjects in maintenance of the ſaid Statute Succeſſion, and taken by the Lords and Commons at the end of that Parliament, as generally by all the Subjects of the Kingdom within few months after. For the refuſal whereof, as alſo for denying the King's Supremacy, and ſome ſuſpition of confederacy with *Elizabeth Barton*, Doctor *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, not many days before created Cardinal by Pope *Paul* the 3d. was on the 22 of *June* beheaded publickly on the *Tower-hill*, and his head moſt diſgracefully fixed upon a Pole, and ſet on the top of the Gate on *London-Bridge*. And on the 6th. of *July* then next following, Sir *Thomas Moor*, who had ſucceeded *Wolſie* in the place of Lord Chancellor, was beheaded for the ſame cauſe alſo. But I find him not accuſed, as I do the other, for having any hand in the Conſpiracy of *Elizabeth Barton*.

The Execution of which great perſons, and of ſo many others who wiſh'd well unto her, added ſo much affliction to the deſolate and diſconſolate Queen, that not being able longer to bear the burden of ſo many miſeries, ſhe fell into a languiſhing ſickneſs; which more and more encreaſing on her, and finding the near approach of death, (the only remedy now left for all her ſorrows) ſhe dictated this enſuing Letter, which ſhe cauſed to be delivered to the King by one of her Women, wherein ſhe laid before him theſe her laſt requeſts, *viz.*

My moſt dear Lord, King and Husband (for ſo ſhe called him.)

THe hour of my death now approaching, I cannot chuſe but, out of the love I bear you, adviſe you of your ſouls health, which you ought to prefer before all conſiderations of the world, or fleſh, whatſoever: For which yet you have caſt me into many calamities, and your ſelf into many troubles. But I forgive you all, and pray God to do ſo likewiſe. For the reſt, I commend unto you Mary *our daughter, beſeeching you to be a good Father unto her, as I have heretofore deſired. I muſt entreat you alſo to reſpect my Maids, and give them in Marriage, which is not much, they being but three. And to all my other Servants a years pay, beſides their due, leſt otherwiſe they ſhould be unprovided for. Laſtly, I make this Vow, That mine Eyes have deſired you above all things.*

Farewel.

Within few days after the writing of which Letter, that is to ſay, on the 8th. of *January* then next following, ſhe yielded her pious Soul to God at the King's Mannor-houſe of *Kimbolton*, in the County of *Huntington*, and was ſolemnly interred not long after in the Abbey of *Peterborough*. The reading of her Letter drew ſome tears from the King, which could not but be much encreaſed by the news of her death. Moved by them both to ſuch a meaſure of commiſeration of her ſad condition, that he cauſed the greateſt part of her goods (amounting to 5000 Marks) to be expended on her Funeral, and in the recompencing of ſuch of her ſervants as had beſt deſerved it. Never ſo kind to her in the time of her life, as when he had rendred her incapable of receiving a kindneſs.

The Princeſs *Mary* is now left wholly to her ſelf, declared illegitimate by her Father, deprived of the comfort of her Mother, and in a manner forſa-

ken by all her friends, whom the ſevere proceedings againſt *Moor* and *Fiſher* had ſo deterred, that few durſt pay her any offices of Love or Duty. Of any proceedings in the Match with the Duke of *Orleance*, we hear no more news, all further proſecution of it being at a ſtand by the misfortunes of her Mother; nor was ſhe ſought in marriage by any other Prince in the life of her Father, but only by *James* the 5th. of *Scotland*; but finding himſelf deluded in it by King *Henry*, he thought it beſt to ſtrengthen himſelf by a Match with *France*, where he was firſt marryed to Madam *Magdaleene*, the firſt daughter of King *Francis*, and afterwards to *Mary* daughter of *Claude* of *Lorrain*, Duke of *Guiſe*, by whom he had one only daughter called *Mary* alſo. In which condition, the poor Princeſs had no greater comfort than what ſhe could gather from her Books, in which ſhe had been carefully inſtructed by Doctor *John Voiſie*, alias *Harman*, appointed her Tutor by the King; and, for his good performance in that place of truſt, advanced by him to the See of *Exon*, *An.* 1529. and afterwards made Lord Preſident of *Wales*; which fell out better for the Tutor, than it did for the Pupil; Who being left deſtitute of the counſel of ſo grave a Man, began to give way more and more to her grief and paſſions, which brought her at the laſt to ſuch an averſeneſs from the King, and ſuch a manifeſt diſaffection to his Perſon and Government, that he was once upon the point of ſending her priſoner to the *Tower*; and had ſo done, if *Cranmer* had not interpoſed ſome powerful reaſons to diſſwade him from it.

During which time of her averſneſs, the King ſent certain of the Lords to remove her to *Hatfield*; who having no authority to treat her by the name of Princeſs, but only to execute the King's commands, gave her occaſion thus to ſignifie her diſcontentments, "My Lords (ſaid ſhe) as touching my re-"moving to *Hatfield*, I will obey his Grace, as my duty is, or to any other "place that his Grace will appoint me: But I proteſt before you, and all "other that be here preſent, that my conſcience will in no wiſe ſuffer me to "take any other than my title for Princeſs, or for the King's Daughter, born "in lawful Matrimony; and that I will never wittingly or willingly ſay or "do, whereby any perſon might take occaſion to think, that I agree to the "contrary. Nor ſay I this out of any ambition or proud mind, as God is my "Judge; but that if I ſhould do otherwiſe, I ſhould in my conſcience ſlander "the Deed of our Mother, the holy Church, and the Pope, who is the Judge "in this matter, and none other; and alſo ſhould diſhonour the King my Fa-"ther, the Queen my Mother, and falſly confeſs my ſelf a Baſtard, which "God defend that I ſhould do, ſince the Pope hath not ſo declared it by his "Sentence definitive, to whoſe final Judgment I ſubmit my ſelf. In pur-ſuance of which claim to the Title of Princeſs, together with the Priviledges and preheminences thereunto belonging, ſhe writes this following Letter to the King her Father, on a like occaſion.

IN moſt humble wiſe I beſeech your Grace of your daily bleſſing. Pleaſeth it the ſame to be adverti ſed, that this morning my Chamberlain came and ſhewed me, that he had received a Letter from Sir William Paulet, *Controller of your Houſe: the effect whereof was, that I ſhould with all diligence remove unto the Caſtle of* Herford. *Whereupon I deſired him to ſee the ſame Letter, which he ſhewed me; wherein was written, That the Lady* Mary, *the King's Daughter, ſhould remove to the place before-ſaid, leaving out in the ſame the name of* Princeſs. *Which when I heard, I could not a little marvail, truſting verily, that your Grace was not privy to the ſame Letter, as concerning the leaving out of the name of* Princeſs; *foraſmuch as I doubt not in your goodneſs, but that your Grace doth take me for your lawful Daughter, born in true Matrimony. Wherefore if I ſhould agree to the contrary, I ſhould in my conſcience run into the diſpleaſure of God, which I hope aſſuredly, that your Grace would not that I ſo ſhould. And in all other things, your Grace ſhall have me always as humble an obedient Daughter and Handmaid, as ever was child to*

the

the father, which my duty bindeth me to; as knoweth our Lord, Who have your Grace in his m st holy tuition, with much honor and long life, to his pleasure.

From your Manner of Beaulieu, *Octob.* 2. By your most humble Daughter, MARY *Princess.*

And on these tearms she stood, from the Divorce of her Mother till the Attaindure of Queen *Anne Bollen*, against whom she thought it did concern her to bear up to the highest, as she did accordingly.

But growing into better hopes by the death of the said Queen *Anne*, the Annulling of the Marriage also, and the Bastardising of the Princess *Elizabeth* her only daughter, she began to cast about again, writes her submissive Letters to the King her father, and humbly craves some testimonies of his love and goodness: Which so prevailed, that the Duke of *Norfolk* is sent to treat with her upon certain Instructions; so necessary to the knowledge of her affairs, in this Conjuncture, that they deserve a place here, and are these that follow.

Certain Articles and Injunctions, given by the King's Highness to his right Trusty and right entirely beloved Cousen and Counsellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*; whom, with certain others in his company, His Majesty sendeth to the Lady *Mary* his Daughter, for the Purposes ensuing.

First, whereas the said Lady Mary *hath sundry ways, with long continuance, shewed her self so obstinate towards the King's Majesty, her Soveraign Lord and Father, and so disobedient to his Laws, conceived and made upon most just, vertuous, and godly grounds, that as the wilful disobedience thereof seemeth a monster in Nature; so, unless the mercy of his Highness had been most abundantly extended unto her, by the course of his Grace's Laws, and the force of his Justice, she endangered her self so far; that it was greatly to his Highnesse's regret and hearty sorrow, to see and perceive how little she esteemeth the same; extending to the loss of his favour, the loss of her honour, the loss of her life, and undoubtedly to the indignation of Almighty God. For that she neither obeyeth her Father and Soveraign, nor his just and vertuous Laws aforesaid. And that of late nevertheless calling to remembrance her transgressions and offences in this part towards God, her Father and Soveraign Lord the King's Highness; she hath written to the same three sundry Letters, containing a Declaration of her repentance conceived for the Premises; with such an humble and simple submission, as she appeareth not only to submit her self wholly, and without exception, (especially by the last Letter) to the Laws, but also for her state and condition, to put her self only to his Grace's mercy; nothing desiring but mercy and forgiveness for her offences, with a reconciliation to his Grace's favour.*

Albeit his Majesty hath been so ingrately handled and used by her, as is afore declared, that the like would enforce any private person to abandon for ever such an unkind and inobedient Child from their grace and favour; yet, such is his Majesties gracious and divine nature, such is his clemency and pity, such his merciful inclination and Princely heart, that, as he hath been ever ready to take pity and compassion of all offenders, repentantly calling and crying for the same; So, in case he may throughly perceive the same to be in the said Lady Mary's *heart, which she hath put in pen and writing, his Highness considering the imbecillity of her sex, being the same is frail, inconstant, and easie to be perswaded by simple counsel, can be right-well contented to remit unto her part of his said displeasure. And therefore hath at this time, for the certain knowledge of her heart and stomack, sent unto her his said Cousen, with others, to demand and enquire of her certain Questions. Her Answers whereunto his pleasure is they shall require, and note in writing, which*

shall

ſhall throughly decipher, whether ſhe be indeed the perſon ſhe pretendeth, or for any reſpect hath with general words laboured to cloak the ſpecial matter, which is repugnant and contrary to that, which his Majeſty hath gathered and conceived of the ſame:

1. *And firſt, after their Acceſs and Declaration of the Premiſes, they ſhall for their firſt Queſtion demand of her, Whether ſhe doth recogniſe and knowledge the King's Higneſs for her Soveraign Lord and King, in the Emperial Crown of this Realm of* England, *and will and doth ſubmit her ſelf unto his Highneſs, and to all and ſingular the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, as becometh every true and faithful Subject to do.*

2. *Alſo, whether ſhe will with all her power and qualities, that God hath endu'd her withall, not only obey, keep, and obſerve all and ſingular Laws and Statutes of this Realm; but alſo ſet forth, advance, and maintain the ſame, to the utmoſt of her power, according to her bounden duty.*

3. *Alſo, whether ſhe will recogniſe, accept, take, and repute the King's Highneſs to be ſupream Head in Earth, under Chriſt, of the Church of* England, *and utterly refuſe the Biſhop of* Rome's *pretended Power and Juriſdiction, heretofore uſurped in this Realm, according to the Laws and Statutes of the ſame, made and ordained in the behalf of all the King's true Subjects, humbly received, admitted, obeyed, kept, and obſerved: And alſo will and do renounce, and utterly forſake, all manner of Remedy, Intereſs, and Advantage by the ſaid Biſhop of* Rome's *Laws, Proceſs, or Juriſdiction to her in any wiſe appertaining, or that hereafter may by any Title, Colour, or Mean, belong, grow, ſucceed or appertain, or in any caſe may follow or enſue.*

4. *And whether ſhe will and doth, of her Duty and Obedience towards God, her Alleigance towards the King's Highneſs, and the Laws of this Realm, and alſo of the ſincere love and zeal that ſhe beareth towards the Truth, freely and franckly recognize and knowledge, without any other reſpect, both by God's Law and Man's Law, the Marriage heretofore had between his Majeſty and her Mother, to be unlawful.*

5. *Alſo, Be ſhe enquired or examined, For what cauſe, and by whoſe motion and means ſhe hath continued and remained in her obſtinacy ſo long; and who did embold, or animate her thereto, with other circumſtances thereof appertaining?*

6. *Alſo, What is the cauſe, that ſhe at this preſent time, rather then at any other heretofore, doth ſubmit her ſelf?*

To theſe ſix Articles, ſhe was required to give a plain and poſitive anſwer: Which plainly ſhews the doubtfulneſs and uncertainty of her preſent condition, in being either forced to confeſs her ſelf to be illegitimate, or running on the laſt hazzard of the King's diſpleaſure, if ſhe ſhould do otherwiſe. But wiſely conſidering in her ſelf, whom ſhe had to deal with, ſhe thought it ſafeſt to ſtrike ſaile, and to ſubmit her ſelf to him, with whom it was not lawful for her to diſpute that point, if ſhe had been able. She therefore makes a clear acknowledgment of the four firſt Articles, by the ſubſcribing of her name; but craved leave to demur on the two laſt, becauſe ſome perſons were concern'd in them, whom ſhe was not willing to diſcover. And by this means ſhe gain'd ſo far upon the King, that from that time forwards, he held her in the ſame rank with the reſt of his children; gave her her turn in the ſucceſſion of the Kingdom; aſſigned her portion of ten thouſand pounds, to be paid at her marriage, and in the interim, three thouſand pounds *per annum*, for her perſonal maintenance. And more than this he did not do for his daughter *Elizabeth*; notwithſtanding the eſteem and affection which he bare to her mother; for bringing whom into his bed, he had cancelled all the bonds of his former marriage. Little or nothing more occurreth of her in the time of King *Henry*, becauſe there was little or nothing altered in the face of Religion, which might give her any cauſe of publick or perſonal diſlike. But when the great alterations hapned in the time of King *Edward*, ſhe then declared her ſelf more openly

openly (as she might more safely) in opposition to the same: concerning which she thus declares her self in a Letter to the Lord Protector, and the rest of the Council, dated at *Kenninghall, June* 22. *An.* 1549.

My Lord,

I Perceive by the Letters which I have receiv'd from you, and other of the Kings Majesties Council, that you be all sorry to find so little conformity in me, touching the observation of his Majesties Laws; who am well assured I have offended no law, unless it be a late Law of your own making, which in my conscience is not worthy the name of Law, both for the King's honours sake, and the wealth of the Realm, and giving the occasion of an evil bruit throughout all Christendom, besides the partiality used to the same, and (as my conscience is very well perswaded) the offending God, which passeth all the rest. But I am well assured, that the King his Fathers Laws, were all allowed and consented to, without compulsion, by the whole Realm, both Spiritual and temporal, and all the Executors sworn upon a book to fulfil the same, so that it was an authorized Law. And that I have obeyed, and will do with the grace of God, till the King's Majesty my brother, shall have sufficient years to be a judge in this matter himself. Whereunto (my Lord) I was plain with you at my last being in the Court, declaring unto you at that time, whereunto I would stand; and now do assure you all, that the only occasion of my stay from altering of mine opinion, is for two causes. One principally for my conscience; the other, that the King my brother shall not hereafter charge me to be one of those that were agreeable to such alterations in his tender years. And what fruits daily grow by such changes, since the death of the King my Father, to every indifferent person, it well appeareth, both to the displeasure of God, and unquietness of the Realm.

Notwithstanding, I assure you all, I would be as loath to see his Highness take hurt, or that any evil should come to this his Realm, as the best of you all; and none of you have the like cause, considering how I am compelled by nature, being his Majesties poor and humble sister, most tenderly to love and pray for him; and unto this his Realm (being born within the same) wish all wealth and prosperity to God's honour. And if any judge of me the contrary for mine opinions sake, as I trust none doth, I doubt not in the end, with Gods help, to prove my self as true a natural and humble Sister, as they of the contrary opinion with all their devices, and altering of Laws, shall prove themselves true Subjects; I pray you my Lords, and the rest of the Council, no more to unquiet and trouble me with matters touching my conscience, wherein I am at a full point with Gods help, whatsoever shall happen to me, intending with his grace, to trouble you little with any worldly suits, but to bestow the short time I think to live, in quietness; and I pray for the King's Majesty, and all you, heartily wishing, that your proceedings may be to God's honour, the safeguard of the King's person, and quietness of the whole Realm. And thus, my Lords, I wish unto you, and all the rest, as well to do, as my self.

Upon such passages of this Letter, which seemed most to pinch upon them, the Lords returned their Gloss or Comment, but such as had more in it of an *Animadversion*, then an Explication. They signified withall, how well they understood their own Authority; how sensible they were of those inconveniencies, which the example of her inconformity to the Laws established, was likely to produce amongst the rest of the Subjects. No favour being otherwise to be hoped for from them, the Emperor is moved to intercede in her behalf by his Ambassador, then residing about the Court. Upon whose earnest solicitation, it was declared by the King, with the consent of his Councel (as appeareth by their Letters to her, of the 25th of *December*) "That for his sake, "and her own also, it should be suffered and winked at, if she had the private "Mass used in her own closet for a season, until she might be better informed; "but so that none but some few of her own chamber should be present with "her, and that to all the rest of her household, the Service of the Church should "be only used. For the abuse of which indulgence, in saying Mass promiscuously 1550.

cuously (in her absence) to her household servants, *Mallet* and *Barklay* two of her Chaplains, are seized on, and committed prisoners, which first occasioned an exchange of Letters betwixt her and the King, and afterwards more frequently between her and the Councel; for which, consult the Acts and Mon. *fol.* 1213. 1214. A proposition had been made about the surrendry of *Bulloigne*, for a marriage betwixt her and the Prince of *Portugal*; and the like motion made in favour of the Duke of *Brunswick*, whilst the other treaty was depending. But neither of the two succeeding to the wish of the party, a plot was laid to pass her over into *Flanders*; shipping provided to transport her, some of her servants sent before, and a commotion practised in the County of *Essex*; that in the ouste she might be conveyed away without any discovery. But this plot being happily prevented by the care and diligence of Sir *John Gates*, one of the Captains of the *Gents d' armes* (then lately ranged under the command of the Marques of *Northampton*) she was by him conducted much against her will, to the Lord Chancellors house at *Leez di*, from thence to *Hunsdon*, and at last to *Westminster*. Much troubled at her coming thither upon the apprehension of Sir *Robert Rochester*, Sir [illegible] *Walgrave*, and Sir *Francis Inglefield*, servants of special trust about her, and all suspected to be privy to the design, for conveying her over into *Flanders*.

Much care was taken, and many endeavours used by the King and Councel, to win her to a good conceit of the Reformation. But her interest was so bound up with that of the Pope, that no perswasions could prevail with her to desert that cause, on which her own *legitimation*, and the validity of her mothers marriage, did so much depend. As much unprofitable pains was taken by the Emperours Agents, in labouring to procure for her, the exercise of her own Religion; mingling some threats with their intreaties, in case so great a Prince should be refused in so small a suit. Which when it could not be obtained from the King, by the Lords of the Councel, nor by the mediation of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *London*, (whom the Lords imployed to move him in it;) the Emperor laid aside the prosecution of a cause, which he perceived he could not carry. And the King slackned by degrees, his accustomed diligence, in labouring by perswasions to work on one, who was resolved before-hand not to be perswaded. So that being weary of the Court, and the Court of her, she was permitted for a time to remain at *Hundsdon*, in the County of *Hartford*. To which place (being in the Dioces of *London*) Bishop *Ridley* had recourse unto her, and at first was kindly entertained. 1552. But having staid dinner at her request, he made an offer of his service to preach before her on the Sunday following; to which she answered, *That the doors of the Parish Church adjoyning, should be open for him, that he might preach there if he listed; but that neither she nor any of her servants, would be there to hear him.* Madam, said he, *I hope you will not refuse to hear Gods word.* To which she answered, *That she could not tell what they called Gods word; that which was now called the word of God, not having been accounted such in the days of her father.* After which, falling into many different expressions against the Religion then established, she dismissed him thus. *My Lord*, said she, *For your gentleness to come and see me, I thank you; but for your offer to preach before me, I thank you not.* Which said, he was conducted by Sir *Thomas Wharton*, one of her principal Officers, to the place where they dined, by whom he was presented with a cup of wine; which having drank, and looking very sadly on it, *Surely*, said he, *I have done amiss, in drinking in that place, where Gods word offered was refused. Whereas if I had done my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have shaken the dust from off my feet, in testimony against this house, in which the word of God could not find admittance.* Which words he spake with such a vehemency of spirit, as made the hair of some of those which were present, to stand an end, as themselves afterwards confessed.

1553. Of this behaviour of the Princes, as the Bishop much complained in other places, so most especially in a Sermon preached at Saint *Paul's* Cross, on the six-

sixteenth of *July*; in which he was appointed by the Lords of the Council, to set forth the title of Queen *Jane*, to whom the succession of the Crown had been transferred by King *Edward*, at the solicitation and procurement of the Duke of *Northumberland*, who served himself of nothing more, than of her obstinate averseness from the reformed Religion, then by Law established. The cunning contrivance of which plot, and all that had been done in pursuance of it, hath been laid down at large in the *Appendix* to the former book: It suffice in this place to know, that being secretly advertised of her brother's death, she dispatched her Letters of the ninth of *July*, to the Lords of the Council, requiring them not only to acknowledge her just title to the Crown of this Realm, but to cause Proclamation of it to be made in the usual form; which though it was denyed by them, as the case then stood, yet she was gratified therein by the Mayor of *Norwich*, who first proclaimed her *Queen*, on the fourth day after; as afterwards was done in some other places, by those who did prefer the interest of King *Henry's* Children, before that of the *Dudly's*. But hearing of the great preparations which were made against her, and finding her condition in a manner desperate, when she first put her self into *Framingham* Castle, she faithfully assured the Gentry, and other inhabitants of the County of *Suffolk*, that she would not alter the Religion which had been setled and confirmed in the Reign of her brother. On which assurances there was such a confluence to her from those parts of the Kingdom, that in short space she had an army of fourteen thousand fighting men to maintain her quarrel. The news whereof, together with the risings of the people in other places on the same account, wrought such an alteration in the Lords of the Council, whom she had before solicited in vain to allow her title, that on the nineteenth of *July*, she was solemnly proclaimed *Queen* at Cheapside Cross; not only by their general and joint consent, but by the joyful acclamations of all sorts of people. But as Mariners seldom pay those vows which they make in a tempest, when once they are delivered from the danger of it; so *Mary* once established in the Royal Throne, forgot the services which she received from those of *Suffolk*, together with the promises which she made unto them in the case of Religion. Insomuch, that afterwards being petitioned by them in that behalf, it was answered with more churlishness than could be rationally expected in a green Estate, *That Members must obey their Head, and not look to rule it.* And that she might no more be troubled with the like Petitions, she caused one *Dobb*, a Gentleman on *Windham* side, who had presumed to put her in remembrance of her former promise, to be punished by standing in the Pillory three days together, to be a gazing stock to all men. But such is the condition of our humane nature, that we are far more ready to require a favour, when we stand in need of it, than willing to acknowledge or require it, when our turn is served. Of which we cannot easily meet with a clearer evidence, than the example of this *Queen*; who was so far from gratifying those who had been most aiding to her in the time of her trouble, that she persecuted them, and all others of the same perswasions, with fire and faggot, as by the sequel of her story will at large appear.

An. Reg. Mar. 1. 1553.

The Life and Reign OF QUEEN MARY.

An. Reg. Mar. 1. *A. D.* 1553, 1554.

THe interposing in behalf of the Lady *Jane* being dis-reliſhed generally in moſt parts of the Kingdom, *Mary* the eldeſt ſiſter of King *Edward* the ſixt is proclaimed Queen by the Lords of the Council, aſſiſted by the Lord Mayor of *London*, and ſuch of the Nobility as were then reſident about the City, on *Wedneſday* the nineteenth day of *July*, *Anno* 1553. The Proclamation publiſhed at the Croſs in *Cheap*, with all ſolemnities accuſtomed on the like occaſions; and entertained with joyful acclamations by all ſorts of people, who feared nothing more, than the pride and tyranny of the Duke of *Northumberland*. To carry which news to the Queen at *Framingham*, the Earl of *Arundel*, and the Lord *Paget*, are diſpatched immediately by the reſt of the Council, and Letters are ſpeedily poſted by ſome private friends to the Duke at *Cambridge*. Who underſtanding how things went, without expecting any order from the Lords at *London*, diſmiſt the remnant of his Army, and preſently repairing into the Market place, proclaimed the Queen, crying, *God ſave Queen* Mary, as loud as any, and flinging up his cap for joy, as the others did. Which ſervice he had ſcarce performed, when *Roſe* a Purſuivant of Arms comes to him with inſtructions from the Lords of the Council, ſubſcribed by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor *Goodrick*, the Lord Treaſurer *Paulet*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Bedford*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Pembrook*, the Lord *Darſie*, Sir *Robert Cotton*, Sir *William Peter*, and Sir *William Cecil*, the two principal Secretaries, Sir *John Cheek*, Tutor to the laſt King, Sir *John Baker*, Chancellor of the tenths and firſt fruits, Sir *John Maſon*, Maſter of the Requeſts, *R. Bowes*, Maſter of the Rolls. Moſt of which had formerly ſubſcribed the anſwer to a Letter which came to them from the Princeſs *Mary*, on the ninth of *July*, and were all pardoned for ſo doing, except *Cranmer* only. Now the Tenor of the ſaid *Inſtructions*, was as followeth.

In

Ann Reg. Mar. 1. 1553.

In the name of Our Soveraign Lady *Mary* the Queen, to be declared to the Duke of *Northumberland*, and all other his Band, of what degree soever they be.

YOu shall command and charge in the Queens Highness name, the said Duke to disarm himself, and to cease all his men of War, and to suffer no part of his army to do any villany, nor any thing contrary to the peace; and himself to forbear his coming to this City, untill the Queens pleasure be expressedly declared unto him. And if he will shew himself like a good quiet subject, we will then continue as we have begun, as humble suitors to our Soveraign Lady the Queen's Highness, for him and his, and for our selves. And if he do not, we will not fail to spend our lives in subduing of him and his.

Item, *Ye shall declare the like matter to the Marquess of* Northampton, *and all other Noble men, and Gentlemen, and to all men of war, being with any of them.*

Item, *Ye shall in all places where ye come, notifie it; If the Duke of* Northumberland *do not submit himself to the Queens Highness, Queen* Mary; *he shall be accepted as a Traytor. And all we of the Nobility, that were Counsellors to the late King, will to the utmost portion of our power, persecute him and his to their after-confusion.*

The Pursuivant having communicated his Instructions, found none more ready to obey them, then the Duke himself, who had before dismist his forces, and now prepared for his departure from that place, though to what he knew not. But as he was pulling on his boots, he was first staid by some of the Pensioners, who being drawn into the action against their wills, resolved to have him in a readiness to bear witness to it; and after taken into custody by *Slegg*, a Serjeant. The business being in dispute, another Packet comes from the Lords of the Council, by which all parties were required to depart to their several dwellings; the benefit whereof the Duke laid claim to for himself, and was accordingly left by them at his own disposal. And so he passed that night in some good assurance, that he should fare no worse than the rest of the Council, who had engaged him in the same cause, and by whose order he had undertaken the command of that Army. In the mean time, the Earl of *Arundel* had done his errand to the Queen, to so good a purpose, that he was presently dispatched with Order to seize upon him. Who coming to *Cambridge* the next morning, found him preparing for his journey, laid hold upon him, and committed him to the charge of some of the Guard. It is reported, that the Duke had no sooner seen the Earl of *Arundel*, but he fell down upon his knees, and besought him to be good unto him, humbling himself before him with more abjectedness, than formerly he had insulted over him with pride and insolence. By safe, but easie journies, he is brought unto the Tower on the 25 day of *July*, together with the Earl of *Warwick*, the Earl of *Huntington*, the Lord *Hastings*; the Lord *Ambrose*, and the Lord *Henry Dudley*, two of *Northumberlands* younger sons; Sir *Andrew Dudley*, the Duke's brother, Sir *John Gates*, and *Henry Gates* his brother, Sir *Thomas Palmer* (who formerly had served his turn in the destruction of the Duke of *Sommerset*,) and Dr. *Sandys* Vice Chancellor of the University of *Cambridge*. Followed the next day after by the Marquess of *Northampton*, Dr. *Nicholas Ridley*, Bishop of *London*, the Lord *Robert Dudley*, another of *Northumberland's* sons, and Sir *Robert Corbet*; who having made their Applications to the Queen at *Framingham*, found there no better entertainment, than if they had been taken in some act of Hostility. The 27 day brings in Sir *Roger Chomley*, Chief Justice of the Kings Bench, and Sir *Edward Mountague*, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Sir *John Cheek*, on the morrow after shutting up the Arrear. But the Duke of *Suffolk* staved not long: for being considered in himself

An. Reg. Mar. 1. 1553.

himself as an easie person, of whom they were to fear no danger, and otherwise no more in fault than the rest of the Council, he was released again within three days after, to the great comfort of his daughter, the late Queen *Jane*, who would have dyed daily for her Father, though but once for her self.

But so it fared not with the Duke of *Northumberland*, a more dangerous person; who, together with *John* Earl of *Warwick*, his eldest son, and *William* Marquess of *Northampton*, was brought to their tryal on the eighth of *August*, before *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, then sitting as Lord High *Steward* in *Westminster* Hall. The Duke being brought unto the bar, humbled himself with great reverence before his Peers, professing his faith and allegiance to the Queen; against whom he confessed he had so grievously offended, that he intended not to speak any thing in his own defence. But having been trained up to the study of the Laws in his younger days, he desired the judgment of the Court in these two points. First, *Whether any man doing any act by Authority of the Princes Councel, and by warrant of the Great Seal of* England, *and doing nothing without the same, might be charged with Treason, for any thing which he might do by warrant thereof.* And secondly, (which pinched then his Judges to some Purpose) *Whether any such persons as were equally culpable in the crime, and those by whose Letters and Commandments he was directed in all his doings, might sit as Judges, and pass upon his tryal as his Peers.* Whereunto it was answered by the Court, with advice of the Judges. First, *That the Great Seal which he pretended for his warrant, was not the Seal of the lawful Queen of the Realm, but the Seal of an Usurper, who had no authority, and therefore could be no warrant to him.* And secondly, *That if any were as deeply to be touched in the case as himself; yet so long as no attainder was upon Record against them, they were looked upon by the Law, as persons capable of passing upon any tryal, and not to be challenged by any in that respect, but only at the Prince's pleasure.* Which being delivered by the Court in point of Law, the Duke conceived that it would be to no purpose for him to plead *Not Guilty*, and thereupon confessed the Indictment, as the other two prisoners also did; they all received judgement in the usual form. On the pronouncing whereof, he besought the Lords to move the *Queen*, that she would be gratious to his sons, who might be able to do good service in the time to come; considering that they went not with him of their own free will, but only in obedience to his commands, who was their Father; in which as his desires were granted by the Lords, so the Lords were gratified in them by the *Queen*; none of his sons being executed (though all condemned) except *Guilford* only, whose case was different from the others. The like judgment also pass'd on the morrow after, on Sir *John Gates*, Sir *Henry Gates*, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, who confessing the Indictment also, submitted themselves to the *Queens* mercy, without further tryal.

In that short interval, which past between the sentence, and the execution, the Duke was frequently visited by Dr. *Nicholas Heath*, then newly restored unto the See of *Worcester*. It was another of the requests which he made to the Lords, that some godly and learned man, might be licensed by the *Queen*, to repair unto him, for the quiet and satisfaction of his conscience; and she resolved to send him none (as she did to others in like case) but one of her own, under a pretence of doing good unto their souls, by gaining them to a right understanding of the faith in Christ. According to which purpose, *Heath* bestirs himself with such dexterity, that the Duke, either out of weakness, or hope of life, or that it was indifferent to him in what Faith he dyed, who had shewn so little while he lived, retracted that Religion which he had adorned in the time of King *Edward*, and outwardly professed for some years in the Reign of King *Henry*. And hereof he gave publick notice when he was on the Scaffold, on the 22 of that month. In the way towards which, there passed some words betwixt him and *Gates*, each laying the blame of the late action on the others;

other; but afterwards mutually forgiving, and being forgiven, they dyed in good charity with one another. Turning himself unto the people, he made a long Oration to them, touching the quality of his offence, and his fore-passed life, and then admonished the spectators, *To stand to the Religion of their Ancestors, rejecting that of later date, which had occasioned all the misery of the foregoing thirty years; and that for prevention for the future, if they desired to present their souls unspotted in the sight of God, and were truly affected to their Country, they should expel those trumpets of Sedition, the Preachers of the Reformed Religion; that for himself, whatever had otherwise been pretended, he professed no other Religion than that of his Fathers, for testimony whereof, he appealed to his good friend and ghostly father, the Lord Bishop of* Worcester; *and finally, that being blinded with ambition, he had been contented to make rack of his conscience, by temporising, for which he professed himself sincerely repentant, and so acknowledged the justice of his death.* A declaration very unseasonable, whether true or false; as that which render'd him less pityed by the one side, and more scorned by the other. With him dyed also *Gates* and *Palmer*, the rest of the condemned prisoners being first reprieved, and afterwards absolutely pardoned. *An. Reg. Mar.* 1. 1553.

Such was the end of this great person, the first Earl of *Warwick*, and the last Duke of *Northumberland*, of this Name and Family. By birth he was the eldest son of Sir *Edmond Sutton, alias Dudley*, who together with Sir *Richard Empson*, were the chief instruments and promoters under *Henry* the 7th for putting the penal laws in execution, to the great grievance and oppression of all sorts of subjects. For which, and other offences of a higher nature, they were both sacrificed to the fury of the common people, by King *Henry* the 8th which possible might make him carry a vindicative mind towards that King's Children, and prompt him to the dis-inheriting of all his Progeny. First trained up (as his Father had also been before him) in the study of the Common Laws, which made him cunning enough to pick holes in any mans estate, and to find ways by which to bring their lives in danger. But finding that the long sword was of more estimation than the long Robe, in the time of that King, he put himself forwards on all actions, wherein honour was to be acquired. In which he gave such testimony of his judgment and valour, that he gained much on the affections of his Prince. By whom he was created Viscount *Lisle*, on the 15th of *March, An.* 1541. installed Knight of the Garter, 1543. and made Lord Admiral of *England*. Imployed in many actions against the *Scots*, he came off always with success and victory; and having said this, we have said all, that was accounted good or commendable in the whole course of his life. Being advanced unto the Title of Earl of *Warwick*, by King *Edward* the 6th, he thought himself in a capacity of making *Queens*, as well as *Richard Nevil* (one of his Predecessors in that Title) had been of setting up and deposing Kings; and they both perished under the ambition of those proud attempts. Punished as *Nevil* also was, in having no issue male remaining to preserve his name. For though he had six sons, all of them living to be men, and all of them to be marryed men, yet they went all childless to the grave, I mean as to the having of lawful issue, as if the curse of *Jeconiah* had been laid upon them. With him dyed also the proud Title of Duke of *Northumberland*, never aspired to by the *Percies*; though men of eminent Nobility, and ever since the time of King *Henry* the first, of the Race of Emperors: Which Family, as well in reference to the merit of their Noble Ancestors, as the intercession of some powerful friends, were afterwards restored to all the Titles and Honours, which belonged to that House, in the persons of *Thomas* and *Henry*, Grand children to *Henry* the 5th Earl thereof, *An.* 1557.

The matters being thus laid together, we must next look back upon the *Queen*. Who seeing all obstacles removed betwixt her and the Crown, dissolved her Camp at *Framingham*, consisting of fourteen thousand men; and prepared for her journey towards *London*. Met on the way by the Princess *Elizabeth* her sister, attended with no fewer than 1000 horse, She made her

entrance

An. Reg. Mar. 1. 1553.

entrance into *London*, on the third of *August*, no less magnificent for the Pomp and bravery of it, than that of any of her predecessors. Taking possession of the Tower, she was first welcomed thither, by *Thomas*, the old Duke of *Norfolk*, *Ann* Dutchess of *Sommerset*, *Edward* Lord *Courtney*, eldest son to the late Marquess of *Exceter*, and Dr. *Stephen Gardiner*, Bishop of *Wincheſter*; all which she lifted from the ground, called them her prisoners, graciously kissed them, and restored them shortly after to their former liberty. Taking the Great Seal from Dr. *Goodrick*, Bishop of *Ely*, within two days after, she gave it for the present, to the custody of Sir *Nicholas Hare*, whom she made Master of the Rolls, and afterwards committed it, on the 23d of the same month, together with the Title of Lord Chancellor, on the said Dr. *Gardiner*, then actually restored to the See of *Wincheſter*. Having performed the obsequies of her brother, on the 9th and 10th she removes her Court unto *Whitehal*, and there continues, till it was within two or three dayes of her Coronation. Which time now drawing near at hand, she passed by water to the Tower, on the 27th of *September*, accompanyed by her Sister, the Princess *Elizabeth*, and a great train of Noble Ladies; made her return through the principal streets of the City, on the last of the same month, in most stately manner; and the next day proceeded with the like magnificence, to the Abby Church; where she was met by three silver Crosses, and eighty singing men, all in rich and gorgeous Coaps, (so sudden a recruit was made of these sacred Vestments;) amongst whom went the new Dean of *Westminster*, Dr. *Weston*, and divers Chaplains of her own, each of them bearing in their hands some Ensign or other. After them marched ten Bishops (which were as many as remained of her perswasion) with their Miters, rich Coaps, and Crosier staves. The Sermon was preached by Dr. *Day*, whom she had restored to the See of *Chicheſter*, and the solemnity of the Coronation, celebrated by the new Lord Chancellor: *Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being then committed, and otherwise conceived unworthy of so great an honour. Till this time, none more dear to her then her Sister *Elizabeth*, whom she always took with her by the hand, whersoever she went, and seldom dined or supped without her. But this solemnity being passed over (as if she were now freed from all the fears of a competition) she estranged her self from her in such a manner, as shewed that she had formerly desired her company for some by-respects, and not out of natural affection. More grateful unto other persons, who deserved well of her; she preferred *Henry Ratcliff*, Earl of *Sussex* (Commander General of her Army) to the Society of the Garter, which Honour she conferred on his son *Thomas* after his decease, and to be covered in her Presence, at all times and places, tending to the custom of the Grandees in the Realm of *Spain*. Which priviledge not being very frequent in the Politie of the Realm of *England*, I find to be recorded in these following words, *viz.*

Mary *by the Grace of God, Queen of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith; and of the Church of* England *and* Ireland, *in earth the* Supream Head; *To all, to whom this present writing shall come, sendeth Greeting in our Lord everlasting. Know ye, that We do give and pardon to Our well-beloved and trusty Cousen, and one of Our Privy-Council,* Henry *Earl of* Sussex, *and Viscount* Fitzwater, *Lord* Egremond *and* Burnel, *Liberty, Licence and Pardon, to wear his Cap, Coyfe, or Night-cap, or two of them at his pleasure, as well in Our presence, as in the presence of any other person, or persons within this Our Realm, or any other place of Our Dominions whatsoever, during his life; and these Our Letters shall be his sufficient Warrant in this behalf. Given under Our Sign Manual, at Our Palace of* Westminster, 2. Octob. 1. Regni.

With the like Royal gratitude, she advanced the Earl of *Arundel*, who had deserved as well of her in the Council, as the Earl of *Sussex* in the Camp, to the Place or Office of Lord *Steward*; investing him with all those powers and priviledges,

vileges, which had been formerly exercised by the *Lord Great Master*, whom he succeeded in Authority, though not in Title. Sir *Edward Hastings*, who came over to her with 4000 men, she first made Master of the Horse, and Knight of the Garter, and afterwards Lord Chamberlain of the Houshold, and Lord *Hastings* of *Loughborough*. Sir *John Williams*, who had done her very good service in *Buckingham* and *Oxford* shires, she honoured with the Title of Lord *Williams* of *Thame*, of which more hereafter. Sir *Henry Jernigham*, who first appeared in *Norfolk* for her, she preferred to be Captain of her Guard, assoon as she came unto the Crown; and toward the latter end of her Reign, Sir *Thomas Thresham* was created Lord Prior of the Order of St. *Johns* of *Jerusalem*, and consequently according to the old pretension, the first Baron of *England*. And as for her domestick servants who had *suffered with Her*, she thought it no unfit decorum, that they should in part *Reign with Her* also. To which end she preferred *Hopton* her old Chaplain, to the See of *Norwich*, *Rochester* to be Comptroller of her Houshold, *Ingleseild*, to be Master of the Wards, and *Walgrave* to be Master of the Wardrobe, which is sufficient to declare, that she was willing to comply with all obligations, and not to be too long in debt to her greatest subjects, but much less to her menial servants. But in regard that all these were considered for their personal merits, not in reference only to their zeal for the Catholick Cause, she was to shew some act of favour unto those of that party, which might create a confidence in them of her good affections. To which end she made choice of Sir *John Gage* (a man most zealously addicted to the Church of *Rome*) to be Lord Chamberlain of her Houshold, when she came first to the Tower, to the great satisfaction of all those of that Religion. And that she might in some measure also oblige the rest of her subjects, and make the entrance of her Reign the more pleasing to them, her Coronation was accompanied with a general pardon, at the least in shew. Out of which all prisoners in the Tower, such as remained in the *Fleet*, together with sixty others, being excepted, and the restrictions and proviso's (with which it was in all parts clogged) being well observed, there were not many, especially of those whom it most concerned, that could create unto themselves any benefit by it. *An. Reg. Mar. 1. 1553.*

Thus was the Civil State established on a right foundation, and the succession setled most agreeably to the Laws of Nature, according to the last Will and Testament of King *Henry* the 8th, and the Laws made in that behalf. But we shall see the pillars of the Church removed, the very foundation of it shaken, and the whole fabrick of Religion so demolished, that scarce one stone thereof did seem to stand upon the other; without regard unto the Laws, and contrary to the will and purpose of King *Edward* the 6th. At the Queens first entrance into *London*, on the third of *August*, she discharged *Gardiner* of the Tower, as she did *Bonner* of the *Marshalsey*, and Bishop *Tunstal* from the Kings Bench within two days after. To make way to whose restitution to their former Sees, Bishop *Ridley* is removed from *London*, Bishop *Poinet* from *Winchester*, and an Act of Parliament procured for the restoring of the Church of *Durham*, to all its Lands, Preheminences, and Jurisdictions, of which it stood divested by the late Act of Dissolution, made in the last year of the King deceased. By the like power was *Coverdale* displaced from the See of *Exon*, *Scory* from that of *Chichester*, and *Hooper* dispossessed of that Jurisdiction, which he held as the Commendatory of the See of *Worcester*; to which See, *Veysie*, *Day*, and *Heath*, were again restored. The like course also followed, for the depriving of all *Deans*, *Dignitaries*, and Parochial Ministers, who had succeeded into any of those Preferments, during the Reign of the two last Kings, the old incumbents whereof were then found living, and able to supply their places. Which though it could not be objected against Dr. *Cox*, either in reference to his Deanry of *Christ-Church*, or that of *Westminster*, (both which he held at the same time) yet being brought unto the Marshalsey, on the 5th of *August*, he was unjustly spoiled of both, to make room for Dr. *Richard Marshal*

An. Reg. Mar. 1. 1553.

Marshal in the one, and Dr. *Hugh Weston* in the other. And all this done without so much as any shew of legal process, or the conventing of the persons whom it did concern, or any satisfaction given unto the Laws, (which in some cases favour possession more than right) so strangely violated.

But greater was the havock which was made amongst them, when there was any colour or pretence of Law; as in the case of having wives, or not conforming to the Queens pleasure in all points of Religion; considering how forward and pragmatical too many were, to run before the Laws in the like particular. The Queen was zealous in her way, and by her interest, strongly byassed to the Church of *Rome*. But it concerned her to be wary, and not to press too much at once upon the people, which generally were well affected to the Reformation. Of this she had a stout experiment, within very few days after her first entrance into *London*. For so it hapned, that Dr. *Bourn*, Arch-Deacon of *London*, and one of the Prebends of St. *Paul's*, preaching a Sermon at the Cross, on the 13th of *August*, inveighed in favour of Bishop *Bonner*, who was present at it, against some proceedings in the time of the late King *Edward*. Which so incensed the people, that suddenly a great tumult arose upon it; some pelting him with stones, others crying out aloud, pull him down, pull him down, and one (who never could be known) flinging a dagger at his head, which after was found sticking in a post of the Pulpit. And greater had the mischief been upon this occasion, if Mr. *Bradford*, and Mr. *Rogers*, two eminent Preachers in the time of King *Edward*, and of great credit and esteem with the common people, had not endeavoured to appease the enraged multitude, and with great difficulty secured the Preacher in the School adjoyning. By reason of which tumult, an Order was taken by the Lords of the Council, with the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, that they calling the next day following a Common Council of the City, should thereby charge every housholder, to cause their Children and Apprentices, to keep their own Parish Churches, upon the Holy days, and not to suffer them to attempt any thing to the violating of the common peace. Willing them also to signifie to the said Assembly, the Queens determination uttered to them by her Highness, the 12th of *August*, in the Tower. Which was, That albeit her Grace's conscience was staid in matters of Religion; yet she graciously meant not to compel or strain other mens, otherwise than God should (as she trusted) put into their hearts a perswasion of that truth which she was in, through the opening of his word unto them, by godly, vertuous, and learned Preachers; that is to say, such Preachers only, as were to be hereafter licensed by the *Queen's* authority.

But yet for fear that these instructions might not edifie with the common people, Order was taken for preventing the like tumult on the Sunday following. At what time the Sermon was preached by Dr. *Watson* (who afterwards was Bishop of *Lincoln*, but Chaplain only at that time to the Bishop of *Winchester*.) For whose security, not only many of the Lords of the Council, that is to say, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Pembrook*, the Lords, *Wentworth* and *Rich*, were severally desired to be there present; but *Gerningham*, Captain of the Guard, was appointed with two hundred of his stoutest Yeomen, to stand round about him with their Halberts. The Mayor had also taken Order, that all the Companies in their Liveries should be present at it, which was well taken by the *Queen*. And because the comming of the Guard on the one side affrighted some, and the Order of the Lords above mentioned had restrained others from comming to those publick Sermons; it was commanded by the Lord Mayor, that the Ancients of all Companies should give attendance at those Sermons for the time to come, lest otherwise the Preachers might be discouraged at the sight of so thin an Auditory. The safety of those publick Preachers being thus provided for by the Lords of the Council, their next care was, that nothing should be preached in private Churches, contrary to the Doctrine which was,

and

and ſhould be taught at the Croſs by them which were appointed to it. Whereupon it was further Ordered, that every Alderman in his Ward, ſhould forthwith ſend for the Curates of every Church within their Liberties, and warn them not only to forbear preaching themſelves; but alſo not to ſuffer any other to preach, or make any open or ſolemn reading of Scripture in their Churches, unleſs the ſaid Preachers were ſeverally licenſed by the Queen. To which purpoſe Letters were directed alſo to the Biſhop of *Norwich*, and poſſibly to all other Biſhops in their ſeveral Dioceſſes. But nothing more diſcovers the true ſtate and temper of the preſent time, than a Proclamation publiſhed by the *Queen*, on the 18th. of *Auguſt*. The Tenor of which is as followeth. *An. Reg. Mar.* 1. 1553.

The Queen's Highneſs will remembring what great inconvenience and dangers, have grown to this her Realm in times paſt, through the diverſities of opinions in Queſtions of Religion; and hearing alſo that now of late, ſithence the beginning of her moſt gracious Reign, the ſame contentions be again much revived, through certain falſe and untrue reports, and rumours ſpread by ſome evil-diſpoſed perſons, hath thought good to give to underſtand to all Her Highneſſe's moſt loving ſubjects, her moſt gracious pleaſure in manner following.

Firſt, Her Majeſty being preſently by the only goodneſs of God, ſetled in her juſt poſſeſſion of the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and other Dominions thereunto belonging, cannot now hide that Religion, which God and the world knoweth ſhe hath ever profeſſed from her infancy hitherto. Which as her Majeſty is minded to obſerve and maintain for her ſelf by God's grace, during her time; ſo doth her Highneſs much deſire, and would be glad the ſame were of all her ſubjects quietly and charitably entertain'd.

And yet ſhe doth ſignifie unto all her Majeſtie's loving ſubjects, that of Her moſt gracious diſpoſition and clemency, Her Highneſs mindeth not to compel any Her ſaid ſubjects thereunto, until ſuch time as further Order by common aſſent may be taken therein: Forbidding nevertheleſs all her ſubjects, of all degrees, at their perils, to move ſeditions, or ſtir unquietneſs in her people, by interpreting the Laws of this Realm, after their brains and fantaſies, but quietly to continue for the time, till (as before is ſaid) further Order may be taken, and therefore willeth, and ſtreightly chargeth and commandeth, all her good loving ſubjects, to live together in quiet ſorts, and Chriſtian Charity, leaving thoſe new found deviliſh terms, of Papiſt and Heretick, and ſuch like; and applying their whole care, ſtudy and travail, to live in the fear of God, exerciſing their converſations in ſuch charitable and Godly doing, as their lives may indeed expreſs the great hunger and thirſt of God's glory, which by raſh talk and words, many have pretended: And in ſo doing, they ſhall beſt pleaſe God, and live without danger of the Laws, and maintain the tranquility of the Realm. Whereof as her highneſs ſhall be moſt glad, ſo if any man ſhall raſhly preſume to make any aſſemblies of people, or at any publick aſſemblies, or otherwiſe, ſhall go about to ſtir the people to diſorder or diſquiet, ſhe mindeth according to her duty to ſee the ſame moſt ſeverely reformed and puniſhed, according to her Highneſſe's Laws.

And furthermore, foraſmuch as it is well known, that ſedition and falſe rumours have been nouriſhed and maintained in this Realm, by the ſubtilty and malice of ſome evil-diſpoſed perſons, which take upon them without ſufficient authority, to preach and to interpret the word of God, after their own brains, in Churches, and other places, both publick and private, and alſo by playing of Interludes, and Printing of falſe fond Books, and Ballads, Rimes, and other lewd Treatiſes in the Engliſh *Tongue, containing Doctrine in matters now in queſtion, and controverſies touching the high points and myſteries in Chriſtian Religion; which Books, Ballads, Rimes, and Treatiſes, are chiefly by the Printers and Stationers, ſet out to ſale to her Graces ſubjects, of an evil zeal for lucre and covetouſneſs of vile gain: Her Highneſs therefore ſtreightly chargeth and commandeth all and every of her ſaid ſubjects, of whatſoever ſtate, condition, or degree they be, that none of them preſume from hence-*

An. Reg. Mar. 1. 1553.

forth, to preach, or by way of reading in Churches, or other publick or private places, except in Schools of the University, to interpret or teach any Scriptures, or any manner of points of Doctrine concerning Religion. Neither also to Print any Book, Matter, Ballad, Rime, Enterlude, Process or Treatise, nor to play any Enterlude, except they have her Graces special License in writing for the same, upon pain to incur her Highness indignation and displeasure.

It cannot be denyed, but that this Proclamation was very cautiously and cunningly penned; giving encouragement enough to those which had a mind to out-run the Law, or otherwise to conform themselves to the *Queen*'s Religion, to follow their own course therein, without dread or danger; and yet commanding nothing contrary to the Laws established, which might give trouble or offence to the other party. For hereupon many of the people shewed themselves so ready for receiving their old Religion, that in many places of the Realm, before any Law was made for the same, they erected again their Altars, and used the Mass, and Latin Service, in such sort as was wont to be in King *Henry's* time. Which was so well taken by the *Queen*, that all such as stood upon the Laws which were made to the contrary before, had a mark of displeasure set upon them. Which being observed by some of the Clergy, they were as forward as the rest, in setting up the Pageants of St. *Catherine*, and St. *Nicholas*, formerly erected in the Chancels, and to set forth their Processions, (which they celebrated in the Latin tongue) with their old solemnities, contrary to the Laws and Ordinances of King *Edward's* time. All which irregular activities in the Priest and People, were sheltred under the name of setting forward the *Queens proceedings*. And by that name the official of the Arch-Deacon of *Ely*, gave it in charge amongst the Articles of his visitation, that the Church Wardens should present all such as did disturb the *Queen's proceedings*, in letting the Latin Service, setting up of Altars, saying of Mass, &c. But more particularly at *Cambridge*, the Vicechancellor, challenged one *Pierson*, on the 3d of *October*, for officiating the communion in his own Parish Church, in the English tongue; and on the 26 displaced Dr. *Madew*, Master of *Clare Hall*, for being marryed, though they had both as much authority on their side as the Laws could give them. In like manner some of the Popish party in *King's Colledge* (not tarrying the making of any Law) on the 28th of the same, officiated the Divine Service in the Latin tongue; and on the 6th of *November* then next following, a Sermon is preached openly at St. *Michaels*, contrary to the Laws in that behalf, not as then repealed. Not altogether so eager on the scent at *Oxon*, as they were at *Cambridge*, though with more difficulty brought at first to the Reformation. Only it pleased Dr. *Tresham*, one of the Canons of *Christ Church*, of the last foundation, to cause the great bell there to be new cast, and christned by the *name* of *Mary*; much comforting himself with the melodious sound thereof, when it toll'd to Mass; which *Marshal* the new Dean, by his help and counsel, had again restored.

But these were only the Essays of those alterations, which generally were intended in all parts of the Church, assoon as the times were ripe for them, and the people fitted to receive them; in order whereunto, it was not thought sufficient to displace the Bishops, and silence the Old Protestant Preachers also, unless they brought them under some exemplary punishment, that others might be terrified from the outward profession of that truth, out of which they could not be disputed. Of *Ridley's* being brought prisoner to the Tower, and of *Coxe's* committing to the *Marshalsey*, we have spoke before. On the 22 d. of *August* Letters are sent from the Lords of the Council, commanding Bishop *Coverdale*, and Bishop *Hooper*, to appear before them. By whom (after two or three appearances) committed to their several Prisons; the one reserved for the stake, the other sent upon request to the King of *Denmark*. On the 5th of *September*, the like Letters are dispatched to old Bishop *Latimer*, committed close prisoner to the Tower, on the 8th day after followed the next morning

by

by Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, whoſe Story doth require a more particular account, of which more anon. *Harley* of *Hereford* (to which he had been conſecrated in *May* foregoing) and *Taylor* of *Lincoln*, another of the laſt of King *Edward's* Biſhops, were preſent at the opening of the Parliament on the 10th of *October*. But no ſooner was the Maſs began (though not then reſtored by any Law) than they left the Church. For which the Biſhop of *Lincoln* being firſt examined, and making profeſſion of his Faith, prevented the malice of his enemies by a timely death. And *Harley* upon information of his marriage, was preſently excluded from the Parliament Houſe, and not long after from his Biſhoprick alſo. Which being obſerved by Biſhop *Barlow* of *Wells*, and *Scory* of *Chicheſter*, they withdrew themſelves beyond the Seas; followed not long after by Biſhop *Poinct* of *Wincheſter*. But *Barlow* made not ſo much haſte, as not to be committed to the *Fleet*, by the Lords of the Council, from whence upon ſome ſatisfaction given to the Lord Chancellor *Gardiner*, by his diſcreet and moderate Anſwers, he was not long after ſet at liberty, and ſo croſſed the ſeas; reſolved to truſt himſelf no more to a ſecond hazard, having with ſo much difficulty eſcaped the firſt. How it ſucceeded with the reſt, we ſhall ſee hereafter. Upon which ſmiting of the Shepherds, it is not to be wondred at; if their flocks were ſcattered. *An. Reg. Mar.* 1. 1553.

Now as concerning the Archbiſhop, the ſubſtance of his ſtory is briefly this, He had been a chief inſtrument in King *Henry's* time, of ſetting forward the divorce; and in King *Edward's*, of advancing the Reformation. The *Queen* conceived hereupon ſuch a high diſpleaſure (it had been malice in another) againſt the man, that nothing but his death could appeaſe the ſame. His death is therefore fully reſolved upon, by *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, and the reſt of the Popiſh Prelates. Of which the firſt had proſecuted the Divorce as far as any; and the ſecond was as forward as the beſt in the Reformation, as long as *Cromwel* lived to prefer and countenance him. But their ſtandings out, and ſufferings for it in King *Edward's* time, were thought ſufficient expiations for their former errors, when the good Offices which *Cranmer* had done for her in her Fathers time, were worn out of memory. Die then he muſt; but by what law he was to die, proved a knot more difficult, than could be ſpeedily untied. It was adviſed to charge him with High Treaſon, as being privy to the plot of the Duke of *Northumberland*, for excluding the *Queen* from the ſucceſſion. But againſt this it was objected, that he was the laſt of the Council who ſubſcribed unto it; and that the Council would be wary of making that a Capital offence in him of which they were all equally guilty. In the next place it was propounded, to proceed againſt him in caſe of Hereſie, that being the moſt likely way to content the Pope, whoſe favour was to be procured by all means immaginable. But the worſt was, that the Statutes made in the time of King *Richard* 2d, and King *Henry* 4th for putting Hereticks to death, had been abrogated in the time of King *Henry* 8th as that of the ſix Articles, more terrible than either of the other two had been, repealed by the late King *Edward* the 6th. No better courſe therefore, than to find ſome occaſion for laying him up in ſome ſafe priſon; and when they had him there, to proceed againſt him as time and opportunity ſhould adminiſter ſome fit matter for it.

About this time a bruit was raiſed, that *Cranmer* to ingratiate himſelf with the *Queen*, had promiſed to celebrate the Exequies of the deceaſed King, according to the *Romiſh* manner. To clear himſelf of which reproach he drew up a Manifeſt, declaring in the ſame, that he was ready to maintain the Articles of Religion, ſet forth by his procurement in the time of King *Edward*, to be conſonant to the word of God, the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, and the practice of the beſt and pureſt times. Theſe papers lying in the window in his private chamber, were ſeen and liked by Biſhop *Scory*, by whom they were tranſcribed and communicated to many others. Coming at laſt unto the knowledge of the Council, the Archbiſhop is commanded to appear before them. Interrogated about the papers, and prompted by Biſhop *Heath*, who was then

An. Reg. Mar. 1. 1553.

amongſt them, to let them know whether he were not ſorry for it. To which the Archbiſhop made reply, that as he did not deny himſelf to be the Author of thoſe papers, ſo he muſt needs confeſs himſelf to be ſorry that they went from him in ſuch ſort as they did. For I had purpoſed, ſaith he, to ſet out the *Manifeſt* in a more large and ample manner; and to have it ſet upon St. *Paul's* door, and the doors of all the Churches in *London*, with my own Seal affixed unto it. Upon which ſtout and honeſt anſwer, they thought fit to diſmiſs him for the preſent: it being conceived by ſome of the more moderate ſpirits, that it would be puniſhment enough to deprive him only of his Biſhoprick, and to aſſign him a ſufficient maintenance upon the exhibiting of a true Inventory of his whole eſtate, with a commandment to keep his houſe without medling in matters of Religion. But thoſe who better underſtood the mind of the *Queen*, ſo ordered it, that on the 14th of *September*, he was ſent to the Tower, where he remained priſoner till the 3d of *November*. At what time he was arraigned in the Guild Hall of *London*, together with the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, the late Queen *Jane* his wife, and others; all of them being attainted and condemned of Treaſon, as before was ſaid. And he lay under this attainture till the year next following, when the old Statutes for putting Hereticks to death, were revived in Parliament. Which having furniſhed his adverſaries with a better ground to proceed upon, to the contentment of the Pope and the *Queen* together, they waved the proſecuting of that Attaindure, to an Execution, and wholly fixed themſelves on the point of Hereſie. At the hearing whereof, he was right well pleaſed, becauſe the caſe was not now his own, but Chriſt's; not the *Queen's*, but the Churches.

The ſeverity of this beginning againſt the Natives, gave a ſufficient warning to all ſuch ſtrangers, who had took ſanctuary here in the time of King *Edw.* to provide betimes for their departure. Amongſt whom, none more openly aimed at than *Peter Martyr*, becauſe none of them had given wider wounds than he to the Catholick Cauſe. *Treſham*, a *ſenior* Canon of *Chriſt-Church*, had held ſome points againſt him at his firſt coming thither; and now he took the benefit of the times, in cauſing both that houſe, and many others in the Univerſity, to put ſome publick ſcorn upon him. Not finding any ſafety there, he retires to *Lambeth*, where he was ſure of as much ſafety as that place could give him. A conſultation had been held by ſome of the more fiery ſpirits, for his commitment unto priſon. But he came hither (as it was well known) on the publick Faith, which was not to be violated for the ſatisfaction of ſome private perſons. It was thought fit therefore to diſcharge him of all further imployment, and to licenſe him to depart in peace, none being more forward to furniſh him with all things neceſſary for his going hence, than the new Lord Chancellor; whether in honour to his Learning, or out of a deſire to ſend him packing, ſhall not now be queſtioned. But leſs humanity was ſhewed unto him in his Wife, whoſe body having been buryed in the Church of St. *Frideſwide*, was afterwards by publick order taken out of the grave, and buryed in a common dunghil. About the ſame time alſo ſuch ſtrangers as were gathered together into the Church of *John Alaſco*, not only were neceſſitated to forbear their meetings, but to diſſolve their Congregation, and to quit the Countrey. Such a diſpleaſure was conceived againſt them, by thoſe which governed the affairs, that it was no ſmall difficulty for them to get leave for their departure; and glad they were to take the opportunity of two *Daniſh ſhips*, and to put themſelves to ſea in the beginning of winter, fearing more ſtorms in *England*, than upon the Ocean. And ſo farewel to *John Alaſco*. It was an ill wind which brought him hither, and worſe he could not have for his going back. The like haſte made the *French Proteſtants* alſo. And that they might have no pretence for a long ſtay, command was ſent unto the Mayor of *Rie* and *Dover*, on the 16th of *September*, to ſuffer all *French Proteſtants* to croſs the ſeas, except ſuch only, whoſe names ſhould be ſignified unto them by the *French* Ambaſſadors. But notwithſtanding theſe removes, many, both *Dutch* and *French*, remained

remained ſtill in the Kingdom, ſome of which being after found in *Wiat's* Army, occaſioned the baniſhing of all the reſt, except Denizens and Merchants only, by a publik Edict. At which time many of the *Engliſh* departed alſo, as well Students as others, to the number of 300 or thereabouts; hoping to find that freedom and protection in a forein Country, which was denyed them in their own. The principal of thoſe which put themſelves into this voluntary exile, were, *Katherine*, the laſt wife of *Charls Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, *Robert Bertye*, Eſquire, husband to the Dutcheſs; the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Wells*, Sir *Richard Morriſon*, Sir *Anthony Cook*, and Sir *John Cheek*, Dr. *Cox*, Dr. *Sandys*, and Dr. *Grindall*, and divers others, of whom we ſhall hear more hereafter on another occaſion. *An. Reg. Mar. 1. 1553.*

Of all theſe things, they neither were, nor could be ignorant in the Court of *Rome*, to which the death of K. *Edward* had been ſwiftly poſted on the wings of fame. The news of the ſucceſſion of Queen *Mary*, ſtaid not long behind, ſo much more welcome to Pope *Julius* 3d. who then held that See, becauſe it gave him ſome aſſurance of his re-admiſſion into the power and juriſdiction of his predeceſſors in the Realm of *England*. For what leſs was to be expected, conſidering that ſhe was brought up in the Catholick Religion, intereſſed in the reſpects of her mother, and Couſen in the firſt degree unto *Charls* the Emperour? In the purſuance of which hopes, it was reſolved that Cardinal *Poole* ſhould be ſent Legate into *England*. Who being of the Royal bloud, a man of eminent learning, and exemplary life, was looked on as the fitteſt inſtrument to reduce that Kingdom. The Cardinal well knowing that he ſtood attainted by the Laws of the Land, and that the name of *Henry* was ſtill preſerved in eſtimation amongſt the people; thought it not ſafe to venture thither, before he fully underſtood the ſtate of things. He therefore ſecretly diſpatcheth *Commendonius*, a right truſty Miniſter, by whom he writes a private Letter to the *Queen*. In which commending firſt her perſeverance in Religion in the time of her troubles, he exhorteth her to a continuance in it in the days of her happineſs. He recommended alſo to her, the ſalvation of the ſouls of her people, and the reſtitution of the true worſhip of God. *Commendonius*, having diligently inform'd himſelf of all particulars, found means of ſpeaking with the *Queen*. By whom he underſtood not only her own good affections to the See Apoſtolick; but that ſhe was reſolved to uſe her beſt endeavours for re-eſtabliſhing the Religion of the Church of *Rome* in all her Kingdoms. Which being made known unto the Cardinal, he puts himſelf into the voyage. The news whereof being brought to *Charls* (who had his own deſign apart from that of the Pope) he ſignified by *Dandino*, the Pope's *Nuncio* with him; that an Apoſtolick Legate could not be ſent into *England* as affairs then ſtood, either with ſafety to himſelf, or honour to the Church of *Rome*; and therefore that he might do well to defer the journey, till the Engliſh might be brought to a better temper.

But the *Queen* knowing nothing of this ſtop, and being full of expectation of the Cardinals coming, had called a Parliament to begin on the 10th of *October*. In which ſhe made it her firſt Act, to take away all Statutes paſſed by the two laſt Kings, wherein certain offences had been made High Treaſon, and others brought within the compaſs of a *Premunire*. And this ſhe did, eſpecially for *Poole's* ſecurity, that neither he by exerciſing his Authority, nor the Clergy, by ſubmitting to it, might be intangled in the like ſnares, in which Cardinal *Wolſie*, and the whole Clergy of his time had before been caught. It was deſigned alſo to reſcind all former Statutes which had been made by the ſaid two Kings againſt the juriſdiction of the Pope, the Doctrine and Religion of the Church of *Rome*, and to reduce all matters Eccleſiaſtical to the ſame eſtate, in which they ſtood in the beginning of the Reign of the King her Father. But this was looked upon by others as too great an enterpriſe to be attempted by a woman, eſpecially in a green eſtate, and amongſt people ſenſible of thoſe many benefits, which they enjoyed by ſhaking off their former vaſſalage to a forein power.

An. Reg. *Mar.* 1. 1553.

power. It was advised therefore to proceed no further at the present, than to repeal all Acts and Statutes which had been made in derogation to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* in the time of her brother; which being passed in his minority, when all affairs were carryed by faction and strong hand, contrary to the judgment of the best and soundest part of the Clergy and Laity, might give a just pretence for their abrogation, till all particulars might be considered and debated in a lawful Synod. According to which temperament, the point was carryed, and the Act pass'd no higher than for *Repealing certain Statutes of the time of King* Edward 5 by which one blow she felled down all which had been done in the Reformation in seven years before.

For by this Act, they took away all former Statutes for Administring the Communion in both kinds; for establishing the first and second Liturgy; for confirming the new *Ordinal*, or form of consecrating Archbishops and Bishops, *&c.* for abrogating certain Fasts and Feastivals which had been formerly observed; for authorizing the marriage of Priests, and Legitimation of their children; not to say any thing of that Statute (as not worth the naming) for making Bishops by the King's Letters Patents, and exercising their Episcopal jurisdiction in the King's name only. So that upon the matter, not only all things were reduced to the same estate in which they stood at *Edward's* coming to the Crown, but all those Bishops and Priests which had married by authority of the former Statutes, were made uncanonical, and consequently obnoxious to a deprivation. So that for want of Canonical Ordination on the one side, and under colour of uncanonical Marriages on the other, we shall presently find such a general remove amongst the Bishops and Clergy, as is not any where to be parallel'd in so short a time. And because some affronts had been lately offered to such Priests as had been forward in setting up the Mass in their several Churches, and that no small danger was incurred by Dr. *Bourn* above mentioned, for a Sermon preached at St. *Paul's* Cross; an Act was passed for the preventing of the like for the time to come, Entitled *An Act against offenders of Preachers, and other Ministers, in the Church.* Which two Acts were no sooner passed, but they were seconded by the *Queen* with two Proclamations on the 5th of *December*. By one of which it was declared, That all Statutes made in the time of the late King *Edward*, which concerned Religion, were repealed by Parliament; and therefore that the Mass should be said as formerly, to begin on the 20th of that month: And by the other it was commanded, that no manner of person from thenceforth, should dare to disturb the Priests in saying Mass, or executing any other divine Office, under the pains and penalties therein contained. According unto which appointment, the Mass was publickly officiated in all parts of the Kingdom, and so continued during the Reign of this *Queen*, without interruption.

There also past another Act, wherein it was Enacted, That the marriage between King *Henry* the 8th and Queen *Katherine* his first wife, should be definitively, clearly, and absolutely declared, deemed, adjudged to be, and stand with God's Laws, and his most Holy word, and to be accepted, reputed and taken of good effect and validity to all intents and purposes whatsoever; that the Decree or Sentence of Divorce heretofore passed between the said King *Henry* the 8th and the said *Queen*, by *Thomas Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, should be deemed, taken, and reputed to be void and null; with a repeal of all such Statutes or Acts of Parliament, in which the *Queen* had been declared to be illegitimate. The making of which Act, as it did much conduce to the establishment of the *Queen's* estate; so did it tacitly and implicitly acknowledge the supremacy to be in the Pope of *Rome*, which could not be attained explicitly and in terms expres, as affairs then stood. For since the marriage neither was nor could be reputed valid, but by the dispensation of Pope *Julius* the 2d. the declaration of the goodness and validity of it, did consequently infer the Popes authority, from which that dispensation issued. And therefore it was well observed by the Author of the *History* of the Council of *Trent*, that it seemed

ſeemed ridiculous in the Engliſh Nobility, to oppoſe the reſtitution of the Popes ſupremacy, when it was propounded to them by the Queen in the following Seſſion; conſidering that the yielding *to this demand was virtually contained in their aſſent to the Marriage.* There alſo paſt another Act, in which there was a clauſe for the invalidating of all ſuch Commiſſions, as had been granted in the time of the late Queen *Jane*; and one in confirmation of the attainders of the late Duke of *Northumberland*, *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, &c. Which ſhews, that there was ſomewhat in the ſaid proceedings not ſo clear in Law, but that there ſeem'd a neceſſity of calling in the Legiſlative power to confirm the ſame, for the indempnity of thoſe who had acted in them. Together with this Parliament, the *Queen* was pleaſed to ſummon a Convocation, to the end that all matters of Religion might be firſt debated and concluded in a Synodical way, before they were offered to the conſideration of the other Aſſembly. In the writs of which ſummons, ſhe retained the Title of Supream Head on earth of the Church of *England*, &c. the want whereof in thoſe of the preſent Parliament, occaſioned a diſpute amongſt ſome of the members, Whether they might lawfully proceed or not, in ſuch publick buſineſſes as were to be propounded to them in that Seſſion. Archbiſhop *Cranmer* had been before impriſoned in the Tower of *London*, and was detained there all the time of this Convocation, ſo that he could not do that ſervice to God and the Church, which his place required. This took for a ſufficient ground to transfer the Preſidentſhip of the Convocation upon *Bonner* of *London*, privileged in reſpect of his See, to preſide in all ſuch Provincial Synods, which were either held during the vacancy of the See of *Canterbury*, or in the neceſſary abſence of the *Metropolitan*. The lower houſe of the Clergy alſo, was fitted with a Prolocutor, of the ſame affections, Dr. *Hugh Weſton*, then newly ſubſtituted Dean of *Weſtminſter* in the place of *Cox*, being elected to that Office. On *Wedneſday* the 18th of *October*, it was ſignified by the Prolocutor, that it was the *Queens* pleaſure, that they of the Houſe ſhould debate of matters of Religion, and proceed to the making of ſuch conſtitutions as ſhould be found neceſſary in that caſe. But there was no equality in number between the parties, and reaſon was of no authority where the major part had formerly reſolved upon the points. So partially had the elections been returned from the ſeveral Dioceſſes, that we find none of King *Edward's* Clergy amongſt the Clerks; and ſuch an alteration had been made in the Deans and Dignitaries, that we find but ſix of that ranck neither to have ſuffrage in it, that is to ſay, *James Haddon* Dean of *Exeter*, *Walter Philips* Dean of *Rocheſter*, *John Philpot* Arch Deacon of *Wincheſter*, *John* Elmer Arch Deacon of *Stow*, in the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*, *Richard Cheny* Arch Deacon of *Hereford*. One more I find, but without any name, in the *Acts* and *Mon.* who joyned himſelf to the other five in the diſputation. Nor would the Prolocutor admit of more, though earneſtly deſired by *Philpot*, that ſome of the Divines which had the paſſing of the Book of Articles in King *Edward's* time, might be aſſociated with them in the defence thereof.

An. Reg. Mar. 1. 1553.

Which motion he the rather made, becauſe one of the points propoſed by the Prolocutor, related to a Catechiſm ſet forth in the ſaid Kings time, intituled to the ſaid Convocation in the year 1552. Of which it was to be enquired, whether or no it was the work of that Convocation. But that matter being paſſed lightly over, the main point in debate concerned the manner of "Chriſts preſence in the bleſſed Sacrament. It was not denyed by *Philpot*, and "the reſt of the Proteſtant party, that Chriſt was preſent in his Sacrament, "rightly miniſtred according to his inſtitution, but only that he was not pre"ſent after the groſs and carnal manner, which they of the Popiſh party had "before ſubſcribed to. Six days the diſputation laſted, but to little purpoſe; for on the one ſide it was ſaid by *Weſton* and his aſſociates, that their adverſaries were ſufficiently confuted, and all their Arguments fully anſwered. And on the other ſide it was affirmed by the Divines of King *Edward's* time, that neither

An. Reg. Mar. I. 1553.

neither any ſatisfaction had been given to their Arguments, nor that any right judgment could be made in the points diſputed, where the adverſe party ſate as Judges in their own concernments. Many checks had been given by *Weſton* to the ſix Divines, but eſpecially to the Arch Deacon of *Wincheſter*; and there was much diſorder otherwiſe in the diſputation (though certain great Lords were preſent at it) which hindered it from producing any good effect. So that being weary at the laſt of their own confuſions, it was thought fit to put an end to the diſpute. Which *Weſton* did accordingly in theſe following words. It is not (ſaith he) the Queens pleaſure that we ſhould ſpend any longer time in theſe debates, and ye are well enough already, *For you* (ſaith he) *have the Word, and we have the Sword.* So powerful is the truth, that many times it will find ſome means to vent it ſelf, when we leaſt intend it, and ſometimes alſo when we moſt labour to ſuppreſs it.

The Parliament and Convocation had thus concluded on the point, and little queſtion would be made, but that ſuch Biſhops as diſliked the alterations in the time of King *Edward*, will be ſufficiently active in advancing the reſults of both. But *Bonner* will not ſtay long; he is reſolved to go along with the Parliament, if not before it. For after the ending of the Even ſong on St. *Katherine's* day, before the conſultations of the Parliament had been confirmed by the Royal aſſent, he cauſed the Quire of St. *Paul's* to go about the ſteeple, ſinging with lights after the old cuſtom. And on St. *Andrew's* day next following, he began the Proceſſion in Latin, himſelf, with many Parſons and Curates, and the whole Quire, together with the Lord Mayor, and divers of the Aldermen, the Prebends of the Church attired in their old *gray Amiſes* (as they uſed to call them) in which manner they continued it for three days after. In ſetting up the Maſs, with all the Pomps and Rites thereof at the time appointed, it is not to be thought that he could be backward, who ſhewed himſelf ſo forward in the reſt of his actings. And therefore it can be no news to hear that on the 14th of *January*, he reſtored the ſolemn *Sundays-Proceſſion* about the Church, with the Mayor and Aldermen in their Clokes; the Preacher taking his benediction in the midſt of the Church, according to the ancient cuſtom; or that he ſhould ſend out his Mandates to all Parſons and Curates within his Dioceſs, for taking the names of all ſuch as would not come the Lent following to Auricular confeſſion, and receive at *Eaſter*; or finally, that he ſhould iſſue out the like commands to all Prieſts and Curates, which lived within the compaſs of his juriſdiction, for the aboliſhing of ſuch Paintings and Sentences of holy Scripture, as had been penſiled on the Church walls, in King *Edward's* days. He knew full well, that as the actions of the Mother Church would eaſily become exemplary to the reſt of the City, ſo the proceedings of that City, and the parts about it, would in time give the Law to the reſt of the Kingdom; and that there was no ſpeedier way to advance a general conformity over all the Kingdom, than to take beginning at the head, from whence both ſence and motion is derived to the reſt of the body. Which makes it ſeem the greater wonder, that he ſhould be ſo backward in advancing Images (if at the leaſt his actings in that kind have not been miſplaced) as not to go about it till the year next following; unleſs it were that he began to be ſo wiſe as to ſtay until the Queen's affairs were better ſetled. But no ſooner was her marriage paſt, when we find him at it. For having by that time prepared a fair and large Image of our Saviour, which they called the *Rood*, he cauſed it to be laid along upon the pavement of St. *Paul's* Quire, and all the doors of the Church to be kept cloſe ſhut, whilſt he together with the Prebends, ſung and ſaid divers prayers by it. Which done, they anointed it with oil in divers places, and after the anointing of it, crept unto it, and kiſſed it, and after weighed it up, and ſet it in its accuſtomed place; the whole quire in the mean time ſinging *Te Deum*, and the bels publiſhing their joy at the end of the Pageant. After which a command is given to Dr. *Story* (who was then Chancellor of his Dioceſs, and afterwards a moſt active inſtrument in all

all his butcheries) to visit every Parish Church in *London* and *Middlesex*, to see their *Rood loyts* repaired, and the Image of the Crucifix with *Mary* and *John* to be placed on them. *Am. Reg. Mar.* 1. 1553.

But it is time that we return to the former Parliament; during the sitting whereof, the Queen had been desired to marry, and three husbands had been nominated of several qualities, that she might please her self in the choice of one. That is to say, *Edward* Lord *Courtney*, whom she had lately restored to the Title of Earl of *Devon*. *Reginald Pole*, a Cardinal of the Church of *Rome*, descended from *George* Duke of *Clarence*; and *Philip* the eldest son of *Charles* the Emperour. It is affirmed, that she had carried some good affections to the Earl of *Devonshire*, ever since she first saw him in the Tower, as being of a lovely personage and Royal extraction, the Grandson of a Daughter of King *Edward* the 4th. But he being sounded afar off, had declined the matter. Concerning which there goes a story, that the young Earl petitioning her for leave to travel, she advised him to marry and stay at home, assuring him that no Lady in the Land how high soever, would refuse to accept him for an husband. By which words though she pointed out her self unto him; as plainly as might either stand with the Modesty or Majesty of a Maiden Queen; Yet the young Gentleman not daring to look so high as a Crown, or being better affected to the person of the Princess *Elizabeth*, desired the Queen to give him leave to marry her sister. Which gave the Queen so much displeasure, that she looked with an evil eye upon them both for ever after; upon the Earl for not accepting that love which she seemed to offer, and on her Sister as her Rival in the Earls affections. It was supposed also, that she might have some inclinations to Cardinal *Pole*, as having been brought up with him in the house of his Mother, the late Countess of *Salisbury*. But against him it was objected, that he began to grow in years, and was so given to his Book, that he seemed fitter for a Coul than to wear a Crown; that he had few dependances at home, and fewer alliances abroad; and that the Queen's affairs did require a man both stout and active, well back'd with friends, and able at all points to carry on the great concernments of the Kingdom. And then what fitter husband could be found out for her, than *Philip* Prince of *Spain*? A Prince in the verdure of his years, and eldest son to the most mighty Emperour *Charls* the fifth, by whom the *Netherlands* being laid to *England*, and both secured by the assistance and power of *Spain*, this Nation might be render'd more considerable both by Sea and Land, than any people in the world.

To this last Match, the Queen was carefully sollicited by the Bishop of *Winchester*, who neither loved the person of *Pole*, nor desired his company, for fear of growing less in power and reputation, by coming under the command of a Cardinal Legate. To which end he encouraged *Charles* the Emperour to go on with his marriage for his son; not without some secret intimation of his Advice, for not suffering *Pole* to come into *England* (if he were suffered to come at all) till the Treaty was concluded, and the Match agreed on. According whereunto; the Lord *Lamoralle* Earl of *Edgmond*, *Charls* Earl of *Lalain*, and *John d'Montmorency*, Earl of *Horn*, arrived in *England* as Ambassadors from the Emperour. In the beginning of *January* they began to treat upon the marriage; which they found so well prepared before their coming, that in short time it was recorded upon these conditions. "1. That it "should be lawful for *Philip* to assume the Title of all the Kingdoms and Pro- "vinces belonging to his Wife, and should be joint Governour with her over "those kingdoms; the Privileges and Customs thereof always preserved "inviolate, and the full and free distribution of Bishopricks, Benefices, Fa- "vours and Offices, always remaining intire in the Queen. 2. That the "Queen should also carry the Titles of all those Realms, into which *Philip* "either then was, or should be afterwards invested. 3 That if the *Queen* sur- "vived *Philip*, 60 thousand pounds *per annum* should be assigned to her for her "joynture, as had been formerly assigned to the Lady *Margaret*, Sister to 1554.

An. Reg. Mar. 1. 1554.

"King *Edward* the 4th. and Wife to *Charls* Duke of *Burgundy*. 4. That the Iſ-
"ſue begotten by this mariage, ſhould ſucceed in all the Queens Dominions, as
"alſo in the Dukedom and County of *Burgundy*, and all thoſe Provinces in the
"*Netherlands*, of which the Emperour was poſſeſſed. 5. That if none but
"daughters ſhould proceed from this mariage, the eldeſt ſhould ſucceed in all
"the ſaid Provinces of the *Netherlands*, provided that by the Counſel and con-
"ſent of *Charles* (the ſon of *Philip*, by *Mary* of *Portugal* his firſt Wife) ſhe
"ſhould make choſe of a husband out of *England* or the *Netherlands*, or otherwiſe
"to be deprived of her right in the ſucceſſion in the ſaid eſtates, and *Charles* to
"be inveſted in them; and in that caſe convenient portions to be made for her
"and the reſt of the daughters. 6. And finally, That if the ſaid *Charles* ſhould
"depart this life without lawfull iſſue, that then the Heir ſurviving of this ma-
"riage, though female only, ſhould ſucceed in all the Kingdoms of *Spain*, to-
"gether with all the Dominions and Eſtates of *Italy* thereunto belonging.
"Conditions fair and large enough, and more to the advantage of the Realm
of *England*, than the Crown of *Spain*.

But ſo it was not underſtood by the generality of the people of *England*, many of which out of a reſtleſs diſpoſition, or otherwiſe deſirous to reſtore the Reformed Religion, had cauſed it to be noiſed abroad, that the *Spaniards* were by this accord, to become the abſolute Lords of all the Kingdom; that they were to have the managing of all affairs; and that aboliſhing all the ancient Laws of the Realm, they would impoſe upon the Land a moſt intollerable yoke of ſervitude, as a conquered Nation. Which either being certainly known, or probably ſuſpected by the Queen and the Council, it was thought fit that the Lord Chancellor ſhould make a true and perfect Declaration of all the points of the Agreement, not only in the Preſence Chamber to ſuch Lords and Gentlemen as were at that time about the Court and the City of *London*; but alſo to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and certain of the chief Commoners of that City, purpoſely ſent for to the Court upon that occaſion: Which ſervices he perform'd on the 14th and 15th days of *January*. And having ſummarily reported all the Articles of the Capitulation, he ſhewed unto them how much they were bound to thank God, *That ſuch a Noble, Worthy, and Famous Prince, would vouchſafe ſo to humble himſelf, as in this mariage to take upon him rather as a ſubject than otherwiſe. Conſidering that the Queen and her Council were to Rule and Govern all things as they did before; and that none of the* Spaniards *or other ſtrangers, were to be of the Council, nor to have the cuſtody of any Caſtles, Forts, &c. nor to have any Office in the Queen's houſe, or elſewhere throughout the Kingdom.* In which reſpect it was the Queens requeſt to the Lords and Gentlemen, *That for her ſake, they would moſt lovingly receive the ſaid Prince with joy and honour*; and to the Lord Mayor and the Citizens, *That they would behave themſelves to be good ſubjects with all humility and rejoycing.*

Which declaration notwithſtanding, the ſubjects were not eaſily ſatisfied in thoſe fears and jealouſies, which cunningly had been infuſed into them by ſome popular ſpirits, who greedily affected a change of Government; and to that end ſowed divers other diſcontents amongſt the people. To ſome they ſecretly complained, "That the Queen had broke her promiſe to the *Suffolk*
"men, in ſuppreſſing the Religion ſetled by King *Edward* the 6th, to others,
"That the mariage with the Prince of *Spain*, was but the introduction to a ſe-
"cond vaſſallage to the Popes of *Rome*; ſometimes they pitied the calamity of
"the Lady *Jane*, not only forcibly depoſed, but barbarouſly condemned to a
"cruel death; and ſometimes magnified the eminent vertues of the Princeſs
"*Elizabeth*, as the only bleſſing of the Kingdom; and by thoſe Articles, pre-
pared the people in moſt places for the act of Rebellion. And that it might ſucceed the better, nothing muſt be pretended but the preſervation and defence of their Civil Liberties, which they knew was generally like to take both with Papiſts and Proteſtants; but ſo that they had many Engines to draw ſuch others to the ſide, as either were conſiderable for power or quality. The

Duke

Duke of *Suffolk* was hooked in, upon the promiſe of re-eſtabliſhing his daughter in the Royal Throne; the *Carews* and other Gentlemen of *Devonſhire*, upon aſſurance of marying the Lord *Courtney* to the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, and ſetting the Crown upon their heads; and all they that wiſhed well to the Reformation, upon the like hopes of reſtoring that Religion which had been ſetled by the care and piety of the good King *Edward*, but now ſuppreſſed, contrary to all faith and promiſe, by the Queen and her Miniſters. By means of which ſuggeſtions and ſubtil practices, the Contagion was ſo generally diffuſed over all the Kingdom, that if it had not accidently broke out before the time appointed by them, it was conceived by many wiſe and knowing men, that the danger might have proved far greater, the diſeaſe incurable. *An. Reg. Mar. 1. 1554.*

For ſo it hapned, that the *Carews* conceiving that the deferring of the Execution of the Plot thus laid, might prove deſtructive to that Cauſe, or otherwiſe fatally thruſt on by their own ill Deſtiny, began to leavy men in *Cornwal*, which could not be ſo cloſely carried, but that their purpoſe was diſcovered, and the chief of them forced to flye the Kingdom. The news whereof gave ſuch an allarum to the Confederates, that they ſhewed themſelves in ſeveral places, before the people were prepared and made ready for them. Inſomuch, that the Duke of *Suffolk*, together with the Lord *Thomas Gray*, and the Lord *Leanard Gray*, having made Proclamation in divers places on the 25th, of that Month, againſt the *Queens* intended marriage with the Prince of *Spain*, and finding that the people came not in ſo faſt unto them as they did expect, were forced to diſmiſs their ſlender company, and ſhift for themſelves, upon the firſt news that the Earl of *Huntington* was coming toward them with 300 Horſe. An action very unfortunate to himſelf and to all his Family. For firſt, The *Queen* finding that ſhe was to expect no peace or quiet as long as the Lady *Jane* was ſuffered to remain alive, cauſed her and the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, to be openly executed on the 12th of *February* then next following. His Daughter *Katherine* formerly married to *Henry* Lord *Herbert*, eldeſt ſon to the Earl of *Pembrook*, (but the marriage by reaſon of her tender years, not coming unto a conſummation by carnal knowledge) was by him repudiated and caſt off, and a marriage preſently made betwixt him and another *Katherine*, a Daughter of *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*. His brothers, *John* and *Thomas*, committed priſoners to the Tower; of which two, *Thomas* ſuffered death about two months after. And for himſelf, being compelled to hide his head in the houſe of one *Underwood*, whom he had preferred unto the keeping of one of his Parks, he was by him moſt baſely and treacherouſly betrayed to the ſaid Earl of *Huntington*, on the 11th of *February*. Arraigned on the 17th of the ſame month, and beheaded on the 23d.

Nor fared it better with the reſt, though they of *Kent* conducted by Sir *Thomas Wiat* (the chief Contriver of the Plot) were ſuddenly grown conſiderable for their number, and quickly formidable for their power. The news of whoſe riſing being ſwiftly poſted to the Court, the Duke of *Norfolk* was appointed to go againſt him, attended with few more than the Queen's ordinary Guards, and followed by 500 *Londoners* newly raiſed, and ſent by water to *Graves* End, under the charge of Captain *Alexander Bret*. With which few forces he intended to aſſault the Rebels, who had put themſelves into *Rocheſter* Caſtle, and fortified the Bridge with ſome pieces of Canon. But being ready to fall on, *Bret* with his *Londoners* fell off to *Wiat*, and ſo neceſſitated the old Duke to return to *London* in great haſte, accompanied by the Earl of *Arundel* and Sir *Henry Jerningham*, with ſome few of their Horſe, leaving their foot, eight pieces of Canon, and all their ammunition belonging to them, in the power of the Enemy. This brings the Queen to the Guild Hall in *London*, on the firſt of *February*, where ſhe finds the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and many of the chief Citizens in their ſeveral Liveries. To whom ſhe ſignified, "That ſhe never did intend to marry, but on ſuch conditions, as in the judge-"ment of her Council ſhould be found honourable to the Realm, and profita-"ble

An. Reg. Mar. 1. 1553.

"ble to her ſubjects; that therefore they ſhould give no credit to thoſe many "calumnies, which *Wyat* and his Accomplices, who according to the guiſe of "Rebels had purpoſely diſperſed to defame both her and her government; but "rather that they ſhould contribute their beſt Aſſiſtance for the ſuppreſſing of "thoſe, who contrary to their duty, were in Arms againſt her. And though ſhe had as good as ſhe brought, that is to ſay fair promiſes, for her gracious words; yet underſtanding that many in the City held correſpondence with the Kentiſh Rebels, ſhe appointed the Lord *William Howard* (whom afterward ſhe created Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*) to be Lieutenant of the City, and *Pembrook* General of the Field. The event ſhewed that ſhe followed that counſel which proved beſt for her preſervation. For had ſhe truſted to the City, ſhe had been betrayed.

Incouraged with this ſucceſs, and confident of a ſtrong party amongſt the *Londoners*, on the 3d. day of *February*, he entreth *Southwark*, where he and his were finely feaſted by the people. But when he hoped to have found the way open to the reſt of the City, he found the Draw-Bridge to be cut down, the Bridge-Gate to be ſhut, and the Ordnance of the Tower to be bent againſt him, by the appointment and direction of the Lord Lieutenant. Two dayes he triſled out in *Southwark* to no purpoſe at all, more than the ſacking of *Wincheſter* Houſe, and the defacing of the Biſhops Library there, unleſs it were to leave a document to poſterity, that God infatuates the Counſels of thoſe wretched men, who traiterouſly take up arms againſt their Princes. And having liberally beſtowed theſe two dayes upon the Queen, the better to enable her to provide for her ſafety, he wheels about on Sunday the 6th. of the ſame month, to *Kingſton* Bridge. And though the Bridge was broken down before his coming, and that the oppoſite ſhore was guarded by 200. men, yet did he uſe ſuch diligence, that he removed away thoſe Forces, Repaired the Bridge, paſt over both his men and Canon, and might in probability have ſurpriſed both the Court and City in the dead of the night, if the ſame ſpirit of infatuation had not reſted on him. For having marched beyond *Brainford* in the way towards *London*, without giving or taking the Allarum, it hapned that one of his great pieces was diſmounted by the breach of its wheels. In the mending and mounting whereof, he obſtinately waſted ſo much time, notwithſtanding all the perſwaſions which his friends could make unto him, that many of his men ſlipped from him, and ſome gave notice to the Court, not only of his near approach, but alſo what his purpoſe was, and what had hindred him from putting it in execution. On this Advertiſement the Earl of *Pembrook* arms, and draws out his men to attend the motion of the Rebels, who about 10. of the clock came to *Charing-Croſs*, and without falling on the Court, (which was then in a very great amazement) turn up the *Strand* to *Temple Bar*, and ſo toward *Ludgate*, the Earl of *Pembrook* following and cutting him off in the arreir upon every turn. Coming to *London*, (when it was too late for his intendments) he found the Gates faſt ſhut againſt him, and the Lord *William Howard* in as great a readineſs to oppoſe him there, as when he was before in *Southwark*. So that being hemmed in on both ſides without hope of relief, he yields himſelf to Sir *Morris Berkley*, is carried priſoner to the Court, from thence committed to the Tower, arraigned at *Weſtminſter* on the 15th of *March*, and executed on the 11th of *April*, having firſt heard, that no fewer than 50 of his Accomplices were hanged in *London*, and *Bret*, with 22 more in ſeveral places of *Kent*.

It cannot be denied but that the reſtitution of the Reformed Religion, was the matter principally aimed at in their Rebellion, though nothing but the Match with *Spain* appeared on the outſide of it. Which appears plainly by a Book writ by *Chriſtopher Goodman* (aſſociated with *John Knox*, for ſetting up Presbytery and Rebellion in the Kirk of *Scotland*) in which he takes upon him to ſhew *how far Superiour Magiſtrates ought to be obeyed*. For having filled almoſt every Chapter of it with railing ſpeeches againſt the Queen, and ſtirring up the people to Rebel againſt her, he falleth amongſt the reſt upon this expreſſion,

viz.

viz. "*Wyat* did but his duty, and it was but the duty of all others that pro- *An. Reg.*
"feſs the Goſpel, to have riſen with him for maintenance of the ſame. His *Mar.* 1.
"cauſe was juſt, and they were all Traytors that took not part with him. O 1553.
"Noble *Wyat!* Thou art now with God, and thoſe worthy men that dyed in
"that happy enterpriſe. But this Book was written at *Geneva*, where *Calvin* reigned. To whom no pamphlet could be more agreeable, than ſuch as did reproach this Queen; whom in his Comment upon *Amos*, he entituleth by the name of *Proſerpine*, and ſaith, that ſhe exceeded in her cruelties all the devils in hell. Much more it is to be admired, that Dr. *John Poinct*, the late Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, ſhould be of Counſel in the Plot, or put himſelf into their Camp, and attend them to the place where the carriage brake. Where when he could not work on *Wiat* to deſiſt from that unprofitable labour in remounting the Cannon, he counſelled *Vaughan*, *Bret*, and others, to ſhift for themſelves, took leave of his more ſecret friends, told them that he would pray for their good ſucceſs, and ſo departed and took ſhip for *Germany*, where he after died.

The fortunate ſuppreſſing of theſe inſurrections, ſecured the Queen from any fear of the like dangers for the preſent. And thereupon it was adviſed to make uſe of the opportunity for putting the Church into a poſture, when the ſpirits of the oppoſite party were ſo cruſh'd and broken, that no reſiſtance could be looked for. Articles therefore are ſent into every Dioceſs, and Letters writ unto the ſeveral and Reſpective Biſhops, on the 3d. of *March*, to ſee them carefully and ſpeedily put in execution. The Tenour of which Articles were as followeth.

1. *That every Biſhop and his Officers, with all other having Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, ſhall with all ſpeed and diligence, and all manner of ways to them poſſible, put in execution, all ſuch Canons and Eccleſiaſtical Laws, heretofore in the time of King* Henry *the* 8th. *uſed within this Realm of* England, *and the Dominions of the ſame, not being directly and expreſly contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.*

2. *That no Biſhop, or any his Officer, or other perſon, hereafter in any of their Eccleſiaſtical writings, in proceſs, or other extrajudicial acts, do uſe or put in this clauſe or Sentence,* Regia Authoritate fulcitus.

3. *That no Biſhop, nor any his Officers, or other perſon, do hereafter exact or demand in the admiſſion of any perſon to any Eccleſiaſtical Promotion, Order or Office, any Oath touching the primacy or ſucceſſion, as of late few years paſt hath been accuſtomed and uſed.*

4. *That every Biſhop and his Officers, with all other perſons, have a vigilant eye, and uſe ſpecial diligence and fore-ſight, that no perſon be admitted or received to any Eccleſiaſtical function, Benefice, or Office, being a Sacramentary, infected or defamed with any notable kinde of Hereſie, or other great Crime; and that the ſaid Biſhop do ſtay, and cauſe to be ſtaid, as much as lyeth in him, that Benefices and Eccleſiaſtical Promotions, do not notably decay or take hinderance, by paſſing or confirming of unreaſonable Leaſes.*

5. *That every Biſhop, and all other perſons aforeſaid, do diligently travail for the repreſſing of Hereſies and notable Crimes, eſpecially in the Clergy, duely correcting and puniſhing the ſame.*

6. *That every Biſhop, and all other perſons aforeſaid, do likeniſe travail for the condemning and repreſſing of corrupt and naughty opinions, unlawful Books, Ballads, and other pernitious and hurtful devices, engendring hatred and diſcord amongſt the people. And that Schoolmaſters, Teachers, and Preachers, do exerciſe and uſe their Offices and Duties, without Teaching, Preaching, or ſetting forth any evil and corrupt Doctrine, and that doing the contrary, they may be by the Biſhop and his ſaid Officers, puniſhed and removed.*

7. *That every Biſhop, and all other perſons aforeſaid, proceeding ſummarily, and with all celerity and ſpeed, may, and ſhall deprive, or declare deprived, and remove according to their learning and diſcretion, all ſuch perſons from their Benefices and*

Eccleſi-

An. Reg. Mar. 1. 155⅓.

Eccleſiaſtical promotions, who contrary to the ſtate of their Order, and the laudable cuſtom of the Church, have married and uſed women as their Wives, or otherwiſe notably and ſlanderouſly diſordered or abuſed themſelves, ſequeſtring alſo, during the ſaid Proceſs, the fruits and profits of the ſaid Benefices and Eccleſiaſtical Promotions.

8. That the ſaid Biſhop, and other perſons aforeſaid, do uſe more lenity and clemency with ſuch as have married, whoſe Wives be dead, than with others whoſe women do yet remain alive. And likewiſe ſuch Prieſts as with the conſent of their Wives or women, openly in the preſence of the Biſhop, do profeſs to abſtain, to be uſed more favourable. In which caſe, after the Penance effectually done, the Biſhop according to his diſcretion and wiſedome, may upon juſt conſideration, receive and admit them again to their former adminiſtrations, ſo it be not in the ſame place, appointing them ſuch a portion to live upon, to be paid out of their Benefice, whereof they be deprived, by the diſcretion of the ſaid Biſhop or his Officer, as he ſhall think may be ſpared of the ſame Benefice.

9. That every Biſhop and other perſon aforeſaid, do fore-ſee that they ſuffer not any Religious man, having ſolemnly profeſſed Chaſtity, to continue with his woman, or wife, but that all ſuch perſons after deprivation of their Benefice, or Eccleſiaſtical promotion, be alſo divorced every one from his ſaid woman, and due puniſhment otherwiſe taken for the offence therein.

10. Item, That every Biſhop and all other perſons aforeſaid, do take Order and direction with the Pariſhioners of every Benefice where Prieſts do want, to repair to the next Pariſh for Divine Service, or to appoint for a convenient time, till other better proviſion may be made, one Curate to ſerve alienis vicibus, in divers Pariſhes, and to allot the ſaid Curate for his labour, ſome part of the Benefice which he ſo ſerveth.

11. That all, and all manner of Proceſſions in the Church, be uſed frequently, and continued after the old Order of the Church, in the Latin tongue.

12. That all ſuch Holy dayes and Faſting-dayes be obſerved and kept, as were obſerved and kept in the latter time of King Henry the 8th.

13. That the laudable and honeſt Ceremonies which were wont to be uſed, frequented and obſerved in the Church, be hereafter frequented, uſed and obſerved; and that children be Chriſtened by the Prieſt, and confirmed by the Biſhop, as heretofore hath been accuſtomed and uſed.

14. Touching ſuch perſons as were heretofore promoted to any Orders, after the new ſort and faſhion of Orders, conſidering they were not Ordered in very deed, the Biſhop of the Dioceſs finding otherwiſe ſufficient ability in thoſe men, may ſupply that thing which wanted in them before, then according to his Diſcretion admit them to miniſter.

15. That by the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, an Uniform Doctrine be ſet forth by Homilies, or otherwiſe, for the good inſtruction and teaching of all people. And that the ſaid Biſhop, and other perſons aforeſaid, do compel the Pariſhioners to come to their ſeveral Churches, and there devoutly to hear Divine Service, as of reaſon they ought.

16. That they examine all Schoolmaſters and Teachers of Children, and finding them ſuſpect in any wiſe, to remove them, and place Catholick men in their rooms, with a ſpecial commandment to inſtruct their Children, ſo as they may be able to anſwer the Prieſt at the Maſs, and ſo help the Prieſt at Maſs, as hath been accuſtomed.

17. That the ſaid Biſhops, and all other the perſons aforeſaid, have ſuch regard, reſpect, and conſideration of and for the ſetting forth of the premiſes, with all kind of vertue, godly living, and good example, with repreſſing alſo, or keeping under of vice and unthriftineſs, as they and every of them, may be ſeen to favour the reſtitution of true Religion, and alſo to make an honeſt account and reckoning of their Office and Cure, to the honour of God, Our good contentation, and profit of this Our Realm, and the Dominions of the ſame.

The generality of the people not being well pleaſed before with the Queen's proceed-

proceedings, were ſtartled more than ever at the noiſe of theſe Articles; none more exaſperated than thoſe whoſe either hands, or hearts had been joyned with *Wiat*. But not being able to prevail by open army, a new device is found out to befool the people, and bring them to a miſconceit of the preſent Government. A young Maid called *Eliſabeth Croſts*, about the age of eighteen years, was tutored to counterfeit certain ſpeeches in the Wall of a Houſe not far from *Alderſgate*, where ſhe was heard of many, but ſeen of none, and that her voice might be conceived to have ſomewhat in it more than ordinary, a ſtrange whiſtle was deviſed for her, out of which her words proceeded in ſuch a tone, as ſeemed to have nothing mortal in it. And thereupon it was affirmed by ſome of the people (great multitudes whereof reſorted daily to the place) that it was an Angel, or at leaſt a voice from Heaven; by others, that it could be nothing but the Holy Ghoſt; but generally ſhe paſs'd by the name of the *Spirit in the Wall*. For the interpreting of whoſe words, there wanted not ſome of the Confederates, who mingled themſelves by turns amongſt the reſt of the people, and taking on them to expound what the Spirit ſaid, delivered many dangerous and ſeditious words againſt the Queen, her mariage with the Prince of *Spain*, the Maſs, Confeſſion, and the like. The practice was firſt ſet on foot on the 14th of *March*, which was within ten days after the publiſhing of the Articles, and for a while it went on fortunately enough, according to the purpoſe of the chief Contrivers. But the abuſe being ſearched into, and the plot diſcovered, the Wench was ordered to ſtand upon a Scaffold near St. *Paul's* Croſs on the 15th of *July*, there to abide during the time of the Sermon, and that being done, to make a publick Declaration of that lewd impoſture. Let not the Papiſts be from henceforth charged with *Elizabeth Barton*, whom they called the Holy Maid of *Kent*; ſince now the *Zuinglian Goſpellers*, (for I cannot but conſider this as a Plot of theirs) have raiſed up their *Eliſabeth Croſts*, whom they called the Spirit in the Wall, to draw aſide the people from their due Allegiance.

An. Reg. Mar. 1. 1554.

Wiat's Rebellion being quenched, and the Realm in a condition capable of holding a Parliament, the Queen Convenes her Lords and Commons on the 2d. of *April*, in which Seſſion the Queens mariage with the Prince of *Spain*, being offered unto conſideration, was finally concluded and agreed unto upon theſe conditions, that is to ſay, "That *Philip* ſhould not advance any to any publick "Office or Dignity in *England*, but ſuch as were Natives of the Realm, and "the Queens ſubjects. That he ſhould admit of a ſet number of *Engliſh* in his "Houſhold, whom he ſhould uſe reſpectively, and not ſuffer them to be in- "jured by Foreigners. That he ſhould not tranſport the Queen out of *Eng-* "*land*, but at her intreaty, nor any of the iſſue begotten by her, who ſhould "have their Education in this Realm, and ſhould not be ſuffered but upon ne- "ceſſity and good reaſons, to go out of the ſame, nor then neither but with the "conſent of the *Engliſh*. That the *Queen* deceaſing without children, *Philip* "ſhould not make any claim to the Kingdom, but ſhould leave it freely to "him to whom of right it ſhould belong. That he ſhould not change any "thing in the Lawes, either publick or private, nor the immunities and cu- "ſtomes of the Realm, but ſhould be bound by Oath to confirm and keep "them. That he ſhould not tranſport any Jewels, nor any part of the War- "drobe, nor alienate any of the Revenues of the Crown. That he ſhould pre- "ſerve our Shipping, Ordnance and Munition, and keep the Caſtles, Forts and "Block-Houſes in good repair, and well maned. Laſtly, That this Match "ſhould not any way derogate from the League lately concluded between the "*Queen*, and the King of *France*, but that the Peace between the *Engliſh* and "the *French* ſhould remain firm and inviolate. 1554.

For the cleares carrying on this great buſineſs, and to encourage them for the performance of ſuch further ſervices, as her occaſions might require; the *Queen* was pleaſed to increaſe the number of her Barons. In purſuance whereof, ſhe advanced the Lord *William Howard*, Coſen German to *Thomas* Duke

An. Reg. Mar. 1. 1554.

Duke of *Norfolk*, to the Title of the Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, on the 11th of *March*, and elected him into the Order of the Garter within few months after; whose son called *Charls*, being Lord Admiral of *England*, and of no small renown for his success at the Isle of *Gades*, was by Queen *Elizabeth* created Earl of *Nottingham*, *Anno* 1589. Next to him followed Sir *John Williams*, created Lord *Williams* of *Tame* on the 5th of *April*; who dying without Issue Male, left his Estate, (though not his Honors) betwixt two daughters; the eldest of whom, called *Margaret*, was married to Sir *Henry Norris*, whom Queen *Elizabeth* created Lord *Norris* of *Rycot*, in reference perhaps to his fathers suffering in the cause of her mother; from whom descended *Francis* Lord *Norris*, advanced by King *James* to the Honours of Viscount *Tame*, and Earl of *Berkshire*, by Letters Patents bearing date in *January*, *Anno* 1620. After him on the 7th of *April*, comes Sir *Edward North*, created Baron of *Charlebeg*, in the County of *Cambridge*, who having been Chancellour of the Court of Augmentations in the time of King *Henry*, and raised himself a fair Estate by the fall of Abbyes, was by the King made one of his Executors, and nominated to be one of the great Council of Estate in his Sons Minority. Sir *John Brugis* brings up the Rear, who being descended from Sir *John Chandois*, a right noble Banneret, and from the *Botelers* Lords of *Sudley*, was made Lord *Chandois* of *Sudley* on the 8th of *April*, which goodly Mannor he had lately purchased of the Crown, to which it was Escheated on the death of Sir *Thomas Seymour*, *Anno* 1549. the Title still enjoyed, though but little else, by the seventh Lord of this Name and Family; most of the Lands being dismembred from the House by the unparallel'd Impudence (to give it no worse name) of his Elder Brother.

Some Bishops I find consecrated about this time also, to make the stronger party for the Queen in the House of Peers; no more Sees actually voided at that time to make *Rome* for others, though many in a fair way to it, of which more hereafter. *Hooper* of *Gloucester* commanded to attend the Lords of the Council on the 22 of *August*, and committed prisoner not long after, was outed of his Bishoprick immediately on the ending of the Parliament, in which all Consecrations were declared to be void and null, which had been made according to the Ordinal of King *Edward* the sixth. Into whose place succeeded *James Brookes* Doctor in Divinity, sometimes Fellow of *Corpus Christi*, and Master of *Baliol* Colledge in *Oxon*; employed not long after as a Delegat from the Pope of *Rome* in the proceedings against the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whom he condemned to the stake. To *Taylor* (of whose death we have spoken before) succeeded Doctor *John White* in the See of *Lincoln*, first School-master, and after Warden of the Colledge near *Winchester*, to the Episcopal See whereof we shall find him translated *Anno* 1556. The Church of *Rochester* had been void ever since the removal of Doctor *Story*, to the See of *Chichester*, not suffered to return to his former Bishoprick, though dispoiled of the later: But it was now thought good to fill it, and *Maurice Griffin*, who for some years had been the Archdeacon, is consecrated Bishop of it on the first of *April*. One Suffrage more was gained by the repealing of an Act of Parliament, made in the last Session of King *Edward*, for dissolving the Bishoprick of *Durham*; till which time Doctor *Cuthbert Tunstall*, though restored to his Liberty, and possibly to a good part also of his Churches Patrimony, had neither Suffrage as a Peer in the House of Parliament, nor could act any thing as a Bishop in his own Jurisdiction. And with these Consecrations and Creations I conclude this year.

Anno

An. Reg. Mar. 2. An. Dom. 1554, 1555.

An. Reg. Mar. 2. 1554.

THe next begins with the Arrival of the Prince of *Spain*, wafted to *England* with a Fleet of one hundred and fixty ſail of Ships, twenty of which were *Engliſh*, purpoſely ſent to be his Convoy; in regard of the wars, not then expired, betwixt the *French* and the *Spaniards*. Landing at *Southampton* on the 19th of *July* (on which day of the month in the year foregoing the *Queen* had been ſolemnly proclaimed in *London*) he went to *Wincheſter* with his whole Retinue on the 24th. where he was received by the *Queen* with a gallant Train of Lords and Ladies; ſolemnly marryed the next day, being the Feſtival of St. *James*, (the ſuppoſed Tutelary Saint of the *Spaniſh* Nation) by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; at what time the *Queen* had paſſed the eight and thirtieth year of her age, and the Prince was but newly entred on his twenty ſeventh. As ſoon as the Marriage-Rites were celebrated, *Higueroa* the Emperors Embaſſador, preſented to the King a Donation of the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Cicily*, which the Emperor his father had reſigned unto him. Which preſently was ſignified, and the Titles of the King and *Queen* proclaimed by ſound of Trumpet in this following Style. PHILIP *and* MARY, *by the grace of God, King and Queen of* England, France, Naples, Jeruſalem, Ireland, *Defenders of the Faith*; *Princes of* Spain *and* Cicily, *Arch-Dukes of* Auſtria, *Dukes of* Millain, Burgundy, *and* Brabant, *Counts of* Auſperge, Flanders, *and* Tirroll, *&c.* At the proclaiming of which Style, (which was performed in *French*, *Latin*, and *Engliſh*) the King and Queen ſhewed themſelves hand in hand, with two Swords born before them, for the greater ſtate, or in regard of their diſtinct Capacities in the publick Government. From *Wincheſter* they removed to *Baſing*, and ſo to *Windſor*, where *Philip* on the 5th of *Auguſt* was Inſtalled Knight of the *Garter*, into the fellowſhip whereof he had been choſen the year before. From thence the Court removed to *Richmond* by land, and ſo by water to *Suffolk*-place in the Burrough of *Southwark*, and on the 12th of the ſame month made a magnificent paſſage thorow the principal ſtreets of the City of *London*, with all the Pomps accuſtomed at a Coronation. The Triumphs of which Entertainment had continued longer, if the Court had not put on mourning for the death of the old Duke of *Norfolk*, who left this life at *Framingham* Caſtle in the month of *September*, to the great ſorrow of the *Queen*, who entirely loved him.

Philip thus glorioufly received, endeavoureth to ſhew his Grandure, to make the Engliſh ſenſible of the benefits which they were to partake of by this Marriage, and to engratiate himſelf with the Nobility and People in all generous ways. To which end, he cauſed great quantity of Bullion to be brought into *England*, loaded in twenty Carts, carrying amongſt them twenty ſeven Cheſts, each Cheſt containing a Yard and ſome inches in length, conducted to the Tower on the ſecond of *October*, by certain *Spaniards* and *Engliſh-men* of his Majeſties Guard. And on the 29th of *January* then next following, ninety nine Horſes and two Carts, laden with Treaſures of Gold and Silver, brought out of *Spain*, was conveyed through the City to the Tower of *London*, under the conduct of Sir *Thomas Greſham* the *Queens* Merchant, and others. He prevailed alſo with the *Queen* for diſcharge of ſuch Priſoners as ſtood committed in the *Tower*, either for matter of Religion, or on the account of *Wyat's* Rebellion, or for engaging in the practice of the Duke of *Northumberland*. And being gratified therein according unto his deſire, the Lord Chancellor, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and certain others of the Council, were ſent unto the *Tower* on the 18th of *January*, to ſee the ſame put in execution; which was accordingly performed, to the great joy of the Priſoners, amongſt which were the Archbiſhop of *York*, ten Knights, and many other perſons of name and quality. But nothing did him greater honour amongſt the

An. Reg. Mar. 2. 1554.

English, than the great pains he took for procuring the enlargement of the Earl of *Devonshire*, and the Princess *Elizabeth*, committed formerly on a suspicion of having had a hand in *Wyat's* Rebellion, though *Wyat* honestly disavowed it at the time of his death. It was about the Feast of *Easter* that the Earl was brought unto the Court, where having obtained the leave to travel, for which before he had petitioned in vain, he pass'd the Seas, cross'd *France*, and came into *Italy*; but he found the air of *Italy* was as much too hot for him, as that of *England* was too cold, dying at *Padua* in the year 1556. the eleventh and last Earl of *Devonshire*, of that noble Family. About ten days after his enlargement, followed that of the Princess *Elizabeth* whose comming to the Court, her entertainment with the Queen, and what else followed thereupon, we shall see hereafter.

But we have run our selves too far upon these occasions, and therefore must look back again on that which followed more immediately on the Kings reception; the celebrating of whose Marriage opened a fair way for the Cardinals comming, so long expected by the *Queen*, and delayed by the Emperour, by whom retarded for a while when he was in *Italy*, and openly detained at *Dilling*, a Town in *Germany*, as he was upon his way towards *England*. From thence he writes his Letters of Expostulation, representing to the Emperour the great scandal which must needs be given to the Churches enemies, in detaining a Cardinal-Legat, Commissioned by his Holiness for the peace of Christendom, and the regaining of a Kingdom. Which notwithstanding, there he stayeth, till the Articles of the Marriage were agreed on by the *Queen's* Commissioners, and is then suffered to advance as far as *Brussels*, upon condition, that he should not pass over into *England* till the consummation of the Marriage. The Interim he spends in managing a Treaty of Peace betwixt the *Emperour* and the *French*; which sorted to no other effect, but only to the setting forth of his dexterity in all publick businesses. And now the Marriage being past, the Emperour is desired to give him leave to come for *England*; and *Pole* is called upon by Letters from the King and *Queen* to make haste unto them, that they might have his presence and assistance in the following Parliament; and in the mean time, that they might advise upon such particulars as were to be agreed on, for the honour and advantage of the See *Apostolick*. Upon the Emperor's dismission he repairs to *Calais*, but was detained by cross winds till the 24th of *November*; at which time we shall find the Parliament sitting, and much of the business dispatched to his hand in which he was to have been advised with.

The business then to be dispatched was of no small moment, no less than the restoring of the Popes to the Supremacy, of which they had been dispossessed in the time of King *Henry*. For smoothing the way to which great work, it was thought necessary to fill up all Episcopal Sees, which either Death or Deprivation had of late made vacant. *Holgate* Archbishop of *York* had been committed to the *Tower* on the 4th. of *October*, *Anno* 1553. from whence released upon *Philips* intercession on the 18th of *January*: Marriage and Heresie are his crimes, for which deprived during the time of his imprisonment. Doctor *Nicholas Heath* succeeded him in the See of *York*, and leaves the Bishoprick of *Worcester* to Doctor *Richard Pates*, who had been nominated by King *Henry* the Eighth, *Anno* 1534. and having spent the intervening twenty years in the Court of *Rome*, returned a true servant to the Pope, every way fitted and instructed to advance that See. *Goodrich* of *Ely* left his life on the 10th of *April*, leaving that Bishoprick to Doctor *Thomas Thurlby*, Bishop of *Norwich*, (one that knew how to stand his ground in the strongest tempest) and Doctor *John Hopton*, heretofore Chaplain and Controuler of Queen *Mary's* Houshold, when but Princess only, is made Bishop of *Norwich*. *Barlow* of *Wells* having abandoned that dignity which he could not hold, had for his Successor Doctor *Gilbert Bourn* Arch-Deacon of *London*, and Brother of Sir *John Bourn*, principal Secretary of Estate. Sufficiently recompenced by this

this preferment, for the great danger which he had incurred the year before, when the Dagger was thrown at him, as he preached in St. *Paul's* Church-yard. *Harley* of *Hereford* is ſucceeded by *Pureſey* (otherwiſe called *Wharton*) of St. *Aſaph*; who had ſo miſerably waſted the Patrimony of the Church in the time of King *Edward*, that it was hardly worth the keeping. For the ſame ſins of *Proteſtantiſm* and *Marriage*, old *Buſh* of *Briſtow*, and *Bird* of *Cheſter* (the two firſt Biſhops of thoſe Sees) were deprived alſo; the firſt ſucceeded to by *Holiman*, once a Monck of *Reading*; the laſt by *Goltz*, ſometimes Fellow of *Magdalen*, and afterwards Maſter of *Baliol* College in *Oxon*. Finally, in the place of Doctor *Richard Sampſon* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, who left this life on the 25th of *September*, Doctor *Randolph Bayne*, who had been *Hebrew* Reader in *Paris* in the time of King *Francis*, was conſecrated Biſhop of that Church; a man of better parts, but of a more inflexible temper than his Predeceſſor. *An. Reg. Mar. 2. 1554.*

And now the Parliament begins, opened upon the 12th of *November*, and cloſed on the 16th of *January* then next following. It had been offered to conſideration in the former Seſſion, That all Acts made againſt the Pope in the Reign of King *Henry* might be declared null and void, for the better encouragement of the Cardinal to come amongſt us. But the *Queen* had neither eloquence enough to perſwade, nor power enough to aw the Parliament, to that Conceſſion: Nothing more hindred the deſign than general fear, that if the Popes were once reſtored to their former power, the Church might challenge reſtitution of her former poſſeſſions; Do but ſecure them from that fear, then Pope and Cardinals might come and welcome. And to ſecure them from that fear, they had not only the promiſe of the King and *Queen*, but ſome aſſurance underhand from the Cardinal-Legat, who knew right well, that the Church Lands had been ſo chopped and changed by the two laſt Kings, as not to be reſtored without the manifeſt ruine of many of the Nobility, and moſt of the Gentry, who were inveſted in the ſame. Secured on both ſides, they proceed according to the King's deſires, and paſs a general Act for the repealing of all Statutes, which had been made againſt the Power and Juriſdiction of the Popes of *Rome*. But firſt they are to be intreated to it by the Legate himſelf; for the opening a way to whoſe reception, they prepared a Bill, by which he was to be diſcharged of the Attainture which had paſſed upon him in the year 1539. reſtored in Bloud, and rendred capable of enjoying all thoſe Rights and Privileges, which formerly he ſtood poſſeſſed of in this Kingdom. For the paſſing of which Bill into Act, the King and *Queen* vouchſafed their preſence, as ſoon as it was fitted and prepared for them, not ſtaying till the end of the Seſſion as at other times, becauſe the buſineſs might not ſuffer ſuch a long delay.

It was upon the 24th of *November* that the Cardinal came firſt to *London*, and had his Lodgings in or near the Court, till *Lambeth*-houſe could be made ready to receive him. Having repoſed himſelf for a day or two, the Lords and Commons are required to attend their Majeſties at the Court, where the Cardinal, in a very grave and eloquent ſpeech, firſt, gave them thanks for being reſtored unto his Country; in recompence whereof he told them, that he was come to reſtore them to the Country and Court of Heaven, from which, by their departing from the Church, they had been eſtranged. He therefore earneſtly exhorts them to acknowledge their errors, and chearfully to receive that benefit which Chriſt was ready by his Vicar to extend unto them. His Speech is ſaid to have been long and artificial, but it concluded to this purpoſe, That he had the Keys to open them a way into the Church, which they had ſhut againſt themſelves, by making ſo many Laws, to the diſhonour and reproach of the See Apoſtolick; on the revoking of which Laws, they ſhould find him ready to make uſe of his Keys, in opening the doors of the Church unto them. It was concluded hereupon by both Houſes of Parliament, that a Petition ſhould be made in the name of the Kingdom, wherein ſhould be

An. Reg. Mar. 1. 1554.

declared how sorry they were, that they had withdrawn their obedience from the Apostolick See, and consenting to the Statutes made against it; promising to do their best endeavour hereafter, that the said Laws and Statutes should be repealed; and beseeching the King & Queen to intercede for them with his Holiness, that they may be absolved from the Crimes and Censures, and be received as penitent children into the bosom of the Church.

These things being thus resolved upon, both Houses are called again to the Court on St. *Andrews* day; where being assembled in the presence of the King and Queen, they were asked by the Lord Chancellor *Gardiner*, whether they were pleased, that Pardon should be demanded of the Legat, and whether they would return to the Unity of the Church, and Obedience of the Pope, Supream Head thereof. To which, when some cryed Yea, and the rest said nothing, their silence was taken for consent; and so the Petition was presented to their Majesties in the name of the Parliament. Which being publickly read, they arose, with a purpose to have moved the Cardinal in it; who meeting their desires, declared his readiness in giving them that satisfaction which they would have craved. And having caused the Authority given him by the Pope to be publickly read, he shewed how acceptable the repentance of a sinner was in the sight of God, and that the very Angels in Heaven rejoyced at the conversion of this Kingdom. Which said, they all kneeled upon their knees, and imploring the mercy of God, received absolution for themselves and the rest of the Kingdom; which Absolution was pronounced in these following words:

Our Lord Jesus Christ, which with his most precious blood hath redeemed and washed us from all our sins and iniquities, that he might purchase unto himself a glorious Spouse, without spot or wrinkle; and whom the Father hath appointed Head over all his Church, He by his mercy absolve you. And we by Apostolick Authority given unto us (by the most holy Lord Pope Julius the Third his Vicegerent here on earth) do absolve, and deliver you, and every of you, with the whole Realm and the Dominions thereof, from all Heresies and Schisms, and from all and every Judgment, Censures, and Pains, for that cause incurred. And also we do restore you again unto the unity of our Mother, the holy Church, as in our Letters more plainly it shall appear; In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

Which words of his being seconded with a loud *Amen* by such as were present, he concluded the days work with a solemn Procession to the Chapel, for rendring Prayers and Thanks to Almighty God. And because this great work was wrought on St. *Andrews* day, the Cardinal procured a Decree or Canon to be made in the Convocation of the Bishops and Clergy, that from thenceforth the Feast of St. *Andrew* should be kept in the Church of *England* for a *Majus Duplex*, as the *Rituals* call it, and celebrated with as much solemnity as any other in the year. It was thought fit also, that the actions of the day should be communicated on the *Sunday* following, being the second of *December*, at St. *Paul's Cross*; in the hearing of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and the rest of the City. According to which appointment, the Cardinal went from *Lambeth* by water, and landing at St. *Paul's* Wharf, from thence proceeded to the Church, with a Cross, two Pillars, and two Pole-axes of silver born before him. Received by the Lord Chancellor with a solemn Procession, they tarryed till the King came from *Westminster*; Immediately upon whose comming, the Lord Chancellor went into the Pulpit, and preached upon those words of St. *Paul*, Rom. 13. *Fratres, scientes quia hora est jam nos de somno surgere, &c.* In which Sermon he declared what had been done on the *Friday* before, in the submission which was made to the Pope by the Lords and Commons, in the name of themselves and the whole Kingdom; and the Absolution granted to them by the Cardinal in the name of the Pope. Which done, and Prayers being made for the whole Estate of the Catholick Church,

the

the company was for that time dismissed. And on the *Thursday* after, being the Feast of St. *Nicholas* day, the Bishops and Clergy then assembled in their Convocation, presented themselves before the Cardinal at *Lambeth*, and kneeling reverently on their knees, they obtained pardon for all their Perjuries, Schisms, and Heresies: From which a formal Absolution was pronounced also, that so all sorts of people might partake of the Pope's Benediction, and thereby testifie their obedience and submission to him. The news whereof being speedily posted over to the Pope, he caused not only many solemn Processions to be made in *Rome*, and most parts of *Italy*, but proclaimed a Jubile to be held on the 24th of *December* then next comming. For the anticipating of which solemnity, he alleged this reason, That it became him to imitate the father of the Prodigal child; and having received his lost son, not only to express a domestical joy, but to invite all others to partake thereof. Reg. Mar. An. 1554.

During this Parliament was held a Convocation also, as before was intimated, *Bonner* continuing President of it, and *Henry Cole*, Archdeacon of *Ely*, admitted to the Office of Prolocutor. They knew well how the Cards were plaid, and that the Cardinal was to be entreated not to insist on the restoring of Church Lands, rather to confirm the Lords and Gentry in their present possessions. And to that end, a Petition is prepared to be presented in the name of the Convocation, to both their Majesties, that they would please to intercede with the Cardinal in it. Which Petition being not safe to be met withall, and never printed heretofore, is here subjoyned, according to the tenor and effect thereof in the Latin Tongue.

WE the Bishops and Clergy of the Province of Canterbury, *assembled in Convocation during the sitting of this Parliament, according to the ancient custom, with all due reverence and humility do make known to your Majesties, That though we are appointed to take upon us the care and charge of all those Churches, in which we are placed as Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, Parsons, or Vicars; as also of the Souls therein committed to us, together with all Goods, Rights and Privileges thereunto belonging, according to the true intent and meaning of the Canons made in that behalf; and that in this respect we are bound to use all lawful means for the recovery of those Goods, Rights, Privileges, and Jurisdictions, which have been lost in the late desperate and pernicious Schism, and to regain the same unto the Church, as in her first and right estate; Yet notwithstanding, having took mature deliberation of the whole matter amongst our selves, we cannot but ingenuously confess, that we know well how difficult a thing, if not impossible, it is, to recover the said Goods unto their Churches, in regard of the manifold unavoidable Contracts, Sales, and Alienations, which have been made about the same; and that if any such thing should be attempted, it would not only redound to the disturbance of the publick peace, but be a means, that the unity of the Catholick Church, which by the goodness of your Majesties had been so happily begun, could not obtain its desired effect, without very great difficulty. Wherefore preferring the publick good and quiet of the Kingdom, before our own private commodities, and the salvation of so many souls, redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, before any earthly things whatsoever, and not seeking our own, but the things of Jesus Christ, we do most earnestly and most humbly beseech your Majesties, that you would graciously vouchsafe to intercede in our behalf with the most Reverend Father in God, the Lord Cardinal* Pole, *Legat a Latere, from his Holiness, our most serene Lord, Pope* Julius *the third, as well to your most excellent Majesties, as to the whole Realm of* England, *that he would please to settle and confirm the said Goods of the Church, either in whole or in part, as he thinks most fit, on the present occupants thereof, according to the powers and faculties committed to him, by the said most serene Lord the Pope; thereby preferring the publick good before the private, the peace and tranquillity of the Realm before suits and troubles, and the salvation of Souls before earthly treasures. And for our parts, we do both now, and for all times comming, give consent to all and every thing, which by the said Lord Legate shall, in this case, be finally ordained*

An. Reg. Mar. 2. 1554.

ordained and concluded on; humbly beseeching your Majesties, that you would graciously vouchsafe to perswade the said Lord Cardinal in our behalf, not to show himself in the Premises too strict and difficult. And we do further humbly beseech your Majesties, that you would please, according to your wonted goodness, to take such course, that our Ecclesiastical Rights, Liberties, and Jurisdictions, which have been taken from us by the iniquity of the former times, and without which we are not able to discharge our common duties, either in the exercise of the pastoral Office, or the cure of souls committed to our trust and care, may be again restored unto us, and be perpetually preserved inviolable both to us and our Churches; and that all Laws which have been made to the prejudice of this our Jurisdiction, and other Ecclesiastical liberties, or otherwise have proved to the hindrance of it, may be repealed, to the honour of God, as also to the temporal and spiritual profit, not only of your said most excellent Majesty, but of all the Realm; giving our selves assured hope, that your most excellent Majesties, according to your singular piety to almighty God, for so many and great benefits received from him, will not be wanting to the necessities of the Kingdom, and the occasions of the Churches, having cure of souls, but that you would consider and provide as need shall be, for the peace thereof.

Which Petition being thus drawn up, was humbly offered to the Legate, in the name of the whole Convocation, by the Lord Chancellor, (who was present at the making of it) the Prolocutor and six others of the lower house. And it may very well be thought, to be welcome to him, in regard it gave him some good colour for not touching on so harsh a string, as the restoring of Church lands. Concerning which, he was not ignorant that a message had been sent to the Pope in the name of the Parliament, to desire a confirmation of the sale of the lands belonging to Abbies, Chanteries, &c. or otherwise to let him know that nothing could be granted in his behalf. And it is probable, that they received some fair promises to that effect, in regard that on the New years day then next following, the Act for restoring the Pope's supremacy, was passed in both houses of Parliament, and could not but be entertain'd for one of the most welcome New years Gifts which ever had been given to a Pope of *Rome*. 1554.

What the Pope did in retribution, we are told by *Sleidan*, in whom we find that he confirmed all those Bishops in their several Sees, which were of Catholick persuasions, and had been consecrated in the time of the Schism, as also that he established such new Bishopricks which were erected in the time of King *Henry* the 8th. and made good all such marriages, as otherwise might be subject unto dispute. He adds a confirmation also, (which I somewhat doubt) of the Abby lands, and telleth, that all this was ratified by the Bull of Pope *Paul* the 4th. He dispensed also by the hand of the Cardinal, with irregularity in several persons, confirmed the Ordination and Institution of Clergy men in their Callings and Benefices; legitimated the children of forbidden marriages, and ratified the processes and sentences in matters Ecclesiastical. Which general favours notwithstanding, every Bishop in particular, (except only the Bishop of *Landaff*) most humbly sought, and obtained pardon of the Pope for their former errour, not thinking themselves to be sufficiently secured by any general dispensation, how large soever. And so the whole matter being transacted to the content of all parties, (the poor Protestants excepted only) on *Friday* the 25th of *January*, being the Feast of the Conversion of Saint *Paul*, there was a general and solemn Procession throughout *London*, to give God thanks for their conversion to the Catholick Church. Wherein (to set out their glorious pomp) were ninety Crosses, one hundred sixty Priests and Clarks, each of them attired in his Cope; and after them eight Bishops in their *Pontificalibus*, followed by *Bonner*, carrying the Popish *Pix* under a Canopy, and attended by the Lord Mayor and Companies in their several Liveries. Which solemn Procession being ended, they all returned into the Church of St. *Paul*, where the King and Cardinal, together with all the rest, heard Mass, and the next day the Parliament and Convocation were dissolved.

Nothing

Nothing now rested, but the sending of a solemn Embassery in the name of the King and Kingdom, to the Court of *Rome*, for testifying their submission to his Holiness, and receiving his Apostolical benediction. To which employment were designed Sir *Anthony Brown*, who on the 2d. of *September* had been created Viscount *Montacute*, in regard of his descent from Sir *John Nevil*, whom King *Edward* the 4th advanced unto the Title of *Marquess Montacute*, as being the second son of *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Alice* his wife, daughter and heir of *Thomas Montacute*, the last and most renowned Earl of *Salisbury*, of that Name and Family. With whom was joyned in Commission as another Ambassador extraordinary, Dr. *Thomas Thirlby*, Bishop of *Ely*, together with Sir *Edward Carn*, appointed to reside as Ordinary in the Papal Court. On the 18th day of *February*, they began their journey, but found so great an alteration when they came to *Rome*, that Pope *Julius* was not only dead, but that *Marcellus*, who succeeded him, was deceased also; so that the honour and felicity of this address from the King of *England*, devolved on Cardinal *Caraffa*, (no great friend of *Poles*) who took unto himself the name of *Paul* the 4th, on the first day of whose Papacy, it chanced that the three Ambassadors came first to *Rome*. It was in the first Consistory also, after his *inauguration*, that the Ambassadors were brought before him: Where prostrating themselves at the Pope's feet, they in the name of the Kingdom, acknowledged the faults committed, relating them all in particular, (for so the Pope was pleas'd to have it) confessing that they had been ungrateful for so many benefits received from the Church, and humbly craving pardon for it. The pardon was not only granted, and the Ambassadors lovingly imbraced; but as an overplus, the Pope was pleas'd to honour their Majesties with the Title of Kings of *Ireland*. Which Title he conferred upon them, by the authority which the Popes pretend to have from God, in erecting and subverting Kingdoms. He knew right well that *Ireland* had been erected into a Kingdom by King *Henry* the 8th. and that both *Edward* the 6th and the *Queen* now reigning, had always used the Title of Kings of *Ireland* in the style Imperial: But he conceived himself not bound to take notice of it, or to relinquish any privilege which had been exercised in that kind by his predecessors. And thereupon he found out this temperament, that is to say, to dissemble his knowledge of that which had been done by *Henry*, and of himself to erect the Island into a Kingdom; that so the world might be induced to believe, that the *Queen* rather used that Title as indulged by the Pope, than as assumed by her Father. And this he did according to a secret mystery of Government in the Church of *Rome*, in giving that which they could not take from the possessor; as on the other side some Kings to avoid contentions, have received of them their own proper goods, as gifts; and others have dissembled the knowledge of the Gift, and the pretence of the Giver.

An. Reg. Mar. 2. 1554.

These things being thus dispatched in publick, the Pope had many private discourses with the Ambassadors, in which he found fault that the Church goods were not wholly restored; saying, that by no means it was to be tolerated, and that it was necessary to render all, even to a farthing. He added, that the things which belong to God, could never be applyed to humane uses, and that he who withholdeth the least part of them, was in continual state of damnation; that if he had power to grant them, he would do it most readily, for the fatherly affection which he bare unto them, and for the experience which he had of their filial obedience; but that his authority was not so large as to prophane things dedicated to Almighty God; and therefore he would have the people of *England* be assured, that these Church lands would be an *Anathema*, or an accursed thing, which by the just revenge of God would keep the Kingdom in perpetual infelicity. And of this he charged the Ambassadors to write immediately, not speaking it once or twice only, but repeating it upon all occasions. He also told them that the *Peter-Pence* ought to be paid assoon as might be, and that according to the custom he would send a Collector for

that

An. Reg. Mar. 2. 1555.

that purpose, letting them know, that himself had exercised that charge in *England*, for three years together; and that he was much edified by seeing the forwardness of the people in that contribution. The discourse upon which particular he closed with this, that they could not hope that St. *Peter* would open to them the gates of Heaven, as long as they usurped his goods on earth. To all which talk the Ambassadors could not chuse but give a hearing, and knew that they should get no more at their coming home.

At their departure out of *England*, they left the *Queen* in an opinion of her being with child, and doubted not but that they should congratulate her safe delivery, when they came to render an account of their imployment; but it proved the contrary. The *Queen* about three months after her marriage, began to find strong hopes, not only that she had conceived, but also that she was far gone with child. Notice whereof was sent by Letters to *Bonner*, from the Lords of the Council, by which he was required to cause *Te Deum* to be sung in all the Churches of his Dioceſs, with continual prayers to be made for the Queen's safe delivery. And for example to the rest, these commands were executed first on the 28th of *November*, Dr. *Chadsey* one of the Prebends of *Paul's* preaching at the Cross, in the presence of the Bishop of *London*, and nine other Bishops, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen attending in their scarlet Robes, and many of the principal Citizens in their several Liveries. Which opinion gathering greater strength with the *Queen*, and belief with the people, it was Enacted by the Lords and Commons then sitting in Parliament, "That if it "should happen to the *Queen* otherwise than well in the time of her travel, "that then the King should have the politick Government, Order and Admi- "nistration of this Realm, during the tender years of her Majestie's issue, toge- "ther with the Rule, Order, Education and Government of the said issue. "Which charge as he was pleased to undergo at their humble sute, so they "were altogether as forward to confer it on him; not doubting, but that du- "ring the time of such Government, he would by all ways and means, study, "travail, and imploy himself to advance the weal, both publick and private, of "this Realm, and Dominions thereunto belonging, according to the trust re- "posed in him, with no less good will and affection, than if his Highness had "been naturally born amongst us. Set Forms of Prayers were also made for her safe delivery, and one particularly by *Weston*, the Prolocutor of the first Convocation; in which it was prayed, *That she might in due season bring forth a child, in body beautiful and comely, in mind noble and valiant. So that she forgetting the trouble, might with joy, laud and praise*, &c. Great preparations were also made of all things necessary, against the time of her delivery, which was supposed would fall out about *Whitsuntide*, in the month of *June*, even to the providing of Midwives, Nurses, Rockers, and the Cradle too. And so far the hopes thereof were entertained, that on a sudden rumor of her being delivered, the bels were rung, and bonfires made in most parts of *London*. The like solemnities were used at *Antwerp*, by discharging all the Ordnance in the English ships; for which the Mariners were gratified by the *Queen* Regent with 100 Pistolets. In which, as all of them seem'd to have a spice of madness in them, so none was altogether so wild as the Curate of St. *Anns* near *Aldersgate*, who took upon him after the end of the Procession, to describe the proportion of the child, how fair, how beautiful, and great a Prince it was, the like whereof had never been seen.

But so it hapned, that notwithstanding all these triumphs, it proved in fine, that the *Queen* neither was with child at the present, nor had any hopes of being so for the time to come. By some it was conceived, that this report was raised upon policy only, to hold her up in the affection of her husband, and the love of her subjects, by others, that she had been troubled with a Timpany, which not only made her belly swell, but by the windiness of the disease, possess'd her with a fancy of her being quick. And some again have left in writing, that having had the misfortune of a false conception, which bred in her a fleshly

fleshy and informed substance, by the Physicians called a *Mola*, the continual increase whereof, and the agitation it made in her, occasioned her to believe what she most desired, and to report what she believed. But this informed lump being taken from her with no small difficulty, did not only turn her supposed joy to shame and sorrow, but made much game amongst some of the *Zuinglian* Gospellers, (for I cannot think, that any true English Protestant could make sport thereat) who were so far from desiring that the Queen should have any Issue to succeed in the Throne, that they prayed God, by shortning her days to deprive her of it. Insomuch that one *Rose*, the Minister to a private Congregation in *Bow Church-yard*, did use to pray, *That God would either turn her heart from Idolatry, or else shorten her days.* On which occasion, and some others of the like ill nature, an Act was made in the said Parliament, for punishing of traiterous words against the Queen; in which it was enacted, That the said Prayers, and all others of the like mischievous quality, should be interpreted to be high Treason against the Queen. The like exorbitances I find too frequent in this *Queens* Reign, to which some men were so transported by a furious zeal, that a Gun was shot at one Doctor *Pendleton*, as he preached at St. *Paul's Cross* on *Sunday* the 10th of *June*, *Anno* 1554. the Pellet whereof went very near him; but the Gunner was not to be heard of. Which occasioned the *Queen* to publish a Proclamation within few days after, prohibiting the shooting in Hand-guns, and the bearing of weapons. Before which time, that is to say, on the 8th of *April*, some of them had caused a Cat to be hanged upon a Gallows, near the Cross in *Cheapside*, with her head shorn, the likeness of a Vestment cast upon her, and her two fore-feet tied together, holding between them a piece of paper in the form of a Wafer. Which tending so apparently to the disgrace of the Religion then by Law established, was shewed the same day, being *Sunday*, at St. *Paul's* Cross, by the said Doctor *Pendleton*; which possibly might be the sole reason of the mischief so desperately intended to him.

An. Reg. *Mar.* 2. 1555.

Such were the madnesses of those People; but the Orthodox and sober Protestant shall be brought to a reckoning, and forced to pay dearly for the follies of those men, which it was not in their powers to hinder. The Governours of the Church exasperated by these provocations, and the *Queen* charging *Wyat's* Rebellion on the Protestant party, she both agreed on the reviving of some ancient Statutes made in the time of King *Richard* the 2d. King *Henry* the 4th and King *Henry* the 5th for the severe punishment of obstinate *Heretick*s, even to death it self. Which Act being passed, the three great Bishops of the time were not alike minded for the putting it in execution. The Lord Cardinal was clearly of opinion, that they should rest themselves contented with the restitution of their own Religion; that the said three Statutes should be held forth for a terrour only, but that no open persecution should be raised upon them; following therein, as he affirmed, the counsel sent unto the Queen by *Charls* the Emperour, at her first comming to the Crown, by whom she was advised to create no trouble unto any man for matter of conscience, but to be warned unto the contrary by his example, who by endeavouring to compel others to his own Religion, had tired and spent himself in vain, and purchased nothing by it but his own dishonour. But the Lord Chancellor *Gardiner* could not like of this, to whom it seemed to be all one, never to have revived the said three Statutes, as not to see them put in execution. That some bloud should be drawn in case of refractorinesse, and an incorrigible non-conformity, he conceived most necessary. But he would have the Ax laid only to the Root of the Tree, the principal supporters of the Hereticks, to be taken away, whether they were of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, or the Lay-Nobility; and some of the more pragmatical preachers to be cut off also; the rest of the people to be spared, as they who meerly did depend on the power of the other. Let but the Shepherds be once smitten, and the whole flock will presently be scattered, without further trouble.

An. Reg. Mar. 2. 1555.

Well then, said *Bonner* to himself, I see the honour of this work is reserved for me, who neither fear the Emperor's frowns, nor the peoples curses. Which having said, (as if he had been pumping for a resolution) he took his times to make it known unto the other two, that he perceived they were as willing as himself, to have the Catholick Religion entertained in all parts of the Kingdom, though neither of them seemed desirous to act any thing in it, or take the envy on himself; that he was well enough pleased with that reservedness, hoping they did not mean it for a precedent unto him or others, who had a mind to shew their zeal and forwardness in the Catholick cause. Have I not seen (saith he) that the Hereticks themselves have broke the Ice, in putting one of their own number (I think they called him by the name of *Servetus*) to a cruel death. Could it be thought no crime in them, to take that more severe course against one of their brethren, for holding any contrary doctrine, from that which they had publickly agreed amongst them? And can they be so silly, or so partial rather, as to reckon it for a crime in us, if we proceed against them with the like severity, and punish them by the most extream rigour of their own example? I plainly see, that neither you my Lord Cardinal, nor you my Lord Chancellor, have any Answer to return to my present Argument, which is sufficient to encourage me to proceed upon it. I cannot act Canonically against any of them, but such as live within the compass of my jurisdiction, in which I shall desire no help nor countenance from either of you. But as for such as live in the Dioceses of *Canterbury*, or that of *Winchester*, or otherwise not within my reach in what place soever, let them be sent for up by order from the Lords of the Council, committed to the *Tower*, the *Fleet*, or any other Prison within my Dioceses. And when I have them in my clutches, let God do so, and more to *Bonner*, if they scape his fingers.

The Persecution thus resolved on, home goes the bloudy Executioner, armed with as much power as the Law could give him, and backed by the Authority of so great a King, taking some other of the Bishops to him, convents before him certain of the Preachers of King *Edwards* time, who formerly had been committed to several prisons; of whom it was demanded, Whether they would stand to their former doctrines, or accept the Queens Pardon and Recant? To which it was generally and stoutly answered, That they would stand unto their doctrines. Hereupon followed that *Inquisition for blood* which raged in *London*, and more or less was exercised in most parts of the Kingdom. The first that led the way was Mr. *John Rogers*, a right learned man, and a great companion of that *Tyndal*, by whom the Bible was translated into English in the time of King *Henry*: After whose Martyrdom, not daring to return into his own Country, he retired to *Wittenberge* in the Dukedom of *Saxonie*, where he remained till King *Edward's* comming to the Crown, and was by Bishop *Ridley* preferred to the Lecture of St. *Paul's*, and made one of the Prebends. Nothing the better liked of for his Patron's sake, he was convented and condemned, and publickly burnt in *Smithfield* on the 4th of *February*. On the 9th day of which Month, another fire was kindled at *Gloucester* for the burning of Mr. *John Hooper*, the late Bishop thereof, of whom, sufficient hath been spoke in another place; condemned amongst the rest at *London*, but appointed to be burnt in *Gloucester*, as the place in which he most had sinned, by sowing the seeds of false doctrine amongst the people. The news whereof being brought unto him, he rejoyced exceedingly, in regard of that excellent opportunity which was thereby offered, for giving testimony by his death to the truth of that Doctrine, which had so oft sounded in their ears, and now should be confirmed by the sight of their eyes. The Warrant for whose burning was in these words following, as I find it in the famous Library of Sir *Robert Cotton*.

Whereas John Hooper, *who of late was called Bishop of* Worcester *and* Gloucester, *is by due order of the Laws Ecclesiastical condemned, and judged for a most*

most obstinate, false, and detestable Heretick, and committed to our Secular Power, to be burned, according to the wholsome and good Laws of our Realm, in that case provided: Forasmuch as in those Cities and Dioceses thereof, he hath in times past preached and taught most pestilent Heresies and Doctrine to our Subjects there, We have therefore given order, that the said Hooper, *who yet persisteth obstinate, and refuseth mercy when it was graciously offered, shall be put to execution in the said City of* Gloucester, *for the example and terrour of others, such as he hath there seduced and mis-taught, and because he hath done most harm there. And will that you, calling to you some of reputation, dwelling in that Shire, such as you think best, shall repair unto your said City, and be at the said execution, assisting our Mayor and Sheriffs of the same City in this behalf. And forasmuch as the said* Hooper *is, as other Hereticks, a vain-glorious person, and delighted in his tongue, to perswade such as he hath seduced to persist in the miserable opinions that he hath sown amongst them; our pleasure is therefore, and we require you to take order, that the said* Hooper *be neither at the time of his execution, nor in going to the place there, suffered to speak at large, but thither to be led quietly, and in silence, for eschewing of further infection, and such inconveniencies as may otherwise ensue in this part. Whereof fail ye not, as ye tender our pleasure, &c.* An. Reg. Mar. 2. 1555.

The like course was also taken with Bishop *Farrar*, but that I do not find him restrained from speaking his mind unto the people, as the other was: A man of an implausible nature, which rendred him the less agreeable to either side; cast into prison by the Protestant, and brought out to his death and martyrdom by the Popish party. Being found in prison at the death of King *Edward*, he might have fared as well as any of his ranck and order, who had no hand in the interposing for Queen *Jane*, if he had governed himself with that discretion, and given such fair and moderate Answers, as any man in his condition might have honestly done. But being called before Bishop *Gardiner*, he behaved himself so proudly, and gave such offence, that he was sent back again to prison, and after condemned for an obstinate Heretick. But for the sentence of his condemnation, he was sent into his own Dioceſs, there to receive it at the hand of *Morgan*, who had supplanted and succeeded him in the See of St. *Davids*. Which cruel wretch having already took possession, could conceive no way safer for his future establishment, than by imbruing his hands in the bloud of this learned Prelate, and to make sure with him, for ever claiming a restitution, or comming in by a *Remitter* to his former estate; in reference whereunto he past sentence on him, caused him to be delivered to the Civil Magistrate, nor desisting till he had brought him to the Stake on the third of *March*, more glad to see him mounting unto Heaven in a *fiery Chariot*, than once *Elisha* was on the like translation of the Prophet *Elijah*. I shall say nothing in this place of the death and martyrdom of Dr. *Rowland Taylor*, Rector of *Hadley* in the County of *Hartford*, and there also burned, *Feb.* 9. Or of *John Cardmaker*, Chancellor of the Church of *Wells*, who suffered the like death in *London* on the last of *May*; Or of *Laurence Sanders*, an excellent Preacher, martyr'd at *Coventry*, where he had spent the greatest part of his Ministry, who suffered in the same month also, but three weeks sooner than the other; Or of *John Bradford*, a right holy man, and a diligent Preacher, condemned by *Bonner*, and brought unto the Stake in *Smithfield* on the first of *July*; though he had deserved better of that bloudy Butcher, (but that no courtesie can oblige a cruel and ungrateful person) in saving the life of Doctor *Bourn* his Chaplain, as before was shewed: Or finally of any of the rest of the noble Army of Martyrs, who fought the Lords Battels in those times; only I shall insist on three of the principal Leaders, and take a short view of the rest in the general Muster.

An. Reg. Mar. 3. 1555.

Anno Reg. Mar. 3. A. D. 1555, 1556.

BEing reſolved to wave the writing of a *Martyrology*, which is done already to my hand in the *Acts* and *Monuments*, I ſhall inſiſt only upon three of moſt eminent ranck, that is to ſay, Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, Biſhop *Latimer*, and Biſhop *Ridley*, men of renown, never to be forgotten in the Church of *England*. Of whom there hath ſo much been ſaid in the courſe of this Hiſtory, that nothing need be added more, than the courſe of their ſufferings. Committed to the Tower by ſeveral Warrants, and at ſeveral times, they were at once diſcharged from the Tower of *London* on the 10th of *April*, *Anno* 1554. Removed from thence to *Windſor*, and at laſt to *Oxon*, where they were to combate for their lives. A combat not unlike to that of St. *Paul* at *Epheſus*, where he is ſaid *to fight with beaſts after the manner of men*; the diſputation being managed ſo tumultuouſly with ſhouts and out-crys, and ſo diſorderly without rule or modeſty, as might make it no unproper parallel to St. *Paul's* encounter. The perſons againſt whom they were to enter the liſts, were culled out of the ableſt men of both Univerſities, commiſſionated to diſpute, and authorized to ſit as Judges. And then what was to be expected, by the three Reſpondents, but that their oppoſites muſt have the better of the day, who could not be ſuppoſed to have ſo little care of their own reputation, as to paſs ſentence on themſelves. Out of the Univerſity of *Oxon* were ſelected Dr. *Weſton*, Prolocutor of the Convocation then in being, Dr. *Treſham*, Dr. *Cole*, Dr. *Oglethorp*, Dr. *Pie*, Mr. *Harpſfield*, and Mr. *Feeknam*; with whom were joyned by the Lord Chancellor *Gardiner*, (who had the nomination of them) Dr. *Young* Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, Dr. *Glyn*, Dr. *Seaton*, Dr. *Watſon*, Dr. *Sedgewick*, and Dr. *Atkinſon*, of the ſame Univerſity.

The Queſtions upon which the Diſputants were to try their fortune, related to the Sacrament of the bleſſed Euchariſt, and were theſe that follow. 1. *Whether the natural body and blood of Chriſt be really in the Sacrament, after the words ſpoken by the Prieſt, or no?* 2. *Whether in the Sacrament after the words of Conſecration, any other ſubſtance do remain, than the ſubſtance of the body and blood of Chriſt?* 3. *Whether the Maſs be a ſacrifice propitiatory, for the ſins of the quick and the dead?* Which having been propounded in the Convocation at *Cambridge*, and there concluded in ſuch manner, as had been generally maintained in the Schools at *Rome*, the Vice Chancellor, and the reſt of the Diſputants which came from thence, could have no power to determine otherwiſe in the points, when they ſhould come to ſit as Judges. Nor is it to be thought, but that as well the *Cambridge* as the *Oxon* Diſputants, came well prepared, ſtudyed and verſed in thoſe Arguments on which they intended to inſiſt; having withall the helps of books, and of perſonal conference, together with all other advantages which might flatter them with the hopes of an eaſie victory. But on the other ſide, the three Defendants had but two days of preparation allotted to them, debarred of all acceſs unto one another; not ſuffered to enjoy the uſe of their own books and papers; and kept in ſuch uncomfortable places, as were but little different from the common dungeons. But out they muſt to try their fortune, there being no other choice left them, but to fight or yield; and which made moſt to the advantage of the other ſide, they were to try their fortune ſingle, each of them deſtinated to a ſeveral day, ſo that they could not contribute to the aſſiſtance of one another, if their occaſions had required it. *Cranmer* begins on the 16th of *April*, *Ridley* ſucceeds upon the next, and *Latimer* brings up the arreir on the morrow after; each man an army in himſelf, and to encounter with an army, as the cauſe was managed.

At the firſt meeting, when the queſtions were to be propounded and diſputed on, *Weſton*, by reaſon of his place, entertains the Auditory with a ſhort Oration,

on, wherein he was to lay before them the cauſe of their aſſembling at that place and time. But ſuch was his ill luck, as to ſtumble at that very threſhold, and to conclude againſt himſelf in the very firſt opening of the diſputation, which he is ſaid to have begun in theſe following words. *Conveniſtis hodie fratres profligandi deteſtandum illam Hæreſin, de veritate corporis Chriſti in Sacramento*, &c. That is to ſay, *Ye are aſſembled hither brethren this day, to confound that deteſtable Hereſie, of the verity of the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament*, &c. Which groſs miſtake, occaſioned no ſmall ſhame in ſome, but more laughter in many. It was obſerved of him alſo, that during the whole time of the diſputation, he had always a cup of wine, or ſome other ſtrong liquor ſtanding by him, and that having once the pot in his hands when an argument was urged by one of the Diſputants, which he very well liked of, he cryed aloud to him, *urge hoc, urge hoc, nam hoc facit pro nobis*. Which being applyed by ſome of the ſpectators to his pot of drink, occaſioned more ſport and merriment than his firſt miſtake. But let them laugh that win, as the Proverb hath it, and *Weſton* is reſolved to win the race, whoſoever runs beſt. The tumult and diſorder of this diſputation hath been touched before, and may be ſeen at large, with all the Arguments and Anſwers of either ſide, in the *Acts* and *Mon.* Suffice it in this place to know, that having ſeverally made good their appointed days, they were all called together on *Friday* the 20th of that month, *Weſton* then ſitting with the reſt in the nature of Judges, by whom they were demanded, whether they would ſubſcribe or not? which when they had ſeverally refuſed to do, their ſentence was pronounced by the Prolocutor in the name of the reſt, in which they were declared *to be no members of the Church*, and that therefore, they, their patrons & followers, were condemned as hereticks. In the reading whereof, they were again ſeverally asked whether they would turn or not; to which they ſeverally anſwered, *read on in God's name*, for they were reſolved not to turn. And ſo the ſentence being pronounced, they were returned again to their ſeveral priſons, there to expect what execution would enſue upon it. *An. Reg. Mar. 3. 1555.*

And execution there was none to enſue upon it, till the end of the Seſſion of Parliament then next following, becauſe till then, there was no law in force for putting Hereticks to death, as in former times. During which interval, they exerciſed themſelves in their private ſtudies, or in ſome godly meditations, writing conſolatory Letters unto ſuch of their friends as were reduced by the iniquity of the times, to the like extremity; amongſt which, as they underſtood their dear brother Mr. *John Hooper*, Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, to have been marked out for the ſlaughter; ſo that intelligence revived in Biſhop *Ridley's* thoughts, the remembrance of that controverſie which had been between them (concerning the Epiſcopal habit) in the time of King *Edward*. There is no queſtion to be made, but that they had forgotten and forgiven that quarrel long before; yet *Ridley* did not think he had done enough, if he left not to the world ſome teſtimony of their mutual charity, as well as their conſent in Doctrine, ſuch as might witneſs to the world, that they maintained *the ſpirit of unity in the bond of peace*. Concerning which he writes to him in this manner following; *viz.*——*But now my dear Brother, foraſmuch as I underſtand by your books which I have but ſuperficially ſeen, that we throughly agree, and wholly conſent together in thoſe things which are the grounds and ſubſtantial points of our Religion, againſt the which the world ſo furiouſly rageth in theſe our days, however in times paſt in certain by-matters and circumſtances of Religion, your wiſdom and my ſimplicity (I muſt confeſs) have a little jarred, each of us following the abundance of his own ſpirit. Now I ſay be aſſured, that even with my whole heart, God is my witneſs, in the bowels of Chriſt I love you in the truth, and for the truths ſake which abideth in us, as I am perſwaded, and by the Grace of God ſhall abide in us for ever more. And becauſe the world, as I perceive, brother, ceaſeth not to play his pageant, and buſily conſpireth againſt Chriſt our Saviour, with all poſſible force and power*, Exalting high things againſt the knowledge of God: *Let us join hands together in Chriſt, as if we cannot overthrow, yet to our power, and as much as in us lyeth, let*

An. Reg. Mar. 3. 1555.

let us shake those high Altitudes, not with carnal, but with spiritual weapons; *and withal, brother, let us prepare our selves to the day of dissolution, by that which after the short time of this bodily affliction, by the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we shall triumph together with him, in eternal glory.*

Comforted with reciprocal letters of this holy nature, they both prepared themselves for death, in which *Hooper* had the honour to lead the way, as being more in *Bonner's* eye when the Act past for reviving the Statutes before mentioned in the case of Heresie. But *Hooper* having led the way, and many other godly and religious men following the same tract which he had made, it came at last unto the turn of these reverend Prelates to pass through the same *red sea* to the *Land of Promise*. In order whereunto, a Commission is directed from the Pope to Dr. *James Brooks*, Bishop of *Gloucester*, by which he is authorized as Subdelegate to his Holiness, to proceed in the cause of *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. The like Commission is directed to Dr. *Martin*, and Dr. *Story*, to attend the business, as delegated thereunto by the King and Queen, before whom convented in St. *Mary's* Church on the 12th of *September* he did his reverence to the two Doctors, as Commissioners for the King and Queen, but could not be perswaded to shew any respect to the Bishop of *Gloucester*, because commissionated by the Pope. He had before abjur'd the Popes supremacy in the time of King *Henry*, and would not now submit unto it in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, desiring the Bishop not to interpret it an affront to his person, to whom otherwise he should gladly pay all due regards, had he appeared in any other capacity than the Popes Commissioner. Not being able to remove him from that resolution, they propounded to him certain Articles concerning his having been twice marryed, his denial of the Pope's supremacy, his judgment in the point of the blessed Sacrament, his having been declared an Heretick by the late Prolocutor, and the rest of the Commissioners there assembled. To all which Articles he so answered, as to deny nothing of the charge in matter of fact, but only to stand upon his justification in point of Doctrine. The whole proceeding being summed up, he is cited to appear before the Pope within 80 days. To which he said that he was most willing so to do, if the King and Queen would please to send him. And so he was returned to the prison from whence he came, and there kept safe enough from making any jouney to *Rome*, remaining in safe custody till he was brought out to suffer death, of which more hereafter.

On the 28th of the same month, comes out another Commission from the Cardinal Legate, directed to *John White*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, *James Brooks*, Bishop of *Gloucester*, and *John Holyman*, Bishop of *Briston*, or any two of them; inabling them to proceed to the degradation of the other two Bishops, if they retracted not those doctrines, for holding which they had been formerly declared to be Hereticks. But they couragiously adhering to their first opinions, and otherwise expressing as little reverence to the Substitutes of the Cardinal Legate, as *Cranmer* had done to the Commissioners of the Pope, the sentence was pronounced upon them to this effect; that is to say, "That forasmuch as the said *Nicholas Ridley*, and *Hugh Latimer*, did affirm, maintain, "and stubbornly defend certain opinions and Heresies contrary to the Word "of God, and the received faith of the Church; as first, *In denying the true and natural body of Christ, and his natural bloud to be in the Sacrament of the Altar.* 2. *In affirming the substance of bread and wine to remain after the words of the consecration.* And 3. *In denying the Mass to be a lively Sacrifice of the Church for the quick and the dead*, and by no means could be reduced from the same: that therefore they the said *John* of *Lincoln*, *James* of *Gloucester*, and *John* of *Bristol*, did adjudge and condemn them the said *N. Ridley*, and *H. Latimer* as Hereticks, both by word and deed, to be degraded from the degree of a Bishop, from Priesthood, and all other Ecclesiastical Orders; declaring them moreover to be no members of the Church, and therefore to be committed to the secular power, to receive due punishment according to the Tenor of the temporal Laws,

Laws. According to which Sentence, they were both degraded on the 15th of *October*, and brought unto the Stake in the Town-ditch over againſt *Baliol College* on the morrow after, where with great conſtancy and courage they endured that death, to which they had been pre-condemned before they were heard. *Cranmer* was priſoner at that time in the North-gate of the City, called *Bocardo*, from the top whereof he beheld that moſt doleful ſpectacle; and caſting himſelf upon his knees, he humbly beſeeched the Lord to endue them with a ſufficient ſtrength of Faith and Hope; which he alſo deſired for himſelf, whenſoever he ſhould act his part on that bloudy Theater. *An. Reg. Mar. 3. 1555.*

But he muſt ſtay the Popes leiſure before he was to be brought on the Stage again. The Queen had been acquainted with ſuch diſcouſes, as had paſſed betwixt the Pope and her Ambaſſadors, when they were at *Rome*; and ſhe appeared deſirous to have gratified him in his demands. But the Kings abſence, who ſet ſail for *Calais* on the fourth of *September*, and the next morning took his journey to the Emperor's Court, which was then at *Bruxels*, rendred the matter not ſo feaſible as it might have been, if he had continued in the Kingdom. For having called a Parliament to begin on the 21. of *October*, ſhe cauſed many of the Lords to be dealt withall touching the paſſing of an Act for the reſtoring of all ſuch Lands as had belonged unto the Church, and were devolved upon the Crown, and from the Crown into the hands of private perſons, by the fall of Monaſteries, and other Religious Houſes, or by any other ways or means whatſoever. But ſuch a general averſneſs was found amongſt them, that ſhe was adviſed to deſiſt from that unprofitable undertaking. Certain it is, that many who were cordially affected to the Queens Religion, were very much ſtartled at the noiſe of this Reſtitution, inſomuch that ſome of them are ſaid to have clapt their hands upon their ſwords, affirming, not without ſome Oaths, that they would never part with their Abbey-Lands as long as they were able to wear a ſword by their ſides. Which being ſignified to the Queen, it ſeemed good to her to let fall that ſute for the preſent, and to give them good example for the time to come, by paſſing an Act, for releaſing the Clergy from the payment of firſt Fruits and Tenths, which had been formerly veſted in the Crown in the Reign of her Father. Againſt which when it was objected by ſome of the Lords of the Council, that the ſtate of her Kingdoms and Crown Emperial could not be ſo honourably maintained as in former times, if ſuch a conſiderable part of the Revenue were diſmembred from it; ſhe is ſaid to have returned this anſwer, That ſhe preferred the ſalvation of her Soul before ten ſuch Kingdoms. She procured another Act to be paſſed alſo, which very much redounded to the benefit of the two Univerſities, inhibiting all Purveyors from taking up any proviſions for the uſe of the Court within five miles of *Oxon* or *Cambridge*; by meanſ whereof, thoſe Markets were more pentifully ſerved with all ſorts of Proviſions than in former times, and at more reaſonable rates than otherwiſe they could have been, without that reſtraint. In her firſt Parliament, the better to indear her ſelf to the common ſubject, ſhe had releaſed a Subſidie which was due unto her, by an Act of Parliament made in the time of King *Edw.* the ſixth. And now to make her ſome amends, they gave her a Subſidie of four ſhillings in the Pound for Lands, and two ſhillings eight-pence in the pound for Goods. In the drawing up of which Act, an Oath, which had been formerly preſcribed to all manner of perſons, for giving in a juſt account of their eſtates, was omitted wholly, which made the Subſidie ſinke beneath expectation. But the Queen came unto the Crown by the love of the people, and was to do nothing to the hazard of their affections, which ſhe held it by.

At the ſame time was held a Convocation alſo, for ſummoning whereof, a Writ was iſſued in the name of the King and Queen, to the Dean and Chapter of the Metropolitan Church of *Canterbury*, the See being then vacant by the Attaindure of Archbiſhop *Cranmer*. *Bonner* preſides in it as before, *Boxhall* then Warden of *Winchester* preacheth (though not in the capacity) at the open-

ing

An. Reg. Mar. 3. 1555.

ing of it, and Doctor *John Christopherson*, Dean of *Norwich*, is chosen Prolocutor for the House of the Clergy. But the chief business done therein was the granting of a Subsidie of six shillings in the pound to be paid out of all their Ecclesiastical Promotions in three years then following. Nor was it without reason that they were enduced to so large a grant; The Queen had actually restored unto them their First-fruits and Tenths, though at that time the Crown was not in such a plentiful condition, as to part with such an annual income. And she had promised also, (as appears by the Records of the Convocation) to render back unto the Church all such Impropriations, Tithes, and portion of Tithes, as were still remaining in the Crown. For the disposing of which Grant to the best advantage, the Cardinal-Legat, at the Queens desire, had conceived an Instrument, which was then offered to the consideration of the Prolocutor, and the rest of the Clergy; it was proposed also by the Bishop of *Ely*, that some certain learned men might be chosen out of the House, to review all the ancient Canons, to fit them to the present state of the Church; and where they found any thing defective in them, to supply that defect, by making such new Canons and Constitutions, as being approved of by the Lords, should be made obligatory to the Clergy, and the rest of the Kingdom. This was well mov'd, and serv'd to entertain the time; but I find nothing in pursuance of it.

But on the other side, the Prolocutor bringing up the Bill of the Subsidies in the end of *October*, propounds three points unto their Lordships, which much conduced to the establishment and advantage of the prejudiced Clergy. The first was, That all such of the Clergy as building on the common report, that the Tenths and First fruits were to be released in the following Parliament, had made no composition for the same with her Majesties Officers, might be discharged from the penalty inflicted by the Laws in that behalf. The second, That their Lordships would be pleased to intercede with the Lord Cardinal-Legat, for setling and confirming them in their present Benefices by some special Bull. The third, That by their Lordships means, an Act may be obtained in the present Parliament, for the repealing of the Statute, by which the Citizens of *London*, which refused to make payment of their Tithes, were to be ordered at the discretion of the Lord Mayor of that City; And that from thenceforth, all such censures as concerned Tithes might be heard and determined by the Ordinary, as in other places. To all which Propositions the Bishops chearfully consented, and so adjourned the Convocation from St. *Pauls* to *Westminster*, that they might have the better opportunity of consulting the Lord-Cardinal in the business; of whom it was no hard matter to obtain the second, and by his power to secure the Clergy in the first; but as for the removal of the Cognisance of the *London* Tithes from the Lord Mayor unto the Bishops, there was nothing done, that Statute still remaining as before it did, to the continual impoverishing and vexation of the City Clergy. Nothing else memorable in this Convocation, but the comming in of the two new Bishops, which had never voted there before; *Pursefew* the Bishop of St. *Asaph*, being translated unto *Hereford* in the former year, had made such havock of the Patrimony of the Church of St. *Asaph*, that it lay void above a twelve month before any became Suter for it. But being a Bishoprick, though impoverished, and consequently a step to some richer preferment, it was desired and accepted by Mr. *Thomas Goldnel*, a right zealous *Romanist*, consecrated Bishop hereof in the beginning of *October*, *Anno* 1555. not many days before the opening of the Parliament and Convocation. And being Bishop here, he procured many Indulgences and other Graces from the Pope then being, for all such persons of each sex, as went on Pilgrimage, or for health, to St. *Winifreds* Well. The like havock had been made of the Lands and Patrimony of the Church of *Bangor*, by *Buckley* the present Bishop of it, preferred unto the See *Anno* 1541. and continuing on it till this year; who not content to alienate the Lands, and weaken the Estate thereof, resolved to rob

rob it of its Bells, for fear perhaps of having any Knell rung out at the Churches Funeral. And not content to ſell the Bells, which were five in number, he would needs ſatisfie himſelf with ſeeing them conveyed on ſhip-board, and had ſcarce given himſelf that ſatisfaction, but he was preſently ſtruck blind, and ſo continued from that time to the day of his death. To whom ſucceeded Doctor *William Glyn*, a *Cambridge* man, but one of the Diſputants at *Oxford*, who received his Epiſcopal Conſecration (if I gueſs aright) on the ſame day with Biſhop *Goldnel*. *An. Reg. Mar.* 3. 1555.

And now it will be time to look back on *Cranmer*, whom we left under a Citation to the Court of *Rome*, without which, nothing could be done; for by an ancient privilege, no Judgement could be paſt upon the perſon of a Metropolitan, before the Pope have taken cogniſance of the cauſe; and eighty days had ſeemingly been given to *Cranmer* for making his appearance in the Court of *Rome*. And though the Pope knew well enough, as well the Archbiſhops readineſs to appear before him, if he were at liberty, as the impoſſibility of making any ſuch appearance as the caſe then ſtood; yet at the end of the ſaid eighty days, he is pronounced by the Pope to be contumacious, and for his contumacy to be Degraded, Excommunicated, and finally delivered over to the Secular Magiſtrate. According unto which Decree, a ſecond Commiſſion is directed to *Edmond Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, and *Thomas Thorlby* Biſhop of *Ely*, to proceed to the Degradation of the ſaid Archbiſhop: In which Commiſſion it was ſaid with moſt horrible falſhood, That all things had been ſo indifferently examined in the Court of *Rome*, that is to ſay, as well the Articles laid unto his charge, as the Anſwers which he made unto them, together with the Allegations, Witneſſes, and Defences, made or produced by the Counſel on either ſide, ſo that nothing had been wanting which was neceſſary to his juſt defence. According to which ſuppoſition, the ſaid two Biſhops being commanded to proceed againſt him, cauſed him to be Degraded on the 14th. of *February*, notwithſtanding that he appealed from the Pope and them to a General Council, and cauſed the ſaid Appeal to be drawn and offered in due form of Law. During the interval between his degradation and the time of his death, great pains was taken by ſome learned men in the Univerſity to perſwade him to a Retraction of his former Opinions; in which unhappy undertaking, no man prevailed ſo far as a *Spaniſh* Frier, by whom it was ſuggeſted to him, how acceptable it would be to the King and Queen, how pleaſing to the Lords, who moſt dearly loved him, and how gainful to himſelf, in regard both of his ſoul and his temporal being; aſſuring him (or at leaſt putting him in good hope) that he ſhould not only have his life, but be reſtored again to his ancient Dignity, and that there ſhould be nothing in the Realm, which the *Queen* would not eaſily grant him, whether it pleaſed him to make choice of Riches and Honours, or otherwiſe ſhould deſire the ſweet retirements of a private life, without the charge and trouble of a publick Miniſtery; and all this to be compaſſed without putting himſelf to any more pains, than the ſubſcribing of his name to a piece of Paper, which was made ready for his hand.

By theſe temptations, and many others of the like alluring and deceitful nature, he ſuffered himſelf to be prevailed upon ſo far, as to ſign the Writing, in which were briefly comprehended the chief points of Doctrine defended in the Church of *Rome*, and by him formerly condemned both in publick and private. The obtaining whereof occaſioned great joy amongſt the Papiſts, and no leſs ſorrow and aſtoniſhment in the hearts of thoſe, who cordially were affected to the Reformation. But all this could not ſave him from being made a ſacrifice to Revenge and Avarice; The *Queen* had ſtill a vindicative ſpirit againſt him, for the injury which ſhe conceived had been done to her mother; and the Cardinal, who hitherto had enjoyed the profits of the See of *Canterbury* as an uſufructuary, was altogether as ſolicitous for getting a right and title to them as the ſole Proprietary; No way to paciſie the one, and ſatisfie

An. Reg. Mar. 3. 1555.

the deſires of the other, but by bringing him (when he leaſt looked for it) to the fatal Stake. And to the fatal Stake they brought him on the 21 of *March*, when he had for ſome time flattered himſelf in a conceit, like the King of *Amaleck*, *that the bitterneſs of death was paſt*. Finding the contrary, he firſt retracts his Retraction, and after puniſheth that hand which had ſubſcribed it, by holding it forth into the flame, and ſuffering it to be conſumed before the reſt of his body had felt the fire. The reſidue of his body being burnt to aſhes, his heart was found entire and untouched in the midſt of the Cinders; Which poſſibly may ſerve as a Witneſs for him, that his heart ſtood faſt unto the Truth, though with his hand he had ſubſcribed ſome Popiſh Errors: Which whether it were done out of human frailty on the hope of life, or out of a deſire to gain the more time, for finiſhing his Book againſt Biſhop *Gardiner*, which he alledged for himſelf in a Letter to one of his friends; Certain it is, that it had too much in it of a ſinful compliance, ſo much as might have blaſted both his fame and memory to all times ſucceeding, if he had not taken off the ſcandal, and expiated the offence in ſo brave a manner. And thus he died, leaving an excellent example to all poſterity, as well of mans infirmity in ſo ſtrange a fall, as of Gods infinite grace and mercy, by which he was enabled to recover his former ſtanding.

Theſe goodly *Cedars* of the *Foreſt* being thus cut down, it was not to be hoped that any favour could be ſhown to the *Shrubs* and *Underwoods*, which were *grubbed* up and *felled* without any diſtinction, as well the young *Sapling*, as the decayed and withered *Tree*; but more in ſome parts than in others, according to the ſharpneſs of the *Tools* and the edge of the *Woodman*. The *Waſte* ſo great in no place as in *Bonner's Walk*, who ſeemed to be reſolved, that whatſoever could not ſerve for *Timber* (toward the building or re-edifying of the Papal palace) ſhould be *mark'd* for *Fuel*. No fewer than two hundred are reported to have been burnt within three years, by this cruel and unmerciful Tyrant, without diſcrimination of ſex or age; his fury reaching from *John Fetty*, a lad of eight years old; by him ſcourged to death, even to *Hugh Lavecork*, a Cripple ſixty eight years old, whom he cauſed to be burned. The moſt eminent of all which number was Mr. *John Philpot*, Arch-deacon of *Wincheſter*, who though of *Gardoners* Dioceſs, was condemned by *Bonner*, *Gardiner* being well enough contented to find out the *Game*, and leave it to be followed by that *Bloudy Hunter*: His rage not ſlackned by the interpoſing of *Alphonſo* a *Spaniſh* Frier, inveighing ſharply, in a Sermon before the King, againſt the ſavage and unprofitable cruelty of the *Engliſh* Biſhops: but as it ſeems, he meaſured all the reſt by that *London Tyrant*, though in moſt other places they were far more moderate: He that came neareſt to him was Doctor *John Chriſtopherſon*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, who is recorded to have burnt no leſs than ten in one fire at *Lewis*, and ſeventeen others at ſeveral times in ſundry places. But ſtill the nearer *London*, the more the heat; inſomuch that *Harpsfield* Arch-deacon of *Canterbury*, and *Thornton* the Suffragan of *Dover*, are ſaid to have poured out blood like water; As was alſo done by *Griffin* of *Rocheſter*, and *Downing* Chancellor of *Norwich* (though ſomewhat further off from the ſcene of cruelty) in their ſeveral Dioceſſes. Which Character I find of Biſhop *Bain* of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*; the gentle birth and breeding of Mrs. *Joyce Lewis* not being too high for him to reach at, nor the poor condition of *Joan Waſte*, a blind woman in *Darby*, too low for him to ſtoop to, whom he condemned unto the fire, as he did many faithful Miniſters, and others of the Maſculine ſex.

But on the other ſide, in all the Province of *York*, I find none brought unto the Stake but *George March* of *Cheſter*, condemned thereto by Biſhop *Coles*; and not much more to have been done in the four *Welſh* Dioceſſes; in which, beſide the burning of Biſhop *Farrar* at *Carmarthen* by Biſhop *Morgan*; and of *Rawlins* and *White* at *Cardiff* by Biſhop *Kitching*; no extraordinary cruelty ſeems to have been acted. In the Dioceſſes of *Exeter*, *Wells*, *Peterborough*,

borough and *Lincoln* (though this last the greatest in the Kingdom) I find mention but of one apiece; of two in that of *Ely*, and of no more than three apiece at *Bristol* and *Salisbury*. In those of *Oxon*, *Gloceſter*, *Worceſter* and *Hereford*, I find none at all, which made those Countries look like the land of *Goshen*, where there was nothing but fair weather, when there was so much thunder and lightning in the rest of *Ægypt*. Nor were these storms and tempests in other places of a short continuance, but held on more or less till the death of the Queen, as appeareth by those five persons which were burnt at *Canterbury* on the 10th. of *November* 1558. being but one full week before the day of her own dissolution. The difference was, that these poor wretches were consumed by the rage of fire, whereas she was caried out of the world in a deluge of water; falling into a Dropsie in the time of her supposed childing, of which she was never perfectly cured till she came to her grave. Nor were these all that suffered in the fury of this persecution. For besides, those that suffered Martyrdom in the sight of the world, many are thought to have been made away in prison; but many more, to the number of some scores or hundreds, supposed to have been killed by starving, stinks, and other barbarous usages in their several Jayls. To which if we should add a Catalogue of all those who fled the Kingdom, and put themselves into a voluntary exile, amounting to the number of 800. or thereabouts, I suppose it may be well concluded, that though many persecutions have lasted longer, yet none since *Diocleſian*'s time ever raged so terribly. So terribly it raged in one particular, that no persecution of the ten can afford a paralel. *Katharine Gouchys*, a poor widdow of St. *Peter*'s Port in the Isle of *Guernsey*, was noted to be much absent from the Church, and her two daughters guilty of the same neglect. Upon this they were presented before *Jaques Amy*, then Dean of the Island, who finding in them that they held opinions contrary to those then allowed, about the Sacrament of the Altar, pronounced them Heretieks, and condemned them to the fire. The poor women on the one side pleaded for themselves, that that doctrine had been taught them in the time of King *Edward*; but if the Queen was otherwise disposed, they were content to be of her Religion. This was fair, but this would not serve; for by the Dean they were delivered to *Elier Gosling*, the then Bayliff, and by him unto the fire, *July* the 8th. 1556. One of the daughters (*Perotine Massey* she was called) was at that time great with child; her husband a Minister being in those dangerous times fled the Island; In the middle of the flames and anguish of her torments, her belly brake in sunder, and her child, a goodly boy, fell down into the fire, but was presently snatched up by one *W. House*, one of the By-standers. Upon the noise of this strange accident, the cruel Baylif returned command, that the poor infant must be cast again into the flames; which was accordingly performed; and so that pretty babe was born a *Martyr*, and added to the number of the *Holy innocents*. A cruelty not paralell'd in any story, not heard of amongst the Nations. But such was the pleasure of the Magistrate, as once in the Massacre of the younger *Maximinus*, *viz.* * That not any issue should be left of an Heretick Parent.

An. Reg. Mar. 3. 1555.

* *Canis pessimi ne catulum relinquendum.*

But to go back again to *Cranmer*, as is to be observed, that as his death opened the way for *Pole* to the See of *Canterbury*, so it was respited the longer out of a politick design to exclude him from it. That *Gardiner* loved him not, hath been said before; and he knew well that Cardinal *Caraffa* (now Pope *Paul* the 4th.) loved him less than he. This put him first upon an hope, that the Pope might be prevailed with to revoke the Cardinal (who had before been under a suspicion in the Court of *Rome*, of having somewhat of the *Lutheran* in him) and to bestow the Cardinal's Cap, together with the *Legantine* power, upon himself, who doubted not of sitting in the Chair of *Canterbury* if he gained the rest. Upon which ground he is supposed to have hindered all proceedings against the three *Oxon Martyrs*, from the ending of the Parliament on the 26th. of *January*, till the 12th. of *September* then next following, the Pope

An. Reg. Mar. 3. 1555.

not ſending out any Commiſſion in all that interval, without which *Cranmer* was not to be brought to a condemnation. But at the laſt, not knowing how much theſe procraſtinations might offend the King, and perhaps preſt unto it by *Karn* the Queen's Ambaſſadour, he found himſelf under a neceſſity to diſpatch the Commiſſion; though he proceeded not to the execution of any part of the ſentence, till more than ten weeks after the 80 dayes, which had been given for his appearance in the Court of *Rome*.

During which time, death puts an end to *Gardiners* projects, who left his life at *Whitehall* on the 12th. of *November*. From whence conveyed by water, to his houſe in *Southwark*, his body was firſt lapt in lead, kept for a ſeaſon in the Church of St. *Mary Over-Rhe*, and afterwards ſolemnly interred under a fair and goodly Monument in his Cathedral. The cuſtody of the Great Seal, together with the Title of Lord Chancellor, was upon New-years day conferred on Dr. *Nicholas Heath*, Archbiſhop of *York*, a man of great prudence and moderation, but the Revenues of the Biſhoprick were appropriated to the uſe of the Cardinal Legate, who purpoſed to have held it in *Commendam* with the See of *Canterbury*, to which he received Conſecration on the very next Sunday after *Cranmer's* death. But Dr. *John White* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, having been born at *Winchester*, and educated in that School, of which he was afterwards chief Maſter, and finally Warden of that College, ambitiouſly affected a tranſlation thither. And ſo far he prevailed by his friends at Court, that on the promiſe of an annual penſion of 1000 l. to the uſe of the Cardinal, he was permitted to enjoy the Title with the reſt of the profits. Which I have mentioned in this place, though this tranſaction was not made, nor his tranſlation actually performed till the year next following. No other alteration made amongſt the Biſhops of this time, but that *Voyſie* of *Exon*, dies in ſome part of the year, 1555. and Dr. *James Turbervile* ſucceeds him in the beginning of the year, 1556. A man well born, and well befriended, by means whereof he recovered ſome lands unto his See, which had been alienated from it by his predeceſſor; and amongſt others, the rich and goodly Mannors of *Crediſon*, of *Kirton*, in the County of *Devon*, (in former time the Epiſcopal ſeat of the Biſhop of *Exon*) though afterwards again diſmembred from it in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, by Biſhop *Cotton*.

It is now time to take into conſideration the affairs of State, nothing the better cemented by the blood of ſo many Martyrs, or jointed any whit the ſtronger by the ſecret animoſities and emulations between the Lord Chancellor and the Cardinal Legate. Though *Wiat's* party was ſo far ſuppreſſed, as not to ſhew it ſelf viſibly in open action, yet ſuch as formerly had declared for it, or wiſh'd well unto it, had many ſecret writings againſt the Queen, every day growing more and more in diſlike of her Government, by reaſon of ſo many butcheries as were continually committed under her authority. Upon which ground as they had formerly inſtructed *Elizabeth Croft* to act the *ſpirit in the Wall*; ſo afterwards they trained up one *William Conſtable*, *alias*, *Featherſtone*, to take upon himſelf the name of King *Edward*, whom he was ſaid to have reſembled, both in age and perſonage. And this they did in imitation of the like practice, uſed in the time of King *Henry* the 6th. by *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York*, who when he had a mind to claim his Title to the Crown, in regard of his deſcent by the Houſe of *Mortimer*, from *Lionel* of *Antwerp* Duke of *Clarence*, he cauſed one *Jack Cade* (a fellow altogether as obſcure as this) to take upon himſelf the name of *Mortimer*, that he might ſee how well the people ſtood affected unto his pretenſions, by the diſcovery which might be made thereof in this falſe allarum. And though this *Featherſtone* had been taken and publickly whip'd for it in *May* laſt paſt, and thereupon baniſhed into the *North*, where he had been born; yet the confederats reſolved to try their fortune with him in a ſecond adventure. The deſign was to raiſe the people under colour of King *Edward's* being alive, and at the ſame time to rob the Exchequer, wherein they knew by ſome intelligence or other, that 50000 l.

in

in good *Spaniſh* money had been lately lodged. Few perſons of any quality appeared in it, not thinking fit to ſhew themſelves in any new practice againſt the Queen, till made proſperous by ſome good ſucceſs. The chief whom I find mentioned to be privy to it, were *Henry Peckam*, the ſon of that Sir *Edmond Peckam*, who had been Caterer of the houſhold to King *Henry* the 8th. one of the *Throgmortons*, and Sir *Anthony Kingſton*. But the firſt part of the Plot miſcaried by the apprehending of *Featherſtone*, who was arraigned and executed on the 13th of *March*; and the laſt part thereof diſcovered on the 28th by one of the company. On which diſcovery Sir *Anthony Kingſton* being ſent for, dyed upon the way; the ſaid *Throgmorton*, with one *Udal*, were executed at *Tyburn* on the 28th of *April*, one *Stanton* on the 29th of *May*; *Roſſedike* and *Bedel*, on the 8 h of *June*; *Peckam* and *Daniel*, at the Tower Hill, on the 8th of *July*. *Andrew Duchesne* makes the Lord *Gray*, and one of the *Howards*, to have a hand in this conſpiracy; and poſſibly enough it is, that ſome of greater eminence than any of thoſe before remembred, might be of counſel in the practice, though they kept themſelves out of ſight as much as they could, till they found how it would ſucceed amongſt the people. *An. Reg. Mar.* 3. 1555.

In this unquiet condition we muſt leave *England* for a time, and look on the eſtate of the *Engliſh* Churches on the other ſide of the Sea. That many of the *Engliſh* Proteſtants had forſook the Kingdom, to the number of 800. as well Students as others, hath been ſaid before; who having put themſelves into ſeveral Cities, partly in *Germany*, and partly among the *Switzers*, and their Confederates, kept up the face and form of an *Engliſh* Church, in each of their ſeveral Congregations. Their principal retiring places amongſt the laſt, were *Arrow*, *Zurick*, and *Geneva*, and in the firſt, the Cities of *Embden*, *Stralsburge*, and *Franckfort*. In *Franckfort* they enjoyed the greateſt Priviledges, and therefore reſorted thither in the greateſt numbers, which made them the more apt unto Schiſms and Factions. At their firſt coming to that place, which was on the 27th of *June*, *Anno* 1554. by the power and favour of *John Glauberge*, one of the Senators of that City, they were permitted to have the uſe of one of their Churches, which had before been granted to ſuch *French* Exiles, as had repaired thither on the like occaſion; yet ſo, that the French were ſtill to hold their right; the Engliſh to have the uſe of it one day, and the French another, and on the Lords day ſo to divide the hours between them, that the one might be no hinderance unto the other. It hath been ſaid alſo, that there was another condition impoſed upon them, of being conform unto the French in Doctrine and Ceremonies. Which condition if it were impoſed by the Magiſtrates, not ſought by themſelves, muſt needs be very agreeable to the temper and complexion of their principal Leaders; who being for the moſt part of the *Zwinglian-Goſpellers*, at their going hence, became the great promoters of the Puritan faction at their coming home. The names of *Whittingham*, *Williams*, *Goodman*, *Wood*, and *Sutton*, who appeared in the head of this Congregation, declare ſufficiently of what Principles and ſtrain they were, how willing they would be to lay aſide the face of an Engliſh Church, and frame themſelves to any Liturgy but their own.

On *July* the 14th they firſt obtained a grant of their Church, and on the 29th took poſſeſſion of it. The interval they ſpent in altering and diſfiguring the Engliſh Lyturgy, of which they left nothing but the reading of the Pſalms and Chapters. Thoſe comfortable interlocutories between the Miniſter and the People, were no longer uſed, as favouring in their Opinion, of ſome diſorder in the courſe of the miniſtration; the Letany and the Surplice they caſt aſide, as having too much in them of the Church of *Rome*; the *Confeſſion* they had altered ſo, as they conceived moſt agreeable to their preſent condition; and for the Hymns which intervened between the Chapters and the *Creed*, they changed them for ſuch Pſalms in the Engliſh Meeter, as had been made by *Sternhold* and *Hopkins* in the time of King *Edward*. The Pſalm being done, the Preacher goes into the Pulpit, in which the Miniſter prayed for the aſſiſtance of

An. Reg. Mar. 3. 1555.

of God's Spirit, and ſo proceeded to the Sermon. Which done, an other Prayer was made for all orders and eſtates of men, but more particularly for the welfare of the Church of *England*; compoſed in imitation of the Prayer for the *Church Militant* here on earth, but ending (as that did not) with the *Pater noſter*. After which (moſt extreamly out of order) followed the rehearſal of the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith, another Pſalm, and finally the diſmiſſion of the people, with *The Peace of God*. This was the form deviſed for that Congregation, for the impoſing whereof on all the reſt of the Engliſh Churches, they did then uſe their beſt endeavours, and for obtruding which on the whole Church of *England*, they raiſed ſuch tumults and commotions in the following times. Growing in love with this fair Babe of their own begetting, they write their Letters of the ſecond of *Auguſt*, to ſuch of the Engliſh as remained at *Stralsburge* and *Zurick*, inviting them to repair to *Franckfort*, and unite themſelves unto that Church, which had been there erected with the leave of the Magiſtrate. But they had heard in both places of thoſe Alterations which had been made at *Franckfort*, in the form of Gods publick Service, and thereupon refuſed to accept of the invitation, though it ſeemed to promiſe them ſome advantages by the commodious ſcituation of that City in reſpect of *England*, the great reſort of ſtrangers thither at the yearly Marts, plenty of Books, and other helps in the way of ſtudy, which were not to be found in the other two Cities. From *Stralsburge* modeſtly, from *Zurick* reſolutely, but from both it was plainly ſignified, that they reſolved to maintain the Order of the Church of *England*. The like Letter had been writ to the *Engliſh* at *Embden*, of which Congregation Doctor *Scory*, the late Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, was the Super-intendent; and we may readily believe, that they received the like repulſe from his Church at *Embden*, as they had from *Gryndal*, *Sandys*, and *Haddon*, or who had the conſtituting of the Church at *Stralsburge*; or from *Horn*, *Chambers*, *Parkhurſt*, and other of the Students which remained at *Zurick*.

The noiſe of this new Church at *Franckfort*, occaſioned *Knox*, who after proved the great incendiary of the Realm and Church of *Scotland*, to leave his Sanctuary in *Geneva*, in hope to make a better Market for himſelf in that Congregation. He had not long before publiſhed a ſeditious Pamphlet, entituled, *The firſt blaſt of the Trumpet*, in which he bitterly inveighed againſt the Government of *Women*, aiming there eſpecially at the three Queen *Marits*, that is to ſay, *Mary* Queen of *England*, *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, and *Mary* of *Lorrain* Queen Regent of *Scotland*. By which ſeditious Pamphlet, he had made not only his own Country too hot for him, but could aſſure himſelf of no ſafety in *France* or *England*. To *Geneva* therefore he retires, and from thence removes to *Franckfort*, as the fitter *Scene* for his intendments, hoping to get as great a name in this new Plantation, as *Calvin* had gotten in the old. It was about the end of *September* that he came to *Franckfort*, where he took the charge of that Church upon him, *Whittingham* and the reſt ſubmitting unto his Apoſtleſhip. This gave a new diſ-ſatisfaction to the *Engliſh* at *Stralsburge* and *Zurick*, who knew the ſpirit of the man, and feared the dangerous conſequents and effects thereof. Nor was the condition of affairs much bettered by the comming of *Whitehead*, (who afterwards refuſed the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*) though far the more moderate of the two. New Letters are reciprocated between *Franckfort* and *Zurick*; From *Franckfort* on the 15th. of *November*, in open defiance as it were to the Engliſh Liturgy; From *Zurick* on the 28th. in defence thereof, and of their conſtancy and reſolution for adhering to it. The breach growing every day more wide than other. *Gryndal* and *Chambers* came from *Stralsburge* to attone the difference, by whom it was propoſed unto them, That the *ſubſtance* of the Engliſh Liturgy being retained, there might be a forbearance of ſome *Ceremonies* and *Offices* in it. But *Knox* and *Whittingham* were as much bent againſt the *ſubſtance* of the Book, as againſt any of the *circumſtantials* and *extrinſecal*, which belonged unto it. So that no good

effect

effect following on in this interposition, the Agents of the Church of *Stralsburge* return back to their brethren, who by their Letters of the 13th of *December*, expostulate in vain about it. *An. Reg. Mar.* 3. 155⅓.

In these distractions, some of the *Franckfort* Schismaticks desire, that all divine Offices might be executed according to the order of the Church of *Geneva*; which *Knox* would by no means yield unto, thinking himself as able to make a rule for his own Congregation, as any *Calvin* of them all. But that the mouths of those of *Stralsburge* and *Zurick*, might be stopped for ever, he is content to make so much use of him, as by the authority of his judgement, to disgrace that Liturgy, which those of *Zurick* did contend for. He knew well how he had bestirred himself in quarrelling the first Liturgy of King *Edward* the 6th. and nothing doubteth, but that the second (though reviewed on his importunity) would give him as little satisfaction as the other did. To this intent, the Order of the *English Liturgy* is drawn up in Latine, transmitted to him by *Knox* and *Whittingham*, by his infallible judgement to stand or fall. The Oracle returns this answer on the 31 of *January*, (*In Liturgia Anglicana qualem mihi describitis multas video tolerabiles ineptias*) That in the Book of *England* as by them described, he had observed many *tolerable fooleries*. Which last words being somewhat ambiguous, as all Oracles are, he explicates himself by telling them, "* That there wanted much of that "purity which was to be desired in it; * That it contained many relicks of the "dregs of Popery; that being there was no manifest impiety in it, it had been "tolerated for a season, because at first it could not otherwise be admitted: "But howsoever, though it was lawful to begin with such beggarly rudi-"ments, yet it behoved the learned, grave, and godly Ministers of Christ to "endeavour further, and set forth something more refined from filth and "rustiness. This being sent for his determinate sentence unto *Knox* and *Whittingham*, was of such prevalency with all the rest of that party, that such who formerly did approve, did afterwards as much dislike the *English* Liturgy; and those who at the first had conceived only a dislike, grew afterwards into an open detestation of it. Those who before had been desirous that the Order of *Geneva* should be entertained, had now drawn *Knox* and *Whittingham* unto them, Mr. *John Fox* (the Author of the *Acts* and *Monuments*) contributing his approbation amongst the rest. But in the end, to give content to such as remained affected to the former Liturgy, it was agreed upon, That a mixt Form, consisting partly of the Order of *Geneva*, and partly of the Book of *England*, should be digested and received till the first of *April*; consideration in the mean time to be had of some other course which should be permanent and obliging for the time to come. 155⅔.

* *Non est ea puritas quæ optanda foret.*
* *Facis Papistica reliquiæ.*

In this condition of affairs, Dr. *Richard Cox*, the late Dean of *Christ-Church* and *Westminster*, first Schoolmaster, and after Almoner to King *Edward* the sixth, putteth himself into *Franckfort*, *March* 13. accompanied with many English Exiles, whom the cause of Religion had necessitated to forsake their Country. Being a man of great learning, of great authority in the Church, and one that had a principal hand in drawing up the Liturgy by Law established; he could with no patience endure those innovations in it, or rather that rejection of it which he found amongst them. He thereupon first begins to answer the Minister contrary to the Order there agreed on, and the next *Sunday* after causeth one of his company to go into the Pulpit, and read the Letany. Against which doings of his, *Knox* in a Sermon the same day inveigheth most bitterly, affirming many things in the Book of *England* not only to be imperfect, but superstitious. For the which he is not only rebuked by *Cox*, but forbidden to preach. Wherewith *Whittingham* being much offended, deals with some of the Magistrates, from whom he procureth an Order of the 22 of *March*, requiring, That the English should conform themselves to the Rules of the *French*. *Knox* had not long before published a seditious Pamphlet, entituled, *An Admonition to Christians*, containing the substance of some Sermons

by

An. Reg. Mar. 3. 1554. 1555.

by him preached in *England*, in one of which, he affirmed the Emperor to be *no leſs an enemy to Chriſt than the Tyrant Nero*. For this, and ſeveral other paſſages of the like dangerous Nature, he is accuſed by *Cox* for Treaſon againſt the Emperor; the Senate made acquainted with it, and *Knox* commanded thereupon to depart the City, who makes his Fare-well Sermon on the 25th of *March*, and retires himſelf unto *Geneva*. Following his blow, *Cox* gets an order of the Senate, by the means of another of the *Glamberges*, by which *Whittingham* and the reſt of his Faction were commanded to receive the Book of *England*. Againſt which order, *Whittingham* for a time oppoſeth, encouraged therein by *Goodman*, who for the love of *Knox* (with whom afterwards he aſſociated in all his practices) had left the grave Society of thoſe of *Stralsburge*, to joyn himſelf unto the Sectaries of *Franckfort*. But finding *Cox* to be too ſtrong for them in the Senate, both they and all the reſt who refuſed conformity, reſolved to betake themſelves to ſome other place, as they ſhortly did.

Cox thus made Maſter of the field, begins to put the Congregation into ſuch Order, as might preſerve the face and reputation of an *Engliſh* Church. He procures *Whitehead* to be choſen for the principal Paſtor, appoints two Miniſters for Elders, and four Deacons for Aſſiſtants to him, recommends Maſter *Robert Horn* (whom he had drawn from *Zurick* thither) to be *Hebrew*-Reader, *Mullings* to read the *Greek* Lecture, *Trahern* the Lecture in Divinity, and *Chambers* to be Treaſurer for the Contributions, which were ſent in from time to time, by many godly and well-affected perſons, both *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, for the uſe of that Church. Having thus ſetled all things anſwerable to his own deſires, he gives an account thereof to *Calvin*, ſubſcribed by fourteen of the chief men in that Congregation, partly excuſing themſelves that they had proceeded ſo far without his conſent, and partly rejoycing, that they had drawn the greateſt part of that Church to their own opinions. *Calvin* returns his Anſwer on the laſt of *May*, which puts his party there on another project, that is to ſay, to have the whole buſineſs referred to ſome Arbitrators, equally choſen on both ſides. But *Cox* was already in poſſeſſion, great in eſteem with the chief Magiſtrates of the City, and would by no means yield to refer that point, which had already been determined to his advantage. With theſe debates the time is taken up till the end of *Auguſt*, at what time *Whittingham* and the reſt of the Faction take their leave of *Franckfort*; *Fox* with ſome few others, go to *Baſil*, but the main body to *Geneva* as their *Mother-City*, where they make choice of *Knox* and *Goodman* for their conſtant Preachers; under which Miniſtry they reject the whole Frame and Fabrick of the Reformation made in *England*, conformed themſelves wholly to the faſhions of the Church of *Geneva*, and therewith entertain alſo the *Calvinian* Doctrines, to the diſcredit of the ſtate of the Church of *England* in King *Edward's* time, the great grief of the Martyrs and other godly men in the reign of Queen *Mary*, and to the raiſing of moſt unquenchable combuſtions in all parts of the Church, under *Queen Elizabeth*.

It was not long after the ſetling of the Liturgie, before *Whitehead* left the Miniſtry of the *Engliſh* Congregation, which *Cox* obtained for Mr. *Horn*, whom he knew to be a man both of courage and conſtancy. And that being done, he left the Congregation, and ſo withdraws himſelf to *Stralsburge*, there to enjoy the company of *Peter Martyr*, with whom he was intimately acquainted while he lived in *Chriſt-Church*. By his departure, a new gap is opened to another diſſention. Some words had paſſed at a Supper, intended rather for increaſe of charity, than the breach of friendſhip, betwixt *Horn* and *Aſhley*; *Horn* the chief Paſtor of the flock, and *Aſhley* a Gentleman of good note in the Lay part of it. Some three dayes after, being the 16th. of *January*, *Aſhley* is cited to appear at the Houſe of one of the Elders, to anſwer for ſome words which he had ſpoken in contempt of the Miniſtry. But from the Elders, he appeals to the Congregation, amongſt whom he prevails ſo far, that they ſend a Meſſage by two of their

1554.

their company to the Paſtor and Elders, requiring them to proceed no further in the cauſe. *Horn* being backed by *Chambers*, the publick Treaſurer, excepts againſt this meſſage, as decreed at a private Conventicle, not by the general ſuffrages of the Congregation, and thereupon reſolves to ſtand to that Authority which formerly had been conferred on him and the reſt of the Elders, by the Rules of their Diſcipline. *Aſhley* and his adherents on the other ſide, declare their former private meeting not to be a Conventicle, proteſt againſt the Paſtor and Elders, as an adverſe party, and therefore not in a capacity to ſit as Judges in the preſent caſe, and ſet themſelves upon the making of a Book of Diſcipline, for the curbing the exorbitant power (for ſuch they thought it) of the Paſtor and Elders. The Paſtor and Elders thereupon forſake their Offices, and on the 5th of *February*, being the next day of publick meeting, take place amongſt the reſt as private perſons; The Congregation full, but the Pulpit empty, which put the reſt upon a humour of electing others to take the publick charge upon them. The noiſe of theſe diſorders awakes the Magiſtrates, who command *Horn* and *Chambers* to forbear the congregation, untill further Order, and afterwards reſtoring them to their former authority by publick Edict, were contradicted in it by *Aſhley's* party, who having got ſome power into their hands, were reſolved to keep it. *An. Reg. Mar. 3. 1553.*

In the mean time, a Book of Diſcipline had been drawn and tendred to the Congregation, on the 14th of *February*. According to the Rules whereof, the ſupreme power in all Eccleſiaſtical cauſes was put into the hands of the Congregations, and the diſpoſing of the publick monies committed to the truſt of certain Officers, by the name of Deacons. This makes the breach wider than before, *Horn* and his party labouring to retain the old, the other to eſtabliſh the new Diſcipline of their own deviſing. The Magiſtrates not able to agree the difference, diſpatch their Letters unto *Stralſburge* of the 3d. of *April*, deſiring Dr. *Cox*, and Dr. *Sandys*, together with *Robert Bertie*, Eſq; to undertake the cloſing of the preſent rupture. To their arbitrement each party is content to ſubmit the controverſie, but differ in concluſion, in the terms of their Reference. Much talk, and no ſmall ſcandal groweth upon theſe diviſions, not made the leſs by the Pen-combats between *Horn* and *Whitehead*. In the end, a form of reconciliation is drawn up by ſome of the *Engliſh*, who more endeavoured the peace of the Church, than the intereſts of either party. But thoſe who ſtood for the new Diſcipline being grown the ſtronger, refuſed to ſubmit themſelves to any eſtabliſhment, by which the power of the diffuſive body of the Congregation might be called in queſtion. Whereupon *Horn* and *Chambers* depart to *Stralſburge*, from whence *Chambers* writ his Letters to them of the 20th of *June*, and after, of the 30th of *July*, but to no effect. They had before proceeded to the election of ſome new Miniſters, *March* the 22d. Againſt which, though *Horn* and his oppoſed, yet they concluded it for the preſent, on the 29th. and now they mean to ſtand unto the concluſion, let *Horn* and *Chambers* go or tarry, as beſt pleaſed themſelves. Such were the troubles and diſorders in the Church of *Frankfort*, occaſioned firſt by a diſlike of the publick Liturgy, before which they preferred the nakedneſs and ſimplicity of the *French* and *Genevian* Churches, and afterwards continued, by the oppoſition made by the general body of the Cogregation, againſt ſuch as were appointed to be Paſtors and Rulers over them. Hence the beginning of the Puritan faction, againſt the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church; that of the Presbyterians *againſt* the Biſhops, or Epiſcopal Government; and finally that alſo of the Independents, againſt the ſuperintendency of the Paſtors and Elders. The terrible effects whereof will appear hereafter, if God ſhall give me means and opportunity to carry on the Hiſtory of thoſe diſturbances which have been raiſed by the *Puritans* or *Preſbyterians*, againſt the Orders of this Church, and the peace of Chriſtendom.

But ſorrows ſeldom go alone, the abberrations from the Goverment, and Form, and Worſhip, eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, drew on an alter-

An. Reg. Mar. 4. 1556.

tion also in point of Doctrine. Such of the *English* as had retired into *Geneva*, imploy themselves in setting out a new Translation of the Bible in the *English* Tongue, which afterwards they published with certain marginal Notes upon it, most of them profitable for the understanding of the Text, but so, that some were heterodox in point of Doctrine, some dangerous, and seditious, in reference to the Civil Magistrate, and some as scandalous in respect of Episcopal Government. From this time the *Calvinian* Doctrine of *Predestination* began to be dispersed in *English* Pamphlets, as the only necessary, Orthodox, and saving truth. *Knox* publisheth a book, *Against an adversary of God's predestination*, wherein it is declared, *That whatsoever the Ethnicks and ignorant did attribute to Fortune, by Christians is to be assigned to God's heavenly providence; that we ought to judge nothing to come of Fortune, but that all cometh by the determinate counsel of God; and finally, that it would be displeasing unto God, if we should esteem any thing to proceed from any other; and that we do not only behold him as the principal cause of all things, but also the author, appointing all things to the one or the other by his only counsel.* After comes out a Book first written in *French*, and afterwards by some of them translated into *English*, which they called *A brief Declaration of the Table* of predestination, in which it is put down for a principal *Aphorism*, that in like manner, *as God hath appointed the end, it is necessary also, that God should appoint the causes leading to the same end*; but more particularly, *that by vertue of God's will all things are done; yea, even those things which are evil and execrable.* In another book Entituled *Against a privy Papist*, it is maintained more agreeably to *Calvin's* Doctrine, *That all evil springeth of Gods Ordinance, and that Gods predestination was the cause of* Adam's *fall, and of all wickednesses.* And in a fourth book published by *Robert Crowley*, who afterwards was Rector of the Church of St. *Giles's* near *Cripple-gate*, Entituled *The confutation of* 13 *Articles*, &c. it is said expresly, *That* Adam *being so perfect a creature, that there was in him no lust to sin, and yet so weak, that of himself he was not able to withstand the assault of the subtil Serpent*; that *therefore there can be no remedy, but that the only cause of his fall, must needs be the predestination of God.* In Which book it is also said, *That the most wicked persons that have been, were of God appointed to be even as wicked as they were*; and finally, *that if God do predestinate man to do things rashly, and without any deliberation, he shall not deliberate at all, but run headlong upon it, be it good or evil.* By which defenders of the absolute decree of reprobation, as God is made to be the Author of sin, either in plain terms or undeniable consequence; so from the same men, and the *Genevian* Pamphlets by them dispersed, our *English Calvinists* had borrowed all their grounds and principles on which they build the absolute and irrespective decree of *Predestination*, contrary to the Doctrine publickly maintained and taught in the time of King *Edward*.

Anno Reg. Mar. 4. *A. D.* 1556, 1557.

IT is now time that we set sail again for *England*, which we left flaming with the fire of Persecution, and the whole body of the State not a little inflamed with a spirit of treason and sedition; the last ill spirit well allayed by the execution of the chief Conspirators, the other fire not quenched by the bloud of the Martyrs, which rather served as oil to nourish, than as water to extinguish the outragiousness of it. But the *Queen* hoped to salve the matter on her part by some works of piety, as the restoring of such Church Lands as were in the Crown, for the endowment of some new Convents of Moncks and Friers. But first she thought it necessary to communicate her purpose unto some of the Council, and therefore calling to her the Lord Treasurer *Paulet*, *Inglefield* Master of the *Wards*, *Rochester* Comptroller of her Household, and Master Secretary *Peter*, who seemed to be most concerned in it, by their several places, she is said to have spoken to them in these following words:

You

You are here of Our Counsel, and We have willed you to be called to Us, to the intent you might hear of me my conscience, and the resolution of my mind, concerning the Lands and Possessions, as well of Monasteries, as of other Churches whatsoever, being now presently in my possession. First I do consider that the said Lands were taken away from the Churches aforesaid, in time of Schism, and that by unlawful means, such as are contrary both to the Law of God and of the Church; For the which cause my conscience doth not suffer me to detain them. And therefore I here expresly refuse either to claim or retain the said Lands for mine, but with all my heart freely and willingly without all action or condition, here and before God, I do surrender and relinquish the said lands and possessions, or inheritances whatsoever, and do renounce the same with this mind and purpose, that order and disposition thereof may be taken, as shall seem best liking to our most holy Lord the Pope, or else his Legate, the Lord Cardinal, to the honour of God, and wealth of this our Realm. And albeit you may object to me again, that considering the State of my Kingdom, the dignity thereof, and my Crown Imperial, cannot be honourably maintained and furnished without the possessions aforesaid; yet notwithstanding (and so she had affirmed before, when she was bent upon the restitution of the Tenths and first Fruits) *I set more by the salvation of my soul, than by ten such Kingdoms; and therefore the said possessions I utterly refuse here to hold, after that sort and title, and give most hearty thanks to Almighty God, which hath given me an husband likewise minded, with no less good affection in this behalf, than I am my self. Wherefore I charge and command that my Chancellor (with whom I have conferred my mind in this matter before) and you four to morrow do resort together to the most Reverend Lord Legate, and do signifie to him the premises in my Name; and give your attendance upon him, for the more full declaration of the State of my Kingdom, and of the aforesaid possessions accordingly, as you your selves do understand the matter, and can inform him in the same.* An. Reg. Mar. 4. 1556.

Upon this opening of her mind, the Lords perceived it would be to no purpose to perswade the contrary, and therefore thought it requisite to direct some course wherein she might satisfie her desires to her own great honour, and yet not alienate too much at once of the publick Patrimony. The Abby of *Westminster* had been founded in a Convent of *Benedictines*, or black Monks, by King *Edward* the Confessor; valued at the suppression by King *Henry* the 8th. at the yearly sum of 3977 pounds, in good old Rents, *Anno* 1539. At what time having taken to himself the best and greatest part of the Lands thereof, he founded with the rest a Collegiat Church, consisting of a Dean and secular Canons; *Benson* the last Abbot, being made the first Dean of this new erection. To *Benson* succeeded Dr. *Cox*, and to him was substituted Dr. *Weston*, in the first of this *Queen*. And being preferred unto the place by her special favour, 'twas conceived to be no hard matter to perswade him to make a surrendry of his Church into the hands of the *Queen*, that so it might return to its former nature, and be erected into a Convent of *Benedictines*, without any charge unto the Crown. And this they thought would be the easier brought to pass, because by the preferment of Dr. *Owen Oglethorp* to the See of *Carlisle*, the Deanery of *Windsor* would be void, which was considered as a sufficient compensation, if bestowed on *Weston*, for his surrendry of the other. But they found a greater difficulty in it than was first imagin'd, *Weston* appearing very backward in conforming to the *Queens* desires, partly out of a dislike which he had of the project (he being one that never liked the profession of *Monkery*) and partly out of an affection which he had to the place seated so opportunely for the Court, and all publick businesses. But at the last he yielded to that opportunity which he was not able to resist, and thereby gained so much displeasure from the Cardinal Legate, that before the end of the next year, *Anno* 1557. he was outed of his Deanery of *Windsor*, and all his other Ecclesiastical promotions, upon an information of his being taken in the act of adultery, which otherwise perhaps might have been pardoned or connived at in him,

An. Reg. Mar. 4. 1556.

him, as in many others. But willing or unwilling he had firſt ſurrender'd the Church of *Weſtminſter*, which the Queen ſtocked with a new Convent of *Benedictines*, conſiſting of an Abbot and fourteen Monks, which with their Officers, were as many as the Lands then left unto it could well maintain. And for the firſt Abbot, ſhe made choice of Dr. *John Feckham*, a learned, grave, and moderate man, whom ſhe had formerly made Dean of St. *Paul's*, in the place of Dr. *William May*, and now made choice of Dr. *Henry Cole*, Arch-Deacon of *Ely*, and Prolocutor of the Convocation, *Anno* 1555. to ſucceed him in it.

It was upon the 21 of *November*, that the new Abbot and his Monks entred on the poſſeſſion of their ancient Convent, which they held not fully out three years, when it was once again diſſolved by Act of Parliament, of which more hereafter. Which fate befel the reſt of her foundations alſo, two of which coſt her little more than this at *Weſtminſter*. A Convent of *Obſervants* (being a reformed Order of *Franciſcan* Friers) had been founded by King *Henry* the 7th near the Mannor of *Greenwich*, and was the firſt which felt the fury of King *Henry* the 8th by reaſon of ſome open oppoſition made by ſome of the Friers in favour of Queen *Katherine*, the mother of the *Queen* now reigning. Which moved her in a pious gratitude, to re-edifie that ruined houſe, and to reſtore as many as could be found of that Order, to their old habitations; making up their Coporation with ſome new *Obſervants*, to a competent number. She gathered together alſo a new Convent of *Dominicans*, or *black Friers*, for whom ſhe provided an houſe in *Smithfield*, in the City of *London*, fitting the ſame with all conveniencies both for divine offices, and other neceſſary uſes. And having done this, ſhe was at no more charges with either of them; for both the *Obſervants* and *Dominicans* being begging Fryers, might be reſembled not unfitly to a ſwarm of Bees, which being provided of an hive, are left to make their combs, and raiſe themſelves a livelihood by their natural induſtry.

But ſo ſhe went not off in her other foundations, which were to be provided of ſome proportionable endowment out of the revenues of the Crown, towards their ſupport. At *Sion* near *Brentford*, in the County of *Middleſex*, there had been anciently a houſe of Religious women, Nuns of the Order of St. *Briget*, diſſolv'd as were all the reſt, by King *Henry* the 8th. Moſt of the old ones dead, and the younger marryed. Yet out of ſuch of the old Nuns as remained alive, and the addition of ſome others, who were willing to embrace that courſe of life, a competent number was made up for a new Plantation; but ſeated as before at *Sion*, which the *Queen* repaired, and laid unto it a ſufficient eſtate in Lands for their future maintenance. Which houſe being afterwards diſſolved alſo by Queen *Elizabeth*, came firſt to the poſſeſſion of Sir *Thomas Perrot*, who gave it to his wife, the Lady *Dorothy*, one of the daughters of *Walter Devereux*, Earl of *Eſſex*; by whom, being after marryed to *Henry* Lord *Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, it was left for a retiring houſe to that Noble Family, who do ſtill enjoy it. At *Sheen* on the other ſide of the water, there had been anciently another Religious houſe, not far from a manſion of the Kings, to which they much reſorted till the building of *Richmond*. This houſe ſhe ſtock'd with a new Convent of *Carthuſians* (corruptly called the *Charter-houſe*-Moncks) which ſhe endowed with a revenue great enough to maintain that Order, which profeſt more abſtemiouſneſs in diet, and ſparingneſs of expence in all other things, than any others which embraced a Monaſtical life. And the next year having cloſed up the Weſt end of the Quire or Chancel of the Church of St. *John's* near *Smithfield* (which was all the Protectour *Sommerſet* had left ſtanding of it) ſhe reſtored the ſame to the Hoſpitalry of Knights of St. *John*, to whom it formerly belonged, aſſigning a liberal endowment to it for their more honourable ſubſiſtence. Over whom ſhe placed Sir *Thomas Treſham* for the firſt Lord Prior, a Gentleman of an ancient Family, and one that had deſerv'd exceeding well of her, in defence of her claim againſt Queen *Jane*, who on the 30th of *November*, 1557. received the Order of the *Croſs* at *Weſtminſter*, and

and took possession of his place; which having scarce warmed, he was taken from it by the stroke of death, and left it by the *Queen* to be disposed of to Sir *Richard Shelly*, the last great Master of that Order in the Realm of *England*. *An. Reg. Mar. 4. 1556.*

But this expiring with the rest, within two years after, there remained nothing of all Queen *Mary's* foundations, but her new Hospital in the *Savoy*. An Hospital had formerly been founded in that House by her Grandfather King *Henry* the seventh, for the relief of such pilgrims, as either went on their Devotions to the shrine of St. *Thomas Becket* of *Canterbury*, or any other eminent Shrine or Saint in those parts of the Kingdom. On a suggestion made to King *Edward* the sixth, that it served only for a receptacle of vagrant persons, it was surrendred to him in the last year of his Reign by the Master and Brethren of the same; out of the Lands whereof he assigned the yearly Rent of seven hundred Marks for the maintenance of his new working house of *Bridewel*, which he had given for ever to the Lord Mayor and City of *London*, as hath been signified before in the life of that King; (together with all the beds, bedding, and other furniture, which were found in this Hospital.) And though this Grant bare date on the 26 of *June*, in the last year of his Reign, *Anno* 1553. yet the Lord Mayor and Aldermen entred not on the possession of it till the month of *February* now last past, *Anno* 1555. But having took possession of it, and so much of the Lands of this Hospital being setled on it, the Hospital in the *Savoy* could not be restored to its first condition, but by a new Endowment, from such other Lands belonging to Religious Houses which were remaining in the Crown. But the *Queen* was so resolved upon it, that she might add some works of Charity unto those of Piety, or else in honour of her Grandfather, whose foundation she restored at *Greenwich* also, the Hospital was again refounded on the third of *November*, and a convenient yearly Rent allotted to the Master and Brethren for the entertainment of the Poor, according to the tenour and effect of the first Institution. Which Princelike Act so wrought upon the Maids of Honour, and other Ladies of the Court, that for the better attaining of the *Queens* good grace, they furnished the same at their own costs with new beds, bedding, and other necessary furniture, in a very ample manner. In which condition it continueth to this very day, the Mastership of the Hospital being looked on as a good preferment for any well deserving man about the Court; but for the most part given to some of their Majesties Chaplains for the encouragement of learning, and the reward of their service.

How far the *Queens* example, seconded by the Ladies about the Court, countenanced by the King, and earnestly insisted on by the Pope then being, might have prevailed on the Nobility and Gentry for doing the like, either in restoring their Church Lands, or assigning some part of them to the like Foundations, it is hard to say; most probable it is, that if the *Queen* had lived some few years longer, either for love to her, or for fear of gaining the Kings displeasure, (who was now grown too great to be disputed with, if the point were questioned) or otherwise out of an unwillingness to incur the Popes curse, and the Churches censures, there might have been very much done that way, though not all at once. For so it was, that *Philip* having past over to *Calais* in the month of *September*, *Anno* 1555. And the next day departing to the Emperors Court, which was then at *Brussels*, where he found his father in a resolution of resigning to him all his Dominions and Estates, except the Empire, (or the bare title rather of it) which was to be surrendred to his Brother *Ferdinand*: not that he had not a design to settle the Imperial Dignity on his Successors in the Realm of *Spain*, for the better attaining of the Universal Monarchy, which he was said to have aspired to, over all the *West*, but that he had been crossed in it by *Maximillian* the eldest son of his brother *Ferdinand*, who succeeded to his father in it, and left the same hereditary in a manner to the Princes of the House of *Austria* of the German Race. For *Charls* grown

weary

An. Reg. *Mar.* 4. 1556.

weary of the world, broken with wars, and desirous to apply himself to divine meditations, resolved to discharge himself of all civil employments, and spend the remainder of his life in the Monastery of St. *Justus*, situate among the Mountains of *Extremadura*, a Province of the Realm of *Castile*. In pursuance whereof, having called before him the principal of the Nobility and great men of his several Kingdoms and Estates, he made a Resignation of all his hereditary Dominions to King *Philip* his son, on the 15th of *October*, *Anno* 1555. having then scarce attained to the 55 year of his life, to the great admiration of all the world. After which act, he found himself so abandoned by all his followers, that sitting up late at night in conference with *Seldius* his brothers Embassador, he had not a servant within call to light the Gentleman down stairs. Which being observed by the Emperor, he took the candle into his hands, and would needs in his own person perform that office; and having brought him to the top of the stairs, he said unto him, Remember *Seldius*, that thou hast known the Emperour *Charls*, whom thou hast seen in the head of so many Armies, reduced to such a low estate, as to perform the office of an ordinary servant to his Brothers Minister. Such was the greatness to which *Philip* had attained at the present time, when the Queen was most intent on these new foundations.

As for the Pope, he had published a Bull in print at the same time also, in which he threatned Excommunication to all manner of persons without exception, as kept any Church Lands unto themselves; as also to all Princes, Noblemen, and Magistrates, as did not forthwith put the same in execution: Which though it did not much edifie at the present in the Realm of *England*, yet it found more obedience and conformity in that of *Ireland*, in which a Parliament being called toward the end of this year, (that is to say, in the month of *June*, *Anno* 1557.) there past a Statute for repealing all Acts, Articles, and Provisions made against the See Apostolick, since the 20th year of King *Henry* the 8th. and *for abolishing of several Ecclesiastical possessions conveyed to the Laity*, as also for the extinguishment of First-fruits and Twentieth parts, (no more than the yearly payment of the twentieth part having been laid by Act of Parliament on the Irish Clergy) in the first and last clause whereof, as they followed the example of the Realm of *England*, so possibly they might have given a dangerous example to it in the other point, if by the *Queens* death following shortly after, as well K. *Philip* as the Pope had not lost all their power and influence on the English Nation; by means whereof, there was no farther progress in the restitution of the Abbey-Lands, no more re-edifying of the old Religious Houses, and no intention for the founding of any new. Such as most cordially were affected to the interest of the Pope of *Rome*, and otherwise were very perfect at their *Ave Maria*, might love their *Pater noster* well, but their *Penny* better.

Thus have we seen how zealously the *Queen* proceeded in her way, towards the re-establishing of the Papal greatness. Let us next look on the proceedings of the Cardinal-Legat, not as a *Legat à latere* from the Pope of *Rome*, but as *Legatus natus*, a Metropolitan, or Archbishop of the Church of *England*. As Cardinal-Legat he had been never forward in the shedding of bloud, declaring many ways his averseness from that severity, which he saw divers of the English Bishops, but especially the Butcher of *London*, were so bent upon. And when he came to act as Metropolitan, he was very sparing in that kind, as far as his own person was concerned therein; though not to be excused from suffering the under Officers of his Diocess to be too prodigal of the bloud of their Christian brethren. He had been formerly suspected for a favourer of the *Lutheran* Doctrines, when he lived at *Rome*, and acted for the Pope as one of his Legats in the Council of *Trent*. *Gardiner* and *Bonner*, and the rest of the sons of Thunder, who called for nothing less than fire, (though not from heaven) were willing to give out, that he brought the same affections into *England* also; and therefore somewhat must be done to keep up his authority and reputation

tation, both at home and abroad. To which end, he inſerteth ſome particulars amongſt the printed Articles of his Viſitation, to witneſs for him to the world, that he had as great a care for ſuppreſſing the growth of Hereſie, as any Prelate in the Kingdom, who would be thought more zealous, becauſe more tyrannical; of which ſort are the 14, 15, and 17th Articles which concerned the Clergy, that is to ſay, *Whether any of them do teach or preach erronious doctrine, contrary to the Catholick faith, and the Unity of the Church; and whether any of them do ſay the divine Service, or do miniſter the Sacraments in the Engliſh tongue, contrary to the uſual order of the Church?* Of which ſort alſo were the firſt of thoſe touching the Laity, viz. *Whether any manner of perſons, of what eſtate, degree, or condition ſoever they be, do hold, maintain, and affirm any Hereſies, Errors, and erronious Opinions, contrary to the Laws Eccleſiaſtical, and the unity of the Catholick Church?* Which general Article was after branched into ſuch particulars, as concerned the Carnal preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, the reverent eſteem thereof, the deſpiſing of any of the Sacramentals, and the decrying of Auricular Confeſſion by word or practice. And ſomewhat alſo of this ſort was the 17th Article, by which it was enquired, *Whether any of the Prieſts or Clergy, that having been married under the pretence of lawful Matrimony, and ſince reconciled, do privily reſort to their pretended Wives, or that the ſaid women do privily reſort to them.* Nothing material or conſiderable in all the reſt, but what hath been in uſe and practice by all the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Eccleſiaſtical Judges in the Church of *England*, ſince the firſt and beſt times of Queen *Elizabeth*; all of them ſeeming to have took their pattern from this reverend *Prelate's*, and to have precedented themſelves by the Articles of his Viſitation. In two points only he appeared to be ſomewhat ſingular, and therefore found no followers in the times ſucceeding; the firſt whereof was, The Regiſtring of the names of the Godfathers and Godmothers, as well as of the child Baptized; which why it ſhould be laid aſide I can ſee no Reaſon, the Rubrick of the Church allowing none to perform that office, before they have received the holy Communion. The ſecond was, an Enquiry, whether the Parſons, Vicars, and Curates were diligent in teaching the Midwives how to Chriſten children in time of neceſſity, according to the Canons of the Church; which ſeemed ſufficiently neceſſary to be put in practice, as long as Baptiſm was permitted to Midwives or any other perſons not in holy Orders. *An. Reg. Mar. 4. 1555.*

But though he ſeemed more favourable than any of the reſt of the Biſhops, towards thoſe which were living, he was content to exerciſe the utmoſt of his power upon thoſe that were dead; nor was he without hope, that by the puniſhment and diſgrace of thoſe which were not ſenſible of either, he might be thought to manifeſt his greateſt zeal towards the maintenance of the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, as if he had inflicted the like cenſures on them when they were alive. This prompts him to a Viſitation of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, partly to rectifie the Statutes of it, which in many points were thought to ſtand in need of a Reformation; but principally to exerciſe ſome more than ordinary rigour on the dead bodies of *Martin Bucer*, and *Paulus Fagius*: Of theſe, the firſt, having been the publick Reader in Divinity in the time of King *Edward*, was ſolemnly interred in the Church of St. *Maries*; the other having been *Hebrew*-Reader at the ſame time alſo, was buryed in the Church of St. *Michael*. In order to this Viſitation, he Delegates one *Ormanete*, an *Italian*, honored with the title of the Popes *Datary*, Doctor *Cuthbert Scot*, then newly conſecrated Biſhop of *Cheſter*, Doctor *Watſon*, Mr. of St. *John's* College, and Lord Elect of *Lincoln*, and Doctor *Chriſtopherſon* Maſter of *Trinity* Colledge, and Dean of *Norwich*, Lord Elect of *Chicheſter*, and Doctor *Henry Cole* Provoſt of *Eaton* Colledge, and Dean of St. *Pauls*. With theſe were joyned as Commiſſioners, Doctor *Andrew Pern*, Maſter of *Peterhouſe*, and Vice-chancellor, ſome Doctors of Divinity, Sir *James Dier* then the Recorder of the Town, and certain others, in the name of the King and Queen. It muſt be

ſome

An. Reg. Mar. 4. 1553.

some great business doubtless, that must require so many hands, and exercise the wits of so many persons, Bishops, Deans, Doctors in Divinity, Canonists, common Lawyers, Knights, and Gentlemen. But what the business was, and how little it required such preparations, we are next to see.

The Cardinals Commissioners came to *Cambridge* on the 9th of *January*, where they found the rest ready to receive them, and the next day they interdicted the two Churches above mentioned, for daring to entertain the dead bodies of such desperate Hereticks. I pretermit the eloquent speech made by *Stoaks* the University-Orator, the Answer thereunto by *Scot*, then Bishop of *Chester*, the Latine Sermon preached by *Peacock* against Sects and Hereticks, together with the Solemn Mass, with which this weighty business was to take beginning. Which preparations being past over, a Petition is presented to the Cardinals Delegates in the name of the Vice-chancellor, and Heads of the University, for taking up the bodies of the said *Martin Bucer*, and *Paulus Fagius*, to the end that some legal proceedings might be had against them, to the terrour of others, in regard of those many dangerous and heretical Doctrines by them formerly taught. The Petition being granted, and the dead bodies condemned to be taken out of their graves, a publick Citation is set up at *St. Mary's* Church, the Market-place, and the common Schools, requiring the said *Martin Bucer*, and *Paulus Fagius*, or any other in their names, or in their behalf, to appear before the Lords Commissioners on *Monday* the 18th of that Month, to answer to such Articles as then and there should be objected against them. But the dead bones not being able to come unless they were carryed, and no body daring to appear as their Proctor or Advocate, they might have been taken *pro confessis*, but that the Court was willing to proceed by Witnesses; and to that end they took the Depositions of several persons, touching the Doctrine taught by the said two Hereticks; and then upon mature deliberation they condemned them of Heresie, ordered them to be taken out of their graves, degraded from all holy Orders, and delivered to the secular Magistrate. Of all this an account is given to the Cardinal-Legat, who is desired to take some course that the ordinary Writ (*de comburendo Haretico*) for the burning of Hereticks, might be taken out, and sent unto the Mayor of *Cambridge*, without which, nothing could be done, in order to the execution of the rest of the Sentence. The Writ accordingly comes down, and *Saturday* the sixth day of *February* is appointed for the burning of the two dead bodies; which being taken out of their graves, and laid in their coffins on mens shoulders are carryed to the market place with a guard of men, well armed and weaponed, for fear of making an escape; chained unto several posts, as if still alive, the wood and fire put to them, and their bodies burned, together with as many of their Books as could be gotten, which were cast into the same flames also.

And because one University should not mock the other, the like cruelty was also exercised upon the dead body of *Peter Martyr's* wife at *Oxford*, a godly, grave, and sober matron while she lived, and to the poor people there exceeding charitable. It was supposed, that *Oxon* stood as much in need of a Visitation as *Cambridge* did. A Commission is therefore granted by the Cardinal-Legat to Doctor *James Brooks* Bishop of *Gloucester*, *Ormanete* the Popes *Datary*, *Cole* and *Wright* Doctors of the Civil Law, *&c.* to rectifie such things as they found amiss in that University, or in any College of the same. It was given them also in charge amongst other things, that they should take the body of this good woman out of her grave, into which she had been laid *Anno* 1552. and to consume the same with fire, not doubting but she was of the same Religion which her husband had professed before. But when the Commissioners came to execute that part of their business, they could find no witness to depose any thing for certain touching her Religion, such as were brought before them agreeing generally in this answer, That they did not understand her Language, and therefore could not tell of what Religion she was. It was there-

therefore signified to the Cardinal, that for want of legal evidence againſt her, they could not lawfully proceed in burning her body, as they had done the bodies of *Bucer* and *Fagius*, againſt whom there was evidence enough to be found in their writings, beſides that which was given in from the mouths of Witneſſes. The Cardinal thereupon gives order to Doctor *Marſhal* Dean of *Chriſt-Church*, to take up her body (which had been buryed near to that of St. *Frideſwide*) and to lay it out of Chriſtian buryal; who very readily obeyed, took up the bones of that vertuous woman, and moſt prophanely buryed them in a common dunghil. But long they lay not in that place, for Queen *Elizabeth* comming to the Crown within two years after, gave order, that this body ſhould be decently interred, as became the quality of her perſon, and the reverence due unto her husband; as alſo that *Bucer* and *Fagius* ſhould in the other Univerſity be publickly reſtor'd to their former honors. In obedience unto whoſe commands, the body of the one is taken out of the dunghil, and laid into the grave of St. *Frideſwide*, their bones ſo intermingled with one another, that there could be no fear of offering the like inhumanity to them for the time to come. And that the like honour might be done to *Bucer* and *Fagius*, a ſolemn commemoration of them was held at *Cambridge*, the Sermon preached by Mr. *James Pilkington*, who not long after was preferred to the See of *Durham*; the *Panegyrick* made by *Ackworth* Orator of that Univerſity, who ſpared no part of a good Orator, in ſetting forth their due praiſes, and deſerved commendations. *An. Reg. Mar. 4. 1556.*

But we muſt now look back again on the Reign of Queen *Mary*, in which we find little more to do than the magnificent reception of *Oſep Napea*, Embaſſador from the great Duke of *Muſcovy*, upon this occaſion: The Engliſh Merchants at the ſollicitation of *Sebaſtian Cabot*, had furniſhed out ſome ſhips for the diſcovery of a North-Eaſt paſſage towards the rich Countries of *Cathai* and *China*; in which they made ſo good a progreſs, that they attained as far as the Port of St. *Nicholas*, one of the principal Port-towns of the Empire of *Ruſſia*, and laid the firſt foundation of a wealthy Trade with that mighty Empire. For their encouragement therein, the Privileges of the *Eaſterlings*, commonly called the Merchants of the *Stilyard*, (who before had managed all the Trade of the North Eaſt parts) were ſeized on by King *Edward* the 6th. and the way thereby laid open to the Merchant-Adventurers, to encreaſe their ſhipping with their wealth. For the continuance of which Trade betwixt the Nations, the Emperor *John Baſilivits* ſends his Ambaſſador above named, imbarked in one of the Engliſh ſhips, under the conduct and government of *Richard Chancellor*, the moſt expert Pilot of that age. But ſo it hapned, that the reſt of the ſhips being ſcattered by a ſtrong tempeſt on the coaſt of *Norway*, the ſhip which carryed the Ambaſſador was wreckt upon the coaſt of *Scotland*; the lading for the moſt part loſt, amounting to twenty thouſand pounds and upwards, beſides many rich preſents ſent from the *Ruſſian Emperor* to the King and *Queen*. The Ambaſſador with much ado was preſerv'd from drowning, but the Pilot loſt, who by labouring to preſerve the life of the other, neglected the beſt opportunity to ſave his own. The news whereof being brought to the Merchants of *London*, (who by this time were grown into a Company of 140.) they procured Letters from the King to the Regent of *Scotland*, for the courteous entertainment of the ſaid Ambaſſador, and the reſtoring of ſuch goods as had eſcaped the wreck: and having furniſhed him with mony and all other neceſſaries, cauſed him to be conducted towards the Court.

Taking his leave of *Scotland* on the 14th of *February*, he is brought by eaſie journeys within twelve miles of *London*, honorably entertain'd in all places as he paſt along, and there received by fourſcore of the *Ruſſian* Merchants in their chains of gold. Furniſhed with Gold, Velvet, Silk, and all other things, he is by the whole Company of the *Ruſſian* Merchants magnificently brought into *London* on the laſt of that month; met on the way by the Lord Viſcount *Montacute*, attended with a gallant train of three hundred Horſe, at the *Queens* command, and received at *Smithfield-bars* by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen

An. Reg. *Mar.* 4. 1555.

in their ſcarlet Robes. Conducted to his lodgings in *Fan-Church* ſtreet, he was there preſented in the Queens name, with a piece of cloath of Tiſſue, two pieces of cloth of gold, one whereof was raiſed with Crimſon Velvet, with many other pieces of the like rich making, which very thankfully he received. Abiding at his lodging till the Kings coming back from *Flanders*, which was not till the 21 of *March*, he was brought upon our Lady day by water to the Court at *Weſtminſter*; received at his landing by ſix Lords, he was by them brought into a chamber, where he found the Lords Chancellor, Treaſurer, Privy Seal, Admiral, Biſhop of *Ely*, and other Counſellors. Who having exchanged ſalutations with him attended him to the King and Queen, ſitting under a rich Canopy or cloath of State in the great Hall there. Having preſented his Letters of Credence, expreſt himſelf unto their Majeſties in a ſhort Oration, which was interpreted to them both in *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh*, and preſented them with two timber of Sables, which with much diligence had been recovered out of the

1557. wreck, he was by them remitted to his lodging with the like ſolemnity. Attended ſhortly after by the Biſhop of *Ely*, and Mr. Secretary *Peter*; who after much Communication, and ſeveral Treaties, ſetled at laſt a friendly entercourſe and commerce betwixt the Nations; the Articles whereof engroſſed in parchment, were aftewards preſented to him, ratified and confirmed by the Great Seal of *England*. On the 23d of *April* he was brought again into the Court, where having ſeen the Pomps and Orders of St. *George's* Feaſt, the Service of the Royal Chappel, and the magnificent Proceſſion of the Knights of the Garter, he takes his leave of the King and Queen, is re-conveyed unto his lodging, and on the 3d of *May* embarks for *Ruſſia*, accompanyed with four good ſhips well fraught with Merchandiſe moſt proper for the trade of that Country to which they were bound. The coſtly preſents ſent by him from the King and Queen to the *Ruſſian* Emperour, and thoſe beſtowed upon himſelf, I leave to be reported by him at his coming home, and the relation of *John Stow* in his *Annals* of *England*, *fol.* 630. Nor had I dwelt ſo long upon theſe particulars, but to ſet forth the ancient ſplendor and magnificence of the State of *England*, from which we have ſo miſerably departed in theſe latter times.

Worſe entertainment found an agent from the *French* King at his coming hither, becauſe he came on a worſe errand. *Stafford* an *Engliſh* Gentleman of a Noble Family, having engaged himſelf in ſome of the former enterpriſes againſt this Queen, and finding no good fortune in them, retired with divers others to the Court of *France*; from whence they endeavoured many times, to create ſome dangers to this Realm, by ſcattering and diſperſing divers ſcandalous Pamphlets, and ſeditious papers, tending to the apparent defamation of the King and Queen. And having got ſome credit by theſe practices amongſt the Miniſters of that King, he undertakes to ſeize upon ſome Fortreſs or Port Town of *England*, and put the ſame into the hands of the *French*. In proſecution of which plot, accompanied with ſome *Engliſh* Rebels, and divers *French* Adventurers intermingled with them, he ſeizeth on the ſtrong Caſtle of *Scarborough*, in the County of *York*. From thence he publiſhed a moſt traiterous and ſeditious *Manifeſt*, in which he traiterouſly affirmed the Queen, neither to be the *Rightful* Queen of this Realm, nor to be worthy of the Title, affirming that the King had brought into this Realm the number of twelve thouſand *Spaniards*, who had poſſeſs'd themſelves of twelve of the beſt Holds in all the Kingdom; upbraiding the Queen with her miſgovernment, and taking to himſelf the Title of Protector of the Realm of *England*. But the Queen being ſecretly advertiſed of the whole deſign, by the diligence of Dr. *Nicholas Wotton*, Dean of *Canterbury*, who was then Ambaſſador in that Court, Order was taken with the Earl of *Weſtmorland*, and other Noble men of thoſe parts, to watch the Coaſts, and have a care unto the ſafety of thoſe Northern Provinces. By whom he was ſo cloſely watch'd, and ſo well attended, that having put himſelf into that Caſtle on the 24th he was pulled out of it again on the laſt of *April*; from

from thence brought priſoner unto *London*, condemned of Treaſon, executed on the Tower Hill, *May* 28. and on the morrow after three of his accomplices were hanged at *Tyburn*, cut down and quartered. *An. Reg. Mar.* 4. 1557.

But as it was an ill wind which blows no body good, ſo this *French* Treaſon, ſo deſtructive to the chief conſpiratours, redounded to the great benefit and advantage of *Philip*. He had for three years born the Title of King of *England*, without reaping any profit and commodity by it. But being now engaged in war with King *Henry* the 3d. though in purſute rather of his fathers quarrels, than any new ones of his own, he takes this opportunity to move the Queen to declare her ſelf againſt the *French*, & to aſſiſt him in his war againſt that King, for the good of her Kingdoms. It was not poſſible for the Queen to ſeparate her intereſt from that of her husband, without hazarding ſome great unkindneſs, if not a manifeſt breach between them. She therefore yields to his deſire, and by her Proclamation of the 7th of *June*, chargeth that King in having an hand not only in the ſecret practices of the Duke of *Northumberland*, but alſo in the open Rebellion of *Wiat*, and his conſederates. She alſo laid unto his charge, that *Dudley Aſhton*, and ſome other male-contents of *England*, were entertained in the houſe of his Ambaſſadors, where they contrived many treaſons and conſpiracies againſt her and her Kingdom; that flying into *France*, they were not only entertained in the Court of that King, but relieved with penſions. Finally, that he had aided and encouraged *Stafford* with ſhipping, men, mony, and munition, to invade her Realm, thereby if it were poſſible, to diſpoſſeſs her of her Crown. She therefore gives notice to her ſubjects, that they ſhould forbear all traffick and commerce with the Realm of *France*: from which ſhe had received ſo many injuries, as could admit no reparation but by open war. And that ſhe might not ſeem to threaten what ſhe never intended, ſhe cauſeth an army to be raiſed conſiſting of one thouſand horſe, four thouſand foot, and two thouſand pioners, which ſhe puts under the command of the Earl of *Pembrook*, and ſo diſpatcheth them for *Flanders*, to which they came about the middle of *July*. King *Philip* had gone before on the 6th of that month, and all things here were followed with ſuch care and diligence, that the army ſtaid not long behind; but what they did, falls not within the compaſs of this preſent year.

All which remains to be remembred in this preſent year, relates unto ſuch changes and alterations, as were made amongſt the Governors of the Church, and the Peers of the Realm. It hath been ſignified before, that *White* of *Lincoln* had prevailed by his friends in Court, to be tranſlated unto *Wincheſter*, as the place of his Nativity and Education. To whom ſucceeded Dr. *Thomas Watſon*, Maſter of St. *John's* College in *Cambridge*, and Dean of *Durham*, elected to the See of *Lincoln*, before Chriſtmas laſt, and acting by that name, and in that capacity, againſt the dead body of *Martin Bucer*. To *Day* of *Chicheſter*, who deceaſed on the 2d of *Aug.* in the beginning of this year, ſucceeded Dr. *John Chriſtopherſon*, a right learned man, Mr. of *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*, and Dean of *Norwich*, elected about the ſame time when the other was, and acting as he did againſt *Bucer* and *Fagius*, as alſo did Dr. *Cuthbert Scot*, who at that time was actually inveſted in the See of *Cheſter*, upon the death of Dr. *Coats*, the preceding Biſhop. And finally, in the place of *Aldrick* Biſhop of *Carliſle*, who dyed on the 5th of *March*, 1555. Dr. *Owen Oglethorp*, Preſident of *Magdalen* College in *Oxon*, and Dean of *Windſor*, receives Conſecration to that See, in that firſt part of this year; but the particular day and time thereof I have no where found. Within the compaſs of this year (that is to ſay, the 4th year of the Reign of this Queen) dyed two other Biſhops, *Salcot* or *Capon* Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, and *Chambers* the firſt Biſhop of *Peterborough*; to the firſt of which there was no ſucceſſor actually conſecrated or confirmed, for the reaſons to be ſhewed anon in the Reign of this Queen. But to the other, ſucceeded Dr. *David Pool*, Dr. of both laws, Dean of the Arches, Chancellor to the Biſhop of *Lichfield*, and Arch-Deacon of *Derby*, elected before the end of this year, but not conſe-

An. Reg. Mar. 5. 1557.

crated till the 15th of *Auguſt*, in the beginning of the next.

Some alterations hapned alſo amongſt the Peers of the Realm, in the creation of one, and the deſtruction of another. A Rebellion had been raiſed in the North upon the firſt ſuppreſſion of Religious Houſes, *Anno* 1536. in which Sir *Thomas Percy* ſecond ſon to *Henry* the fifth Earl of *Northumberland* of that name and family, was thought to be a principal ſtickler, and for the ſame was publickly arraigned, condemned, and executed. By *Eleanor* his wife, one of the daughters and heirs of Sir *Guiſcard Harebottle*, he was the father of *Thomas* and *Henry*, who hitherto had ſuffered under his Attaindure: But now it pleaſed Queen *Mary* to reflect on their Fathers ſufferings, and the cauſe thereof, which moved her not only to reſtore them to their bloud and honors, but alſo to ſo much of the Lands of the *Percies* as were remaining in the Crown. In purſuance whereof, ſhe advanced *Thomas* the elder Brother, on the laſt of *April*, to the Style, Title, and Degree of Earl of *Northumberland*, the remainder to his brother *Henry*, in caſe the ſaid *Thomas* ſhould depart this life without Iſſue male. By vertue of which Entail, the ſaid *Henry* afterwards ſucceeded him in his Lands and Honors, notwithſtanding that he was attainted, condemned, and executed for high Treaſon in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, *Anno* 1572.

Not many weeks before the reſtitution of which noble Family, that of the Lord *Sturton* was in no ſmall danger of a final deſtruction, a Family firſt advanced to the ſtate of a Baron in the perſon of Sir *John Sturton*, created Lord *Sturton* in the 26th of King *Henry* the 6th. and now upon the point of expiring in the perſon of *Charls* Lord *Sturton*, condemned and executed with four of his ſervants on the 6th of *March*, for the murther of one *Argal* and his ſon, with whom he had been long at variance. It was his firſt hope that the murther might not be diſcovered, and for that cauſe had buryed the dead bodies fifteen foot under ground; his ſecond, that by reaſon of his zeal to the Popiſh Religion it might be no hard matter to procure a pardon. But the Murder was too foul to be capable of any ſuch favour, ſo that he was not onely adjudged to die, but condemned to be hanged. It is reported of *Marcus Antonius*, that having vanquiſhed *Artanaſdes* King of *Armenia*, he led him bound in chains to *Rome*; but for his greater honor, and to diſtinguiſh him from the reſt of the priſoners, in chains of gold: And ſuch an honour was vouchſafed to this noble Murderer, in not being hanged as his ſervants and accomplices were, in a halter of hemp, but in one of ſilk. And with this fact the Family might have expired, if the Queen, having ſatisfied Juſtice by his execution, had not conſulted with her mercy for the reſtoring of his next Heir both in bloud and honour.

Artanaſdem Armeniæ Regem, fraude deceptum, Catenis, ſed ne quid honori deeſſet, aureis vicit Antonius. Vell. Paterc.

An. Reg. Mar. 5. An. Dom. 1557, 1558.

WE muſt begin this year with the ſucceſs of thoſe forces which were ſent under the command of the Earl of *Pembrook*, to the aid of *Philip*; who having made up an Army of 35 thouſand foot, and 12 thouſand Horſe, beſides the Forces out of *England*, ſate down before St. *Quintin* the chief Town of *Piccardy*, called by the *Romans*, *Auguſta Veromanduorum*, and took this new name from St. *Quintin* the ſuppoſed tutelary Saint and Patron of it; a Town of principal importance to his future aims, as being one of the Keys of *France* on that ſide of the Kingdom, and opening a fair way even to *Paris* it ſelf. For the raiſing of which Siege, the *French* King ſends a puiſſant Army under the command of the Duke of *Montmorancy*, then Lord High Conſtable of *France*, accompanied with the Flower of the *French* Nobility. On the 10th day of *Auguſt* the Battels joyn, in which the *French* were vanquiſhed, and their Army routed; the Conſtable himſelf, the Prince of *Mantua*, the Dukes of *Montpenſier* and *Longuaville*, with ſix others of the prime Nobility, and many others

of

of leſs note, being taken priſoners: The Duke of *Anguien*, the Viſcount *Turin*, four perſons of honorable ranck, moſt of the Foot Captains, and of the common Soldiers to the number of 2500 ſlain upon the place. The news whereof ſtruck ſuch a terrour in King *Henry* the 2d. that he was upon the point of forſaking *Paris*, and retiring into *Languedock*, or ſome other remote part of his Dominions; In the ſuddenneſs of which ſurpriſe, he diſpatcht his Curriers for recalling the Duke of *Guiſe* out of *Italy*, whom he had ſent thither at the Popes inſtigation with a right puiſſant Army for the Conqueſt of *Naples*. But *Philip* knowing better how to enjoy than to uſe his victory, continued his Siege before St. *Quintin*, which he ſtormed on the 18th of that month, the Lord *Henry Dudley* one of the younger ſons of the Duke of *Northumberland* (who loſt his life in the Aſſault) together with Sir *Edward Windſor*, being the firſt that ſcaled the walls, and advanced their victorious Colours on the top thereof. After which gallant piece of ſervice, the Engliſh finding ſome neglect at the hands of *Philip*, humbly deſire to be diſmiſt into their Country, which for fear of ſome further inconvenience was indulged unto them. By which diſmiſſion of the Engliſh (as *Thuanus* and others have obſerved) King *Philip* was not able with all his *Spaniards* to perform any action of importance in the reſt of the War. *An. Reg. Mar. 5. 1557.*

But the Engliſh ſhall pay dearly for this Victory, which the Spaniard bought with no greater loſs than the lives of 50 of his men. The Engliſh at that time were poſſeſſed of the Town of *Calais*, with many other pieces and Forts about, as *Guiſnes*, *Fanim*, *Ardres*, &c. together with the whole Territory called the County *Oye*, the Town by *Cæſar* called *Portus Iccius*, ſituate on the mouth or entrance of the Engliſh Chanel, oppoſite to *Dover*, one of the five principal Havens in thoſe parts of *England*, from which diſtant not above twenty five miles, a Town much aimed at for that reaſon by King *Edward* the 3d. who after a Siege of ſomewhat more than eleven months, became Maſter of it, *Anno* 1347. by whom firſt made a Colonie of the Engliſh Nation, and after one of the Staple Towns for the ſale of Wool. Kept with great care by his Succeſſors, who as long as they had it in their poſſeſſion, were ſaid to carry the Keys of *France* at their girdle; eſteemed by *Philip de Comines* for the goodlieſt Captainſhip in the world; and therefore truſted unto none but perſons of moſt eminent ranck both for courage and honour. A Town which for more than 200 years had been ſuch an eye-ſore to the *French*, and ſuch a thorn in their ſides, that *Monſieur de Cordes*, a Nobleman who lived in the Reign of King *Lewis* the 11th. was wont to ſay, that he could be content to lie ſeven years in hell, upon condition that this Town were regained from the Engliſh. But the *French* ſhall have it now at an eaſier rate; The Queen had broke the Peace with *France*, and ſent a conſiderable Body of Forces to the aid of *Philip*, but took no care to fortifie and make good this place, as if the ſame Garriſon which had kept it in a time of peace, had been ſufficient to maintain it alſo in a time of war.

For ſo it hapned, that *Francis* of *Lorain* Duke of *Guiſe*, one of the beſt Soldiers of that age, being called back with all his forces from the war of *Italy*, and not well pleaſed with the loſs of that opportunity which ſeemed to have been offered to him for the conqueſt of *Naples*, reſolved of doing ſomewhat anſwerable unto expectation, as well for his own honor as the good of his Country. He had long fixed his eyes on *Calais*, and was informed by *Senarpoint* Governour of *Bolloigne*, and by conſequence a near neighbour to it, that the Town was neither ſo well fortified, nor ſo ſtrongly garriſoned, but that it might be taken without any great difficulty. For confirmation whereof, *Monſieur d' Strozzie* one of the Marſhals of *France*, under the favour of a diſguiſe, takes a view of the place, and heartneth on the Duke with the feaſibility of the undertaking. *Philip*, who either had intelligence of the *French* deſignes, or otherwiſe rationally ſuppoſing what was like to follow in the courſe of War, had often adviſed the Queen to have a care of that Piece, and freely offered his

aſſiſtance

An. Reg. Mar. 5. 1557. assistance for defence thereof. But the English over-wisely jealous lest *Philip* had a practice on it, it lying commodiously for his adjoyning *Neatherlands*, neglected both his advice and proffer. Nay, so extreamly careless were the Council of *England* in looking to the preservation and defence of this place, that when the Duke sate down before it, there was not above 500 Soldiers, and but two hundred fighting men amongst the Townsmen, although the whole number of Inhabitants amounted to 4200 persons. On New-years day the Duke of *Guise* sate down before it, and on Twelfth-day had it surrendred up unto him by the Lord Deputy *Wentworth*, who had the chief command and government of it. The noise of the thundring Canon heard as far as *Antwerp*, could not but rouse the drousie *English* to bethink themselves of some relief to be sent to *Calais*, and they accordingly provided both ships and men to perform that service. But the winds were all the while so strong and so cross against them, that before the English ships could get out of their Havens, the French were Masters of the Town. Some greater difficulty found the Duke in the taking of the Castle of *Guisnes*, where the Lord *Gray*, a valiant and expert Soldier, had the chief command. But at length the Accessories followed the same fortune with the Principal, both *Guisnes* and *Hamne*, and all the other Pieces in the County of *Oye*, being reduced under the power of the *French* within few days after.

1557.

There now remained nothing to the Crown of *England* of all its antient Rights in *France*, but the *Islands* of *Gernsey*, and *Jersey*, *Sark*, and *Alderney*, all lying on the coast of *Normandy*, of which Dukedom heretofore accounted members. Held by the English ever since the time of the *Norman* Conquest, they have been many times attempted by the French, but without success; never so much in danger of being lost as they were at this present. Some of the French had well observed, that the Island of *Sark* (an Island of six miles in compass) enjoyed the benefit of a safe and commodious Haven, but without any to defend it but a few poor Hermites, whom the privacy and solitariness of the place had invited thither. The Island round begirt with Rocks, lying aloft above the Sea, and having only one streight passage or ascent unto it, scarce capable of two abreast. Of this Island the *French* easily possest themselves, dislodged the Hermites, fortifie the upper part of the Ascent with some pieces of Ordnance, and settle a small Garrison in it to defend the Haven. But long they had not nested there, when by a Gentleman of the *Neatherlands*, one of the subjects of King *Philip*, it was thus regained: The Flemmish Gentleman with a small Bark came to Anchor in the Road, and pretending the death of his Merchant, besought the French that they might bury him in the Chappel of that Island, offering a present to them of such Commodities as they had aboard. To this request the French were easily entreated, upon condition, that they should not come to shore with any weapon, no not so much as a Pen-knife. This leave obtained, the *Flemming* row'd unto the shoar with a Coffin in their skiff for that use purposely provided, and manned with Swords & Arcubusses. Upon their landing, and a search so strict and narrow, that it was impossible to hide a Pen-knife, they were permitted to draw their Coffin up the Rocks, some of the *French* rowing back unto the ship to fetch the Present, where they were soon made fast enough and laid in hold. The *Flemmings* in the mean time which were on the land had carryed their Coffin into the Chappel, and having taken thence their weapons gave an Alarum unto the *French*, who taken thus upon the suddain, and seeing no hopes of succour from their fellows, yielded themselves, and abandoned the possession of that place. A Stratagem to be equalled, if not preferred, unto any of the Antients, either *Greeks* or *Romans*, did not that fatal folly, reprehended once by *Tacitus*, still reign amongst us, that we extol the former days, and contemn the present.

Quod vetera extollimus, recentium incuriosi.

The loss of this Island gave a new Alarum to the Council of *England*, who thereupon resolved to set out a right puissant Navy, as well for the securing of the rest of the Islands, as to make some impression on the Main of *France*.

1558.

It

It was not till the month of *April* that they entred into conſultation about this buſineſs, and ſo exceeding tedious were they in their preparation, that the month of *July* was well ſpent before they were ready to weigh Anchor. During which time the *French* had notice of their purpoſe, and underſtanding that they had an aim on *Breſt* in *Bretagn*, they took more care in fortifying it againſt the Engliſh, than the Engliſh did for *Calais* againſt the French. It was about the middle of *July* that the Lord Admiral *Clynton* ſet ſail for *France*, with a Fleet of one hundred and forty ſhips, whereof thirty *Flemiſh*. Finding no hopes of doing any good on *Breſt*, bends his courſe for *Conquet*, an open Sea-town of that Province; at this place he lands his men, takes and ſacks the Town, burns it together with the Abbey, and having waſted all the Country round about, returned with ſafety to his ſhips. But the Flemiſh ſomewhat more greedy on the ſpoil, and negligent in obſerving Martial Diſcipline, are valiantly encountred by a Nobleman of that Country, and ſent back fewer by five hundred than they came on ſhoar. This was the ſum of what the Engliſh did this year, in order to the recovery of the honour which they loſt at *Calais*; and poſſibly they might think they had done enough in the ſpoil of *Bretagn*, to ſatisfie for the loſs of a Town in *Piccardy*; whereas in truth, the waſte which they had made in *Bretagn* might be compared to the cutting off a mans hair, which will grow again; the loſs of *Calais* to the diſmembring of an arm or leg, never to be again united to the reſt of the body. *An. Reg. Mar. 5. 1558.*

Either by reaſon of theſe wars, or that men were not then ſo prompt to Sutes in Law, the Lawyers found but little work in *Weſtminſter-hall*, inſomuch that at the King's Bench Bar there attended but one man of Law called *Foſter*, and but one Serjeant only called *Bouloiſe* of the Common-Pleas, both having little more to do than to look about them, and the Judges not much more to do than the Lawyers had; but certainly, that great leiſure which the Lawyers found for doing nothing, proceeded rather from the noiſe of the wars, in which the voice of the Law cannot eaſily be heard, than from the quietneſs & diſpoſition of the times, in which the number both of Sutes and Pleaders had been much encreaſed, as may be gathered from the words of *Heiwood* the old Epigrammatiſt, and one much made of by the Queen, who being told of the great number of Lawyers, and that the number of them would impoveriſh the whole Profeſſion, made anſwer, *No, for that always the more Spaniels there were in the field, the more was the game.* Nor ſo much elbow-room in the Hall, though poſſibly not much more buſineſs for them in the Term next following, by reaſon of the Parliament which began on the 20th of *January*, and held on till the ſeventh of *March*, in which I find no Act which concerned Religion, nor any thing which had relation to the Clergy, more than the confirmation of their Grant of Subſidies. It was a military time, and the Acts had ſomething in them of that temper alſo, that is to ſay, an Act, proportioning what number of Horſe, Arms, and Weapons every man ſhould be charged withall in his ſeveral ſtation, *cap.* 2. an Act for the due taking and obſerving of Muſters, *cap.* 3. that Acceſſaries in Murder, and ſuch as were found guilty of divers Felonies, ſhould not have their Clergy, *cap.* 4. for the quiet behaviour of ſuch *French-men* as had purchaſed the prvilege of being Denizens, *cap.* 6. and finally, for granting a Subſidy and Fifteen by the Temporality towards the defence of the Realm, and carrying on the War againſt thoſe of *France*. Nothing elſe memorable in this Seſſion, but that *Feckham* the new Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, and *Treſham* the new Prior of St. *Johns* of *Jeruſalem*, took place amongſt the Lords in the Houſe of Peers.

At the Convocation then holden for the Province of *Canterbury*, *Harpſfield* Arch-Deacon of *London*, is choſen and admitted Prolocutor for the Houſe of the Clergy. Which done, the Cardinal-Archbiſhop offers it to the conſideration of the Biſhops and Clergy, that ſome courſe might be thought upon for the recovery of *Calais*, then lately taken by the *French*. Which whether it were done to ſpur on the Parliament, or to ſhew their good affections to the

publick

An. Reg. Mar. 5. 1558.

publick service, is not much material, considering that I find nothing acted in pursuance of it. As little was there done in order to another of his propositions, touching the reviewing and accommodating of the Statutes of the new foundations, though a reference thereof was made to the Bishops of *Lincoln*, *Chester*, and *Peterborough*, together with the Deans of *Canterbury*, *Worcester*, and *Winchester*. Some desires also were agreed on to be presented to the Prelate Cardinal, in the name of the Clergy, as namely, "1. That request may be "made to the *Queens* Majesty, That no Parson, Vicar or Curate, be pressed by "any Captain to go to the wars. 2. That where two Benefices being con-"tiguous, are so small that they are not able to find a Priest, the Bishop of the "Diocess may give them in *commendam* to some one man to serve them *alter-"nis vicibus*. 3. That the Parishoners which have Chappels of ease, and yet "want Priests to serve the Cure, may be compelled to come to the Parish "Churches, until some Curate may be gotten to serve the same. And 4. That "every Bishop may be authorised by the Pope to give Orders *extra tempora "præscripta*, that is to say, as well at any other times, as on the Sundays after "the four *Ember weeks*. And finally taking into consideration the great ne-cessities of the State, and preparation of the enemies, they granted first unto the *Queen*, a Subsidy of eight shillings in the pound, to be paid in four years, beginning after the last payment of the former grant; and because the Laity at that time had charged themselves with horse and armour for defence of the Realm; the Clergy also did the like according to their several Orders and abilities. For the imposing whereof upon the rest of the Clergy, they had no recourse at all unto the *Midwifry* of an Act of Parliament, but acted the whole business in their own Synodical way, without contradiction.

But the main business of this year, in reference to the concernments of holy Church related to the Cardinal Legate; against whom the Pope had born an inveterate grudg, sharpned by the suggestions of Bishop *Gardiner*, as before was signified. Being of himself a rigorous man, and one that was extreamly wedded to his own opinion, he had so passionately espoused the quarrel of the *French* against the *Spaniards*, that he intended to divest *Philip* of the Realm of *Naples*, and to confer it on the *French*. For this cause *Francis* Duke of *Guise* with a puissant army is drawn into *Italy* for the subduing of that Kingdom, but suddenly recalled again, upon the routing of the *French* before St. *Quintin*, wherein the *English* forces had appeared so serviceable. Which gave the Pope so much displeasure, that he resolved to let his greatest enemies feel the dint of his spirit. But not daring upon second thoughts to fall foul with the *Queen*, he turned his fury against *Pole*, by whose perswasion it was thought that the *Queen* had broke her league with *France* to take part with her husband. In which humor he deprives him of the *Legantine* power, confers the same on Frier *Peitow* an *English* man by birth, but of good descent, whom he designs also to the See of *Salisbury*, then vacant by the death of *Capon*. *Karn* the *Queens* Agent with the Pope, advertiseth her Majesty of these secret practices, which the *Queen* concealing from the Cardinal, endeavoureth by all fair and gentle means to mitigate the Pope's displeasure, and confirm the Cardinal in the place and power which he then enjoyed. But the Pope not a man to be easily altered, *Pole* in the mean time understanding how things went at *Rome*, laid by the Cross of his Legation, and prudently abstaineth from the exercise of his *Bulls* and *Faculties*. *Peitow* the new Cardinal Legate, puts himself on the way to *England*, when the Queen taking to her self some part of her fathers spirit, commands him at his utmost peril, not to adventure to set foot upon *English* ground; to which he readily inclined, as being more affected unto Cardinal *Pole*, than desirous to shew himself the servant of another mans passion. In the end, partly by the Queens mediation, the intercession of *Ormanets*, the good successes of the *French* in the taking of *Calais*, but principally by the death of *Peitow* in the *April* following, the rupture was made up again, and *Pole* confirmed in the possession of his former powers.

The

The fear of running the like hazard for the time to come, made him appear more willing to connive at his under Officers, in ſhedding the bloud of many godly and religious perſons, than otherwiſe he would have been. Whereupon followed the burning of ten men in the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*, on the 15th of *January*, whereof two ſuffered at *Aſhford*, two at *Rie*, and the other ſix in his own Metropolitan City; and poſſibly the better to prepare the Pope towards the Attonement, the *Queen* was moved to iſſue her Commiſſion of the month of *February*, directed to the Biſhop of *Ely*, the Lords, *Windſor*, *North*, and ſeventeen others, by which the ſaid Commiſſioners, or any three, or more of them, were impowred "to enquire of all and ſingular Heretical opinions, "Lollardies, Heretical and ſeditious books, concealments, contempts, con-"ſpiracies, and all falſe tales, rumours, ſeditious or ſlanderous words, &c. As "alſo ſeize into their hands all manner of Heretical and ſeditious Books, Let-"ters and Writings, whereſoever they, or any of them ſhould be found, as "well in Printers houſes, and ſhops, as elſewhere, willing them, and every of "them, to ſearch for the ſame in all places according to their diſcretion. And "finally to enquire after all ſuch perſons as obſtinately do refuſe to receive the "bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, to hear Maſs, or come to their Pariſh Chur-"ches and all ſuch as refuſe to go on Proceſſion, to take holy bread, or holy wa-"ter, or otherwiſe miſuſe themſelves in any Church or hallowed place, &c. The party ſo offending to be proceeded againſt according to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, or otherwiſe by fine or impriſonment, as to them ſeemed beſt. *An. Reg. Mar. 5. 1558.*

But the Commiſſioners being many in number, perſons of honour and imployment for the moſt part of them, there was little or nothing done in purſuance of it, eſpecially as to the ſearching after prohibited books; the number whereof increaſing every day more and more, a Proclamation was ſet forth on the 6th of *June*, to hinder the continual ſpreading of ſo great a miſchief. Which Proclamation was as followeth, *viz.* "Whereas divers books filled "with Hereſie, Sedition, and Treaſon, have of late been daily brought into this "Realm out of forein Countries and places beyond the ſeas, and ſome co-"vertly printed within this Realm, and caſt abroad in ſundry parts thereof; "whereby not only God is diſhonoured, but alſo incouragement given to "diſobey lawful Princes and Governours; the King and Queens Majeſties "for redreſs hereof, do by their preſent Proclamation, declare and publiſh to "all their ſubjects, that whoſoever ſhall after the Proclamation hereof, be "found to have any of the ſaid wicked and ſeditious books, or finding them, "do not forthwith burn the ſame, without ſhewing or reading the ſame to "any other perſons, ſhall in that caſe be reputed and taken for a rebel, and ſhall "without further delay be executed for that offence, according to the order "of Martial Law. Which Proclamation though it were very ſmart and quick, yet there was ſomewhat of more mercy in it, than in another which came out in the very ſame month, at the burning of ſeven perſons in *Smithfield*, publiſhed both at *Newgate*, where they were impriſoned, and at the ſtake where they were to ſuffer; whereby it was ſtraightly charged and commanded, *That no man ſhould either pray for, or ſpeak to them, or once ſay God help them.* A cruelty more odious than that of *Domitian*, or any of the greateſt Tyrants of the elder time, in hindering all entercourſe of ſpeech, upon ſome jealouſie and diſtruſts of State between man and man.

Which Proclamation notwithſtanding, *Bentham* the Miniſter of one of the *London* Congregations, ſeeing the fire ſet to them, turning his eyes unto the people, cryed and ſaid, We know they are the people of God, and therefore we cannot chuſe but wiſh well to them, and ſay God ſtrengthen them; and ſo boldly he ſaid, *Almighty God for Chriſts ſake ſtrengthen them.* With that all the people with one conſent cryed *Amen, Amen*, the noiſe whereof was ſo great, and the cryers ſo many, that the Officers knew not whom to ſeize on, or with whom they were to begin their accuſation. And though peradventure

An. Reg. Mar. 5. 1558.

it may seem to have somewhat of a miracle in it, that the Protestants should have a Congregation under *Bonner's* nose; yet so it was, that the godly people of that time were so little terrified with the continual thoughts of that bloudy Butcher, that they maintained their constant meetings for religious offices, even in *London* it self; in one of which Congregations, that namely whereof *Bentham* was at this time Minister, there assembled seldom under 40. many times 100. and sometimes 200. but more or less as it stood most with their conveniency and safety. The Ministers of which successively were Mr. *Edward Scambler*, after Bishop of *Peterborough*, Mr. *Thomas Foule*, of whom I find nothing but the name, Mr. *John Rough*, a *Scot* by Nation, convented and condemned by *Bonner*, and suffering for the testimony of a good conscience, *December* 20. After whom followed Mr. *Augustine Bernher*, a moderate and learned man; And finally, Mr. *Thomas Bentham* before mentioned, who continued in that charge till the death of Queen *Mary*, and was by Queen *Elizabeth* preferred to the See of *Lichfield*, *Anno* 1589. By the encouragement and constant preaching of which pious men, the Protestant party did not only stand to their former principle, but were resolved to suffer whatsoever could be laid upon them, rather than forfeit a good conscience, or betray the cause. They had not all the opportunity of such holy meetings, but they met frequently enough in smaller companies, to animate and comfort one another in those great extremities.

Nor sped the *Queen* much better in her Proclamation of the sixth of *June*, concerning the suppression of prohibited Books; but notwithstanding all the care of her *Inquisitors*, many good Books of true Christian Consolation and good Protestant Doctrine, did either find some Press in *London*, or were sent over to their brethren by such learned men as had retired themselves to their several *Sanctuaries*, their places of Retreat, which not improperly may be called their *Cities of Refuge*, which we have seen already; amongst which, I find none but *Embden* in the *Lutheran* Countries, the *rigid* Professors of which Churches abominated nothing more than an English *Protestant*, because they concurred not with them in the monstrous Doctrine of *Ubiquity*, and their device of *Consubstantiation*. Insomuch that (a) *Peter Martyr* telleth us of a friend of his in the Dukedom of *Saxony*, that he was generally hated by the rest of the Country-men, for being hospitable to some few of the English Nation, who had been forced to abandon their native soil. And it is further signified by *Ph. Melancthon* with no small dislike, in an Epistle of this year, that many of those *rigid Lutherans* could find no other name but the *Devils Martyrs*, for such as suffered death in *England* in defence of Religion; so that they seemed to act the part of *Diotrephes* in Saint *John*, *not only prating against us with malicious words, and refusing to receive the brethren* in the day of their trouble, but *forbidding* and condemning *them that would*. But *John Alasco* and his company had been lately there, where they spoke so reproachfully of *Luther*, the *Augustan* Confession, the Rites and Ceremonies of their Churches, as rendred them uncapable of any better entertainment than they found amongst them. And by the behaviour of these men coming then from *England*, the *rigid Lutherans* passed their Judgment on the Church it self, and consequently on all those who suffered in defence thereof. For stopping the course of which uncharitable censures, it was thought fit by some of the Divines in *Embden*, that Archbishop *Cranmers* book about the Sacrament, should be translated into Latin, and forthwith published in Print, which was done accordingly. Some of the *Lutherans* had given out on the former ground, that the *English* had deservedly suffered the greatest hardships both at home and abroad, because they writ and spake less reverently of the blessed Sacrament; and it was hoped that by the publishing of this book, they would find the contrary. The like course taken also at *Geneva* by the *English* exiles, by publishing in the Latin tongue, a discourse writ by Bishop *Ridley* on the self same Argument, to the end it might appear unto all the world how much their brethren had been wronged in these odious calumnies.

(a) *In summo esse odio, quod Anglos profugos hospitio susceperat, &c.* P. Mart. *Epist. ubi vociferantur quidam, Martyres Anglicos, esse Martyres Diaboli, In epist. Octob.* 8.

An.

An. Reg. Mar. 6. 1558.

Anno Reg. Mar. 6. A. D. 1558, 1559.

BUt in the middeſt of all theſe ſorrows, I ſee ſome hope of comfort coming by the death of Queen *Mary*, whoſe Reign polluted with the bloud of ſo many Martyrs, unfortunate by the frequent inſurrections, and made inglorious by the loſs of the Town of *Calais*, was only commendable in the brevity or ſhorneſs of it. For now to bring it to an end, a dangerous and contagious Feaver began to rage in moſt parts of the land, inſomuch that if the whole Realm had been divided into four parts, three parts of the four would have been found infected with it, ſo furiouſly it raged in the month of *Auguſt*, that no former plague or peſtilence was thought to have deſtroyed a greater number, ſo that divers places were left void of Juſtices and men of worth to govern the Kingdom. At which time dyed alſo ſo many Prieſts, that a great number of Pariſh Churches in divers places were unſerved, and no Curats could be gotten for mony: Much corn was alſo loſt in the field for want of labourers and workmen to get it in; both which together ſeemed to threaten not only a ſpiritual but a temporal famine; though God ſo ordered it, that by the death of ſo many of the preſent Clergy, a door was opened for the preaching of ſounder Doctrine, with far leſs envy and diſpleaſure from all ſorts of people than it had been otherwiſe: Nor were the heats of the diſeaſe abated by the coldneſs of the winter, or the malignity of it mitigated by medicinal courſes. It took away the Phyſicians as well as the Patients, two of the *Queens* Doctors dying of it not long before her, and ſpared not more the Prelate than it did the Prieſt, inſomuch that within leſs than the ſpace of a twelvemonth, almoſt the one half of the Engliſh Biſhops had made void their Sees; which with the death of ſo many of the Prieſts in ſeveral places, did much facilitate the way to that Reformation, which ſoon after followed.

This terrible diſeaſe, together with the ſaid effects which followed on it, and the Queens death which came along with it, though not cauſed by it, may ſeem to have been prognoſticated or foretold by a dreadful tempeſt of thunder, hapning on the 11th. of *July* near the Town of *Nottingham*, which Tempeſt as it came through two Towns, beat down all the Houſes and Churches, the Bells were caſt to the outſide of the Church-yard, and ſome ſheets of Lead four hundred foot into the field, writhen like a pair of Gloves. The River of *Trent* running between which two Towns, the water with the mud in the bottom was carryed a quarter of a mile and caſt againſt the trees, the trees plucked up by the roots, and from thence caſt twelve-ſcore paces; alſo a child was taken forth of a mans hand, and by the fury of it carryed an hundred foot, two ſpears length from the ground, and ſo fell down, broke its arm, and dyed. Five or ſix men thereabouts were ſlain, and neither fleſh nor skin periſhed; at what time alſo there fell ſome Hailſtones that were fifteen inches about. &c. But neither that terrible diſeaſe, nor this terrible tempeſt, nor any other publick ſign of God's diſpleaſure, abated any thing of the fury of the Perſecution, till he was pleaſed to put an end unto it by the death of the Queen. It was upon the tenth day of *November* that no fewer than five at once were burned at *Canterbury*. The Cardinal and the Queen both lying on the bed of ſickneſs, and both dying within ſeven days after. It had been prayed or propheſied by thoſe five Martyrs when they were at the ſtake, that they might be the laſt who ſhould ſuffer death in that manner, or on that occaſion; and by Gods mercy ſo it proved, they being the laſt which ſuffered death under the ſeverity of this perſecution.

Which Perſecution, and the carriage of the Papiſts in it, is thus deſcribed by Biſhop *Jewel*, "You have (ſaith he) impriſoned your brethren, you have "ſtript them naked, you have ſcourged them with rods, you have burnt their "hands and arms with flaming torches, you have famiſhed them, you have

An. Reg. Mar. 5. 1558.

"drowned them, you have ſummoned them being dead to appear before you "out of their graves, you have ripped up their buryed carkaſes, burnt them, "and thrown them out upon the Dunghil, you took a poor Babe falling from "its mothers womb, and in moſt cruel and barbarous manner threw it into "the fire. By all which ſeverals way and means, the Martyrs in all parts of the Kingdom amounted to the number of two hundred ſeventy ſeven perſons of all ſorts and ſexes; But more particularly there are ſaid to have periſhed in theſe flames five Biſhops, twenty one Divines, eight Gentlemen, eighty four Artificers, one hundred Husbandmen, Servants and Labourers, twenty ſix Wives, twenty Widows, nine Virgins, two Boys, and two Infants; the one ſpringing out of his mothers womb as ſhe was at the ſtake, and moſt unmercifully flung into the fire in the very birth. Sixty four more in thoſe furious times were preſented for their faith, whereof ſeven were nipped, ſixteen periſhed in priſon, twelve buryed in Dunghills, and many more lay in captivity, condemned, which were delivered by the opportune death of Queen *Mary*, and the moſt auſpicious entrance of Queen *Elizabeth*, whoſe gracious government blotted out the remembrance of all former ſufferings; the different conditions of whoſe Reigns, with the former two, may ſeem to have ſomewhat in them of thoſe appearances which were preſented to *Elijah* in the Book of *Kings*, in the firſt Book and nineteenth Chapter, wherein we find it written, *That a great and ſtrong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord, but the Lord was not in the wind; and after the wind an earthquake, but the Lord was not in the earthquake; and after the earthquake a fire, but the Lord was not in the fire; and* finally *after the fire a ſtill ſmall voice*, in which the Lord ſpake unto his Prophet: So in like manner it may be feared, that God was neither in that great and terrible wind, which threw down ſo many Monaſteries and Religious houſes in the Reign of King *Henry*; nor in that Earthquake, which did ſo often ſhake the very foundations of the State in the time of King *Edward*; nor in the Fire, in which ſo many godly and Religious Perſons were conſumed to aſhes in the days of Queen *Mary*; but that he ſhewed himſelf in that *ſtill ſmall Voice*, which breathed ſo much comfort to the ſouls of his people, in the moſt gracious and fortunate Government of a Virgin Queen.

For now it pleaſed God to hearken to the cry of thoſe his Saints which lay under the *Altar*, and called upon him for an end of thoſe calamities, to which their dear brethren were expoſed. The Queen had inclined unto a Dropſie ever ſince the time of her ſuppoſed being with child; which inclination appeared in her more and more, when her ſwelling fell from the right place to her lower parts, increaſing irrecoverably in deſpight of Phyſick, till at laſt it brought her to her death. But there are divers other cauſes which are ſuppoſed to have contributed their concurrence in it; *Philip*, upon the reſignation of his fathers Kingdoms and Eſtates, had many neceſſary occaſions to be out of the Kingdom, and yet ſhe thought, that he made more occaſions than he needed, to be abſent from her; This brought her firſt into a fancy that he cared not for her, which drew her by degrees into a fixed and ſetled melancholly, confirmed, if not encreaſed, by a ſecret whiſper, that *Philip* entertained ſome wandring Loves when he was in *Flanders*. Her Glaſſes could not ſo much flatter as not to tell her, that ſhe had her fathers features with her mothers complexion; and ſhe was well enough able to inform her ſelf, that the ſeverity of her humour had no great charms in it, ſo that on the point ſhe wanted many of thoſe natural and acquired attractions, which might have ſerved to invite or reward affection. Fixed on this melancholly pin, the death of *Charls* the Emperour, which hapned on the 21 of *September*, comes to help it forward; a Prince, upon whoſe countenance and ſupport ſhe had much depended, both when ſhe was in diſgrace with her father, and out of favour with her brother. But that which came neareſt to her heart was the loſs of *Calais*, firſt loſt for want of giving credit to the intelligence which had been ſent her by

her

her Husband; and secondly by the loss of that opportunity which might have been taken to regain it. *Monsieur d' Termes* who was made Governour of the Town, had drained it of the greatest part of the Garison to joyn with some other forces, for the taking of some Towns in *Flanders*; But in a Battel fought near *Graveling* on the 13th of *July*, he lost not only his own liberty, but more then five thousand of his men; the fortune of the day falling so heavily on the Soldiers of *Calais*, that few of them escaped with life. So that if the *Queens* Navy, which had done great service in the fight, had shewed it self before the Town, and Count *Egmond* who commanded the *Flemmings* had sate down with his victorious Army to the Landward of it, it might have been recovered in as few days as it had been lost. *An. Reg. Mar. 5. 1558.*

This opportunity being neglected, she gave her self some hopes of a restitution upon an agreement then in treaty between *France* and *Spain*. But when all other matters were accorded between those Crowns, and that nothing else was wanting to compose all differences but the restoring of this Town, the French were absolutely resolved to hold it, and the Spaniards could in honour make no Peace without it. So the whole Treaty, and the deceiptful hopes which she built upon it, came at last to nothing. And though she had somewhat eased her self not long before, by attainting the Lord *Wentworth* and certain others, for their cowardly quitting of the place, which they could not hold; yet that served only like a cup of Strong-waters for the present qualm, without removing the just cause of the present distemper. And it encreased so plainly in her, that when some of her Visitants, not knowing the cause of her discomforts, applyed their several cordials to revive her spirits, she told them in plain terms, that they were mistaken in the nature of her disease; and that if she were to be dissected after her death, they would find *Calais* next her heart. Thus between jealousie, shame, and sorrow, taking the growth of her infirmity amongst the rest, she became past the help of Physick. In which extremity she began to entertain some thoughts of putting her sister *Elizabeth* beside the Crown, and setling the succession of it on her cousen the *Queen* of *Scots*; and she had done it, (at the least as much as in her was) if some of the Council had not told her, That neither the Act of the Succession, nor the Last Will and Testament of King *Henry* the Eighth which was built upon it, could otherwise be repealed, than by the general consent of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament. So that being altogether out of hope of having her will upon her sister, of recovering *Calais*, of enjoying the company of her husband, and reigning in the good affection of her injured subjects; she gave her self over to those sorrows which put an end to her life on the 17th of *November*, some few hours before day, when she had Reigned five years and four months wanting two days only. Her death accompanyed within few hours after by that of the Lord Cardinal-Legat, ushered in by the decease of *Parefew*, alias *Wharton*, Bishop of *Hereford*, and *Holyman* the new Bishop of *Bristow*, and *Glyn* of *Bangor*, and followed within two or three months after by *Hopton* Bishop of *Norwich*, and *Brooks* of *Gloceſter*: As if it had been necessary in point of State, that so great a Princess should not die without some of her Bishops going before, and some comming after. Her funeral solemnized at *Westminster* with a Mass of *Requiem*, in the wonted form, on the 13th of *December* then next following, and her body interred on the North side of the Chappel of King *Henry* the seventh, her beloved Grandfather.

I shall not trouble my self with giving any other character of this *Queen*, than what may be gathered from her story, much less in descanting on that which is made by others, who have heaped upon her many gracious praise-worthy qualities; of which, whether she were Mistress or not, I dispute not now. She was indeed a great Benefactress to the Clergy, in releasing them of their Tenths and First-fruits; but she lost nothing by the bargain, the Clergy paid her back again in their Bills of Subsidies, which growing into an annual payment for seven years together, and every Subsidy amounting to a double Tenth,

An. Reg. Mar. 6. 1558.

Tenth, conduced as visibly to the constant filling of the Exchequer, as the payment of the Tenths and First-fruits had done before. That which went dearly out of her purse without retribution, was the re-edifying and endowment of some few Religious Houses, mentioned in their proper place; she also built the publick Schools in the University of *Oxon*, for which commemorated in the list of their Benefactors; which being decayed in tract of time, and of no beautiful structure when they were at the best, were taken down about the year 1612. in place whereof, but on a larger extent of ground, was raised that goodly and magnificent Fabrick which we now behold. And though she had no followers in her first foundations, yet by the last she gave encouragement to two worthy Gentlemen to add two new Colleges in *Oxon* to the former number. Sir *Thomas Pope*, one of the Visitors of Abbeys and other Religious Houses in the time of King *Henry*, had got into his hands a small College in *Oxon*, long before founded by the Bishop and Prior of *Durham*, to serve for a Nursery of Novices to that greater Monastery; with some of the Lands thereunto belonging, and some others of his own, he erected it into a new Foundation, consisting of a President, twelve Fellows, and as many Scholars, and called it by the name of *Trinity* College; A College sufficiently famous for the education of the learned and renowned *Selden*, who needs no other *Titles of honour* than what may be gathered from his Books, and the giving of eight thousand Volumes of all sorts to the *Oxford* Library. Greater, as to the number of Fellows and Scholars, was the Foundation of Sir *Thomas White*, Lord Mayor of *London*, in the year 1553. being the first year of the Queen; who in the place where formerly stood an old House or Hostel, commonly called *Barnards Inn*, erected a new College by the name of St. *John Baptist's* College, consisting of a President, fifty Fellows and Scholars, besides some Officers and Servants which belonged to the Chappel, the vacant places to be filled for the most part out of the *Merchant Taylors* School in *London*, of which Company he had been free before his Mayoralty. A College founded as it seems in a lucky hour, affording to the Church in less than the space of eighty years no fewer than two Archbishops and four Bishops, that is to say, Doctor *William Laud* the most renowned Archbishop of *Canterbury*, of whom more else-where, Doctor *Tobie Matthews* the most Reverend Archbishop of *York*, Doctor *William Juxon* Bishop of *London* and Lord Treasurer, Doctor *John Bucheridge* Bishop of *Elie*, Doctor *Rowland Serchfield* Bishop of *Bristol*, Doctor *Boyl* Bishop of *Cork* in the Realm of *Ireland*. Had it not been for these Foundations, there had been nothing in this Reign to have made it memorable, but only the calamities and misfortunes of it.

AFFAIRS
OF
CHURCH and STATE
IN
ENGLAND,
During the Life, and first eight years of the Reign
OF
QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Judges Chap. 5. Ver. 7, 8.

7. *The Inhabitants of the Villages ceased, they ceased in* Israel, *until that I* Deborah *arose, that I arose a Mother in* Israel.

8. *They chose new gods; then was war in the gates; was there a shield or spear seen amongst forty thousand in* Israel?

Vell. Paterc. *Hist. lib.* 2.

Revocata in Urbem fides, summota seditio è foro, è campo ambitio, discordia à curia; accessit Magistratibus Authoritas, Senatui Majestas, Judiciis gravitas; omnibus recte faciendi aut incussa voluntas, aut imposita necessitas.

Martial. *Epigr. lib.* 1.

Hæc jam sæminea vidimus acta manu.

LONDON,
Printed for *H. Twyford*, *J. Place*, *T. Basset*, and *W. Palmer*,
Anno Dom. 1670.

AFFAIRS

OF

CHURCH and STATE

IN

ENGLAND,

During the Life, and full eight Years of the Reign

OF

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

LONDON,

Printed for H. Twyford, J. Place, T. Bass, and W. Palmer,
Anno Dom. 1670.

The Parentage, Birth, and first Fortunes of the Princesse

ELIZABETH,

The second Daughter of King HENRY the Eighth, before her coming to the CROWN.

With a true Narrative of the first Loves of King HENRY *the Eigth, to Queen* ANNE BOLLEN. *The Reasons of his aleniating of his first affections, and the true causes of her wofull and calamitous death.*

ELIZABETH the youngest daughter of King *Henry* the 8th. was born at *Greenwich* on the 7th. of *September* (being the Eve of the Nativity of the Virgin *Mary*) 1533. begotten on the body of Queen *Anne Bollen*, the eldest daughter of *Thomas Bollen* Earl of *Wiltshire*, and of *Elizabeth* his wife, one of the daughters of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, and Earl Marshal of *England*. The Family of the *Bolleus* before this time neither great nor antient, but highly raised in reputation by the marriage of the Lady *Anne*, and the subsequent birth of Queen *Elizabeth*; the first rise thereof comming out of the City in the person of Sir *Geofrey Bollen* Lord Major of *London*, *Anno* 1457. which *Geofrey* being son of one *Geofrey Bollen* of *Sulle* in *Norfolk*, was father of Sir *William Bollen* of *Blickling* in the said County, who took to wife the Lady *Margaret*, daughter and one of the heirs of *Thomas Butler* Earl of *Ormond*, brother and heir of *Iames Butler* Earl of *Wiltshire*. Of this marriage came Sir *Thomas Bollen* above mentioned, imployed in severall Embassies by King *Henry* the Eight, to whom he was Treasurer of the Houshold, and by that name enrolled amongst the Knights of the Garter, *Anno* 1523, advanced about two years after (being the seventeenth of that King) to the style of title of Viscount *Rochfort*, and finally in reference to his mothers extraction created Earl of *Wiltshire* and *Ormond*, 1529. But dying without issue male surviving, the title of *Ormond* was restored to the next heir male of the *Butlers* in *Ireland*, and that of *Wiltshire* given by King *Edward* the 6th. to Sir *William Paulet*, being then great Master of the Houshold. And as for that of Viscount *Rochfort*

it lay dormant after his deceaſe, till the 6th. of *July*, *Anno* 1621. when conferred by King *James* on *Henry Cary*, Lord *Hundſdon*, the ſon of *John* and Grandchild of *Henry Cary*, whom Queen *Elizabeth* in the firſt year of her Reign made Lord *Cary* of *Hunſdon*, he being the ſon and heir of Sir *William Cary*, one of the Eſquires of the body to King *Henry* the 8th. by the Lady *Mary Bollen* his wife, the youngeſt daughter, and one of the Co-heirs of the ſaid *Thomas* Bollen Viſcount *Rochfort*, and Earl of *Wiltſhire*.

Such being the eſtate of that Family, which became afterwards ſo fortunate in the production of this Princeſs to the Realm of *England*, we muſt in the next place enquire more particularly into the life and ſtory of Queen *Anne* her Mother. Who in her tender years attending on *Mary* the *French* Queen, to the Court of *France*, was by her Father, after the return of the ſaid Queen, placed in the retinue of the Dutcheſs of *Alanzone*, the beloved Siſter of King *Francis*, where ſhe not only learnt the language but made her ſelf an exact Miſtriſs both of the Gaieties and Garb of the great *French* Ladies. She carried ſuch a *ſtock* of natural graces, as render'd her ſuperlatively the moſt admired beauty in the Court of *France*; and returned thence with all thoſe advantages which the civilities of *France* could add to an *Engliſh* beauty. For ſo it hapned, that her Father being ſent with Sir *Anthony Brown*, *Anno* 1527. to take the oath of the *French* King to a ſolemn league not long before concluded betwixt the Crowns, reſolved to bring back his Daughter with him, to ſee what fortunes God would ſend her in the Court of *England*. Where being Treaſurer of the houſhold, it was no hard matter for him to preſer her to Queen *Katharines* ſervice on whom ſhe waited in the nature of a Maid of Honour; which gave the King the opportunity of taking more than ordinary notice of her parts and perſon Nor was it long before the excellency of her beauty, adorned with ſuch a gracefulneſs of behaviour, appeared before his eyes, with ſo many charms, that not able to reſiſt the aſſaults of Love, he gave himſelf over to be governed by thoſe affections which he found himſelf unable to Maſter. But he found no ſuch eaſie task of it as he had done before in bringing Mrs. *Elizabeth Blunt*, and others, to be the ſubjects of his luſts; all his temptations being repelled by this vertuous Lady, like arrows ſhot in vain at a rock of Adamants. She was not to be told of the Kings looſe love to ſeveral Ladies, and knew that nothing could be gained by yielding unto ſuch deſires but contempt and infamy, though for a while diſguiſed and palliated by the plauſible name and Courtly Title of a Princes Miſtriſs. The humble and modeſt oppoſition of the Lady *Gray*, to the inordinate affections of King *Edward* the 4th. advanced her to his bed as a lawfull wife, which otherwiſe ſhe had been poſſeſſed of by no better title than that of *Jane Shore*, and his other Concubines. By whoſe examples Miſtriſs *Bollen* is reſolved to ſteer her courſes, and not to yield him any further favours, than what the honour of a Lady, and the modeſty of a virgin, might inoffenſively permit to ſo great a King.

But ſo it chanced, that before her coming back from the Court of *France*, the King began to be touched in conſcience about his marriage with the Queen, upon occaſion of ſome doubts which had been caſt in the way both by the Miniſters of the Emperour, and the *French* King, as touching the legitimation of his daughter *Mary*. Which doubts being ſtarted at a time when he ſtood on no good terms with the Emperour, and was upon the point of breaking with him, was ſecretly fomented by ſuch of the Court as had advanced the party of *Francis*, and ſought alwaies to alienate him from the friendſhip of *Charles*. Amongſt which none more forward than Cardinal *Wolſie*, who for almoſt twenty years together, had governed his affairs with ſuch power and prudence. The Emperor had diſguſted the ambitious Prelate, not only by croſſing him in his ſute for the Popedome, but by denying him the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo*, of which he had once given him no ſmall hopes. And now the Cardinal is reſolved to cry quits for both, thinking himſelf as much affronted in the failer of his expectations, as if he had been diſgracefully deprived of ſome preſent

ſam poſſeſſion. No way more open to his ends, than by working on that ſcruple of Conſcience which had been raiſed unto his hand; to the advance whereof, the reſervedneſs of the Queens behaviour, and the inequality of her years, which rendred her leſs agreeable to his converſation, gave no ſmall advantage. In which conjecture it was no hard matter to perſwade him unto any way which might give ſatisfaction to his conſcience, or content to his fancy; eſpecially if it came accompanied with ſuch a change as promiſed him the hopes of a fair and chaſte, and the loſs of a more aged and unqueſtioned bed. And then what fitter wife could be found out for him, than Madam *Rheene*, one of the Daughters of King *Henry* the 12th and ſiſter to the wife of the King then Reigning. By which alliance he might be able to juſtifie his ſeparation from the bed of *Katherine* not only againſt *Charles* her Nephew, but againſt all Kings and Emperors in the Chriſtian world, taking the Pope into the reckoning. A propoſition ſo agreeable to the Kings own thoughts (who began to grow weary of his Queen) that he reſolved to buy the amity of *Francis* at any rate; to which end he not only made a League with him againſt the Emperor, when the condition of the *French* was almoſt deſperate, but remitted unto *Francis* a very conſiderable part of the value of ſeveral Crowns partly accruing unto him by ſome former contracts, and partly for the payment of forfeitures incurred by *Charles*, with which the *French* had charged himſelf by the capitulations.

And ſo far matters went on ſmoothly to the Cardinals wiſh, and poſſibly might have ſucceeded in all particulars, had not the Plot miſcarried by the return of Viſcount *Rochford*, and the planting of *Anne Bullan* in the Court. The admirable endowments of which young Lady, had drawn the King ſo faſt unto her, that in ſhort time he gave her an abſolute ſoveraignty over all his thoughts. But ſo long he concealed his affections from her, that a great League and entercourſe was contracted between him and the young Lord *Percy*, the eldeſt ſon of *Henry* Lord *Percy*, the ſixth Earl of *Northumberland* of that Name and Family, who being brought up in the Cardinals ſervice, had many opportunities of confirming an acquaintance with her, when either his own pleaſure or his Lords affairs occaſioned his waiting at the Court. But theſe compliances on both ſides, neither were, nor poſſibly could be ſo cloſely carried as not to come unto the knowledge of the jealous King, inquiſitive of a Rival in his new affections, and reſolved to carry the buſineſs in ſuch a manner, as to give no diſtaſte to her whom he ſo much loved. The Cardinal is therefore deſired to remove the obſtacle, to which he readily conſents, not looking further at the preſent into the deſign, but that the King intended to appropriate the young Lady to his private pleaſures, as he had done many others in the times forgoing. A meſſenger is therupon diſpatched to the Earl of *Northumberland* who at coming of the Court is informed by the Cardinal, how raſhly and Lord *Percy* had ingaged himſelf in the affections of Mrs. *Bullen* one of the Daughters of Viſcount *Rochford*, not only without his Fathers Privity, but againſt the expreſs will of the King who was reſolved to diſpoſe otherwiſe of her. And this he urged upon the French of an old prerogative both claimed and after exercized by the Kings of *England*, in not permitting any of the Nobility to contract Marriages, and make alliances with one another, but by their conſents.

The old Earl ſtarted at the news, and fearing nothing more than the Kings diſpleaſure, calls for his ſon, and ſeverely ſchoolds him in this manner. "Son, (ſaid he) even as thou art, and ever haſt been, a proud diſdainful and ſe-"very unthrift Maſter, ſo haſt thou now declared thy ſelf. Wherefore what "joy, what pleaſure, what comfort, or what ſolace can I conceive in thee? "that haſt uſed thy ſelf without diſcretion, and about thy ſelf having neither regard to "me thy natural Father, nor to thy natural Soveraign Lord the King, to whom "all honeſt and loyal Subjects bear a faithful obedience, nor yet to the proſperi-"ty of thy own Eſtate, but haſt ſo unadvisedly contracted thy ſelf to her, for

"whom thou haſt purchaſed the Kings high diſpleaſure, intolerable for any "ſubject to ſuſtain. And but that the King doth conſider the lightneſs of thy "head, and wilful quality of thy perſon, his diſpleaſure and indignation "were ſufficient to caſt me and all my proſperity into utter ruine and deſtru-"ction. But he being my ſingular good Lord, and favourable Prince, and my "Lord Cardinal my very good friend, hath and doth clearly excuſe me in thy "lewdneſs, and doth rather lament thy folly than malign thee, and hath advi-"ſed an order to be taken for thee, to whom both I and you are more bound "than we conceive of. I pray to God that this may be ſufficient admonition "to thee to uſe thy ſelf more wiſely hereafter. For aſſure thy ſelf, if thou "doſt not amend thy prodigality, thou wilt be the laſt Earl of our houſe. "For thy natural inclination, thou art matterful and prodigal to conſume all "that thy progenitors have with ſo great travail gathered and kept together "with honour. But having the Kings Majeſty my ſingular good Lord, I truſt "(I aſſure thee) ſo to order my ſucceſſion, that thou ſhalt conſume thereof but "a little. For I do not intend (I tell thee truly) to make thee heir, for (thanks "be to God) I have more boys that I truſt will uſe themſelves much better, "and prove more like to be wiſe and honeſt men, of whom I will chuſe the "moſt likely to ſucceed me.

So ſaid the much offended father, and yet not thinking he had done enough for his own ſecurity, a marriage is preſently concluded for him to the Kings good liking, with the Lady *Mary*, one of the daughters of *George* Lord *Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*. Mrs. *Anne Bollen* in the mean time is removed by her father from the Court, to her no ſmall trouble; who knowing nothing of the Kings, had willingly admitted the Lord *Percy* into her affections, And underſtanding by him what had paſt betwixt him and his father, ſhe conceived ſuch a mortal grudge againſt the Cardinal, (whom ſhe looked on as the only cauſe of this ſeparation) that ſhe contributed her beſt aſſiſtance to his final ruine. It was about the time when the Kings cauſe was to be agitated in the *Legantine* Court, that he cauſed her to be ſent for out of the Country, to give her attendance on the Queen as in former times; impatient of a longer abſence, and fearful of a ſecond Rival, if he ſhould any longer conceal his purpoſe. Which having taken ſome fit time to diſcloſe unto her, he found in her a vertue of ſuch ſtrength againſt all temptations, that he reſolves upon the ſentencing of the divorce, which he little doubted, to take her to him as the laſt ſole object of his wandring loves. A matter not to be concealed from ſo many eſpials as *Wolſie* had about the King. Who thereupon ſlackneth his former pace in the Kings affairs, and ſecretly practiſeth with the Pope to recall the Commiſſion, whereby he was impowered together with *Campegius*, to determine in it. *Anne Bollen* formerly offended at his two great haſte in breaking the compliance betwixt her and *Percy*, is now as much diſpleaſed with him for his being too ſlow in ſentencing the Kings Divorſe, On which as ſhe had built the hopes of her future greatneſs, ſo ſhe wanted neither will nor opportunity to do him ill offices with the King, whom ſhe exaſperates againſt him upon all occaſions. The King grows every day more open in his carriage towards her, takes her along with him in his progreſs, dines with her privately in her chamber, and cauſeth almoſt all addreſſes to be made by her in matters of the greateſt moment.

Reſolved to break through all impediments which ſtood betwixt him and the accompliſhment of his deſires, he firſt ſends back *Campegius* an Alien born, preſently cauſed *Wolſie* to be indicted and attainted in a *premunire*, and not long after the by counſel of *Thomas Cromwell* (who formerly had been the Cardinals Solicitor in his *Legantine* Court) involves the whole body of the Clergy in the ſame crime with him. By the perſwaſions of this man, he requires the Clergy to acknowledge him *ſupreme head on earth* of the Church of *England*, to make no new Canons and Conſtitutions, nor to execute any ſuch when made, but by his conſent. And having thus brought his own Clergy under

under his command, he was the leſs ſolicitous how his matters went in the Court of *Rome*; to which the Pope recalled his cauſe, which he either quickned or retarded, as rather ſtood with his own intereſt, then the Kings concernments. The King being grown more confident in the equity and juſtice of his cauſe, by the determinations of many of the Univerſities in *France* and *Italy*, better aſſured than formerly of his own Clergy at home, and wanting no encouragement from the *French* King to ſpeed the buſineſs, advanced the Lady *Anne Bollen* (for by this time her father for her ſake was made Earl of *Wiltſhire*) to the Title, Stile, and Dignity of *Marchioneſs* of *Pembrook*, on the firſt of *September*, 1532. aſſigning her a penſion of a thouſand pounds *per annum* out of the Biſhoptick of *Durham*. And now the time of the intended interview betwixt him and the *French* King drawing on a pace, he takes her along with him unto *Calais*, where ſhe entertained both Kings at a curious Mask. At what time having ſome communication about the Kings intended marriage, the *French* encouraged him to proceed, aſſuring him that if the matter ſhould be queſtioned by the Pope or Emperour, (againſt whom this muſt make him ſure to the party of *France*) to aſſiſt him with his utmoſt power, what fortune ſoever ſhould betide him in it. On which aſſurance from the *French*, the marriage is privately made up on the 14th. of *November* then next following, the ſacred Rites performed by Dr, *Rowland Lee*, whom afterwards he preferred to the See of *Lichfield*, and made Lord Preſident of *Wales*. None preſent at the Nuptials but Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Father, Mother, and Brother of the new Queen, and poſſibly ſome other of the Confidents of either ſide, whom it concerned to keep it ſecret at their utmoſt peril. 1532.

But long it could not be concealed. For finding her ſelf to be with child, ſhe acquaints the King with it, who preſently diſpatcheth *George* Lord *Rochfort* her only brother, to the Court of *France*, as well to give the King advertiſement of his ſecret marriage, as to deſire him not to fail of performing his promiſes if occaſion were, and therewithal to crave his counſel and advice how it was to be publiſhed, ſince it could not long be kept unknown. It is not to be doubted, but that the *French* King was well pleaſed with the news of a marriage, which muſt needs faſten *England* to the party of *France*, and that he would be forward enough to perform thoſe promiſes which ſeemed ſo viſible to conduce to his own preſervation. And as for matter of advice, it appeared unneceſſary, becauſe the marriage would diſcover it ſelf by the Queens being with child, which could no longer be concealed. And being to be concealed no longer, on *Eaſter* Eve the twelfth of *April*, ſhe ſhewed her ſelf openly as Queen, all neceſſary officers and attendants are appointed for her; an order iſſueth from the Parliament at that time ſitting, that *Katherine* ſhould no longer be called Queen, but *Princeſs Dowager*. *Cranmer* the new Archbiſhop repairs to *Dunſtable*, erects his Conſiſtory in the Priory there, cites *Katherine* fifteen days together to appear before him, and in default of her appearance proceedeth judicially to the ſentence, which he reduceth into writing in due form of Law, and cauſed it to be openly publiſh'd (with the conſent of his Colleagues) on *Friday* the 23 of *May*. And on the *Sunday* ſevennight being then *Whitſunday*, the new Queen was ſolemnly crowned by the ſaid Archbiſhop; conducted by water from *Greenwich* to the Tower of *London*, *May* 29. from thence through the chief ſtreets of the City unto *Weſtminſter* Hall; *May* 31. and the next day from *Weſtminſter* Hall to the Abby Church to receive the Crown, a ſolemn tilting before the Court gate on the morrow after. All which was done with more magnificence and pomp, than ever had been ſeen before on the like occaſion; the particulars whereof, he that liſts to ſee, may find them punctually ſet down in the Annals of *John Stow*, *fol.* 563, 564, &c.

And he may find there alſo the ſolemnities uſed at the Chriſtning of the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, born upon Sunday the 7th. day of *September*, and Chriſtned on the *Wedneſday* following, with a pomp not much inferiour to the Coronation;

tion. Her Godfather being the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, her Godmothers, the old Dutchess of *Norfolk*, and the old Marchioness of *Dorset* by whom she was named *Elizabeth*, according to the name of the Grandmothers on either side. Not long after Christmas then next following began the Parliament, in which the Kings marriage with the Lady *Katherine* was declared unlawful, her daughter the Lady *Mary*, to be illegitimate, the Crown to be entailed on the Kings heirs Males, to be begotten on the body of the present Queen, and for default of such issue on the Princess *Elizabeth*, and oath devised in maintenance of the said succession, and not long after, *Mary*, and *Fisher* executed (as before was said) for the refusal of that oath. The Kings cause all this while depended in the Court of *Rome*, nor like to be determined for him, and yet the Pope not willing to declare against him, till by the solicitation of the Emperour, and for the Vindication of the honour of the See Apostolick, he seemed to be necessitated to some acts of rigour, which at last proved the total ruine of his power and party in the Realm of *England*.

For the new Queen considering that the Pope and she had such different interests, that they could not both submit together, resolved upon that course which Nature and self-preservation seem'd to dictate to her. But finding that the Popes was too well entrenched to be dislodged upon a sudden, it was advised by *Cromwel* (made Mr. of the Rolls under commission to begin with easier works in the out-works first, which being gained, it would be no hard matter to batter home to his trenches. In order whereunto a visitation is begun in the month of *October*, 1535. in which a diligent enquiry was to be made into all 1535.
Abbies, Priories, and Nunneries within the Kingdome; *Cromwel* himself, Dr. *Lee*, and others, being named for Visitors. Who governing themselves according to certain instructions of their own devising, exhibit all such Religious persons as were under the age of 24. or otherwise were willing to remain in several houses, shutting up such from going out, as were not willing to accept the benefit of that permission. All such Religious persons as departed thence, to be stripped by the Abbot or Prior, of their Habit, Gown, and every shilling in money: and all Nuns to be put in a secular habit, and suffered to go where they would. They took order also, that no men should go into the houses of women, nor women into the houses of men, but only for the hearing of Divine Service: making thereby that course of life less pleasing unto either Sex, than it had been formerly. They also inventaried, or else directly took away the Relicts and their Jewels out of most of the said Monasteries or Religious houses, pretending that they took them for the Kings use, but possibly keeping them for their own. And having made a strict and odious inquisition into the lives of all the Votaries of both Sexes, they return'd many of them guilty of exorbitant lusts, and much carnal uncleanness; representing their offences in such Multiplying Glasses, as made them seem both greater in number, and more horrid in nature, than indeed they were. And in the *February* following was held a Parliament, in which all Monasteries, Priories, and other Religious houses under the yearly value of 200 l. were granted unto the King and his heirs for ever.

The number of the Houses then suppressed were said to be 376, their yearly Rents then valued at the sum of thirty two thousand pounds and upwards, their moveable goods, as they were sold at *Robin Hood's* penny-worths, amounting to one hundred thousand pounds and more. The Religious persons thus despoiled of their Estates, either betook themselves to some of the greater Houses of their several Orders, or went again into the world, and followed such secular businesses as were offered to them towards the getting of their livings. Much lamentation made in all parts of the Countrey for want of that relief and sustenance which the poor of all sorts received daily from their Hospitality, and for want of that employment which they found continually in and about those Houses, in their several Trades; insomuch that it was commonly thought, that more than ten thousand persons, as well Masters as

servants,

Servants, had loſt their livelyhoods by that act of Suppreſſion. To the paſſing whereof, the Biſhops and the Mitred Abbots, which made the prevalent part of the Houſe of Peers, contributed their Votes and Suffrages as the other did; whether it were out of puſillanimity, as not daring to appear in behalf of their brethren, or out of a weak hope, that the Rapacity of the Queen and her Miniſters would proceed no farther, it is hard to ſay. Certain it is, that by their improvident aſſenting to the preſent Grant, they made a rod for their own backs, (as the ſaying is) with which they were ſufficiently ſcourged within few years after, till they were all finally whipt out of the Kingdome, though the new Queen, for whoſe ſake *Cromwell* had contrived the plot, did not live to ſee it.

For ſuch is the uncertainty of humane affairs, that when ſhe thought her ſelf moſt ſafe and free from danger, ſhe became moſt obnoxious to the ruine prepared for her. It had pleaſed God on the eighth of *January* to put an end unto the calamities of the vertuous but unfortunate Queen, into whoſe Bed ſhe had ſucceeded; the news whereof ſhe entertained with ſuch contentment, that ſhe cauſed her ſelf to be apparalled in lighter colours than was agreeable to the ſeaſon, or the ſad occaſion; Whereas if ſhe had rightly underſtood her own condition, ſhe could not but have known, that the long life of *Katharine* was to be her beſt preſervative againſt all changes, which the Kings looſe affections, or any other alterations in affairs of State, were otherwiſe like to draw upon her. But this contentment held not long, for within three weeks after ſhe fell in travail, in which ſhe miſcarried of a Son, to the extream grief of the Mother, and diſcontent of the Father, who looked upon it as an argument of Gods diſpleaſure, as being as much offended at this ſecond Marriage as he was at the firſt. He then began to think of his ill fortune with both his Wives, both Marriages ſubject to diſpute, and the Legittimation of his daughter *Elizabeth* as likely to be called in queſtion in the time ſucceeding, as that of *Mary* in the former. He much therefore caſt about for another wife, of whoſe marriage and his iſſue by her there could ariſe no controverſie, or elſe muſt dye without an heir of his own body, or leave the Crown to be contended for by thoſe, who though they were of his own body, could not be his heirs. His eye had carried him to a Gentlewoman in the Queens attendance, of extraordinary beauty, and ſuperlative modeſty; on the enjoying of whom he ſo fixed his thoughts, that he had quite obliterated all remembrance of his former loves. As reſolute, but more private in this purſuit than he was in the former; yet not ſo private, but that the Queen (ſo piercing are the eyes of Love and Jealouſie) had took notice of it, and ſignified her ſuſpitions to him, of which, more anon.

In the mean time ſhe was not wanting in all thoſe honeſt arts of Love, Obſequiouſneſs, and Entertainment, which might endear her to the King, who now began to be as weary of her gaities and jocular humour, as formerly of the gravity and reſervedneſs of *Katharine*. And cauſing many eyes to obſerve her actions, they brought him a return of ſome particulars, which he conceived might give him a ſufficient ground to proceed upon. The Lord *Rochfort*, her own brother, having ſome ſute to obtain by her of the King, was found whiſpering to her on her bed when ſhe was in it; which was interpreted for an Act of ſome great diſhonour done or intended to the King, as if ſhe had permitted him ſome farther liberties than were conſiſtent with the innocent familiarity between brothers and ſiſters: In the aggravating whereof with all odious circumſtances, none was more forward than the Lady *Rochfort* her ſelf, whether out of any jealouſie which ſhe had of her husband, or whether out of ſome inveterate hatred which ſhe had to the Queen, (according to the peccant humor of moſt ſiſters in Law) is not clearly known. It was obſerved alſo, that Sir *Henry Norris*, Groom of the Stool unto the King, had entertained a very dear affection for her, not without giveing himſelf ſome hopes of ſucceeding in the King's bed, (as Sir *Thomas Seimer* after did) if ſhe chanced to ſurvive him. And

it

it appears that she had given him opportunity to make known his affections, and to acquaint her with his hopes, which she expressed by twitting him in a frolick humour with *looking after dead mens shoes*. *Weston* and *Brearton*, both Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, were observed also to be very diligent in their services and addresses to her, which were construed rather to proceed from love than duty, though no reciprocation could be found to proceed from her, but what was agreeable to that affability and general debonairness which she shewed to all men.

Out of these premises, weak and imperfect though they were, the King resolves to come to a conclusion of his aims and wishes. A solemn Titling was maintained at *Greenwich* on the first of *May*, at which the King and Queen were present, the Lord *Rochfort* and Sir *Henry Norris* being principal Challengers. The Queen by chance let fall her handkerchief, which was taken up by one of her supposed favourits which stood underneath her window, whom the King perceived to wipe his face with it. This taken by the King to be done of purpose, and thereupon he leaves the Queen and all the rest to behold the Sports, and goeth immediately in great hast to *Westminster*, to the no small amazement of all the company, but the Queen especially. *Rochfort* and *Norris* are committed to the Tower on the morrow after, to which unfortunate place the Queen her self, on the same day, was conducted by Sir *Thomas Audley*, Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*, *Cromwel* Then Master of the Rolls and principal Secretary, and *Kingston* Lieutenant of the Tower. Informed by them upon the way of the Kings suspitions, she is said to have fallen upon her knees, and with dire imprecations to have disavowed the crime (whatsoever it were) wherewith she was charged; beseeching God so to regard her as the justness of her cause required. After which, *William Brearton* Esquire, and Sir *Francis Weston* of the King's Privy Chamber, together with *Mark Smeton* one of the King's Musicians, were committed on the same occasion.

These persons being thus committed, and the cause made known, the next care was to find sufficient Evidence for their condemnation. It was objected, that the Queen growing out of hope of having any issue male by the King, had used the company of the Lord *Rochfort*, *Norris*, *Brearton* and *Weston*, and possibly of *Smeton* also; involving her at once in no smaller crimes than those of Adultery and Incest. For proof whereof, there was no want of any artifices, in sifting, canvasing, and intangling, not only the prisoners themselves, but all such Witnesses of either sex, as were thought fit to be examined by the King's Commissioners; from none of which they were able to get any thing by all their Arts, which might give any ground for their conviction; but that *Mark Smeton* had been wrought on to make some confession of himself to her dishonour, out of a vain hope to save his own life by the loss of hers. Concerning which, *Cromwell* thus writes unto the King, after the Prisoners had been thorowly examined in the Tower by the Lords of the Councill, *Many things* (saith he) *have been objected, but nothing confessed; only some circumstances have been acknowledged by Mark.* To which effect, and other the particulars before remembred, take here a Letter written by Sir *Edward Baynton* to Sir *William Fitswilliams*, being then Treasurer of the Houshold, and not long after raised unto the style and Tytle of Earl of *Southampton*.

Mr. Treasurer,

THis shall be to advertise you, that here is much communication, that no man will confesse any thing against her at all but only Mark, *of any actual thing. Wherefore in my foolish conceit it should much touch the Kings honour if it should no further appear. And I cannot believe, but that the other two be as far culpable as ever was he; and I think assuredly the one keepeth the others counsel, as many conjectures in my mind causeth me to think, and especially of the communication that was last between the Queen, Mr.* Norris, *Mr.* Amner, *and me; as I would, if I might speak with Mr. Secretary and you together, more plainly expresse my mind.*

If

If the caſe be, that they have confeſſed (like witneſſes) all things as they ſhould do then the matter is at a point. I have muſed much at the manner of Miſtreſs Margery, *which hath uſed her ſelf ſo ſtrangely towards me of late, being her friend ſo much as I have been. But no doubt it cannot be choſen but ſhe muſt be of counſel therewith: for there hath been great friendſhip between the Queen and her of late. I hear further, that the Queen ſtandeth ſtifly in her opinion, that ſhe will die in it, which I think is in the truſt that ſhe hath of the other two. But if your buſineſs be ſuch as you cannot come, I would gladly come and wait on you, if you think it requeſite.*

It appears alſo by a Letter of Sir *William Kingſtons*, that he had much communication with her when ſhe was his Priſoner, in which her Language ſeemed to be broken and diſtreſſed betwixt Tears and Laughter, out of which nothing could be gathered, but that ſhe exclaimed againſt *Norris*, as if he had accuſed her. It was further ſignified in that Letter, that ſhe named ſome others, who had obſequiouſly applyed themſelves to her Love and Service, acknowledging ſuch paſſages, though not ſufficient to condemn her, as ſhewed, ſhe had made uſe of the utmoſt liberty which could be honeſtly allowed her. Moſt true it is, (as far as any truth can be collected from common and credible reports) that *Norris* being much favoured by the King, was offered pardon for his life, if he would confeſs the crimes which he was accuſed of. To which he made this generous anſwer, *That in his conſcience he thought her guiltleſs of the crimes objected, but whether ſhe were or no, he could not accuſe her of any thing, and that he had rather undergo a thouſand deaths than betray the Innocent.* So that upon the point there was no evidence againſt her, but the Confeſſion of *Smeton*, and the calumnies of the Lady *Rochfort*, of which, the one was fooled into that Confeſſion by the hope of life, which notwithſtanding was not pardoned; and the other moſt deſervedly loſt her head within few years after, for being acceſſary to the Adulteries of Queen *Katherine Howard*. And yet upon this Evidence ſhe was Arraigned in the great Hall of the Tower of *London* on the 15th of *May*, and pronounced guilty by her Peers, of which her own Father (which I cannot but behold as an act of the higheſt tyranny) was compelled to be one. The Lord *Rochfort* and the reſt of the Priſoners were found guilty alſo, and ſuffered death on the 17th. day of the ſame month, all of them ſtanding ſtoutly to the Queens and their own integrity; as it was thought that *Smeton* alſo would have done, but that he ſtill flattered himſelf with the hopes of life, till the loſs of his head diſabled him from making the retractation. The like death ſuffered by the Queen on the ſecond day after, ſome few permitted to be preſent, rather as witneſſes than ſpectators of her final end. And it was ſo ordered by the advice of Sir *William Kingſton*, who ſignified in his Letters to one of the Council, that he conceived it beſt, that a reaſonable number only ſhould be preſent at the Execution, becauſe he found by ſome diſcourſe which he had had with her, that ſhe would declare her ſelf to be a good woman, for all men, but for the King, at the hour of death. Which Declaration ſhe made good, going with great cheerfulneſs to the Scaffold, praying moſt heartily for the King, and ſtanding conſtantly on her innocence to the very laſt.

So dyed this great and gallant Lady, one of the moſt remarkable mockeries and diſports of Fortune which theſe laſt ages have produced, raiſed from the quality of a private Lady to the bed of a King, Crowned on the Throne, and Executed on the Scaffold; the Fabrick of her power and glories being ſix years at the leaſt in building, but caſt down in an inſtant; the ſplendor and magnificence of her Coronation ſeeming to have no other end, but to make her the more glorious Sacrifice at the next alteration of the Kings affections. But her death was not the only mark which the King did aim at; if ſhe had only loſt her head, though with the loſs of her Honour, it would have been no bar to her Daughter *Elizabeth* from ſucceeding her Father in the Throne, and he muſt

have his bed left free from all ſuch pretenſions, the better to draw on the following marriage. It was thought neceſſary therefore, that ſhe ſhould be ſeparated from his bed by ſome other means than the Axe or Sword, and to be legally divorced from her in a Court of Judicature, when the ſentence of death might ſeem to have deprived her of all means, as well as of all manner of deſire to diſpute the point. Upon which ground *Norris* is practiſed with to confeſs the Adultery, and the Lord *Percy* (now Earl of *Northumberland*) who was known to have made love unto her in her former times, to acknowledge a Contract. But as *Norris* gallantly denyed the one, ſo the Lord *Percy* could not be induced (though much laboured to it) to confeſs the other. For proof whereof we have this Letter of his own hand writing, directed to Secretary *Cromwel* in theſe following words.

Mr. Secretary,

THis *ſhall be to ſignifie unto you that I perceive by Sir* Raynald Carnarby, *that there is ſuppoſed to be a pre-contract between the Queen and me. Whereupon I was not only examined upon my Oath before the Archbiſhops of* Canterbury *and* York, *but alſo received the bleſſed Sacrament upon the ſame before the Duke of* Norfolk, *and others of the Kings Highneſs Council, learned in the Spiritual Law; aſſuring you Mr.* Secretary *by the ſaid Oath and Bleſſed Body which afore I received, and hereafter mean to receive, that the ſame may be to my damnation, if ever there were any contract or promiſe of Marriage betwixt her and me.* At *Newington Green the* 13*th. of* May, in the 28th. year of the reign of Our Soveraign Lord King *Henry* the 8th.

Yours aſſured,
H. Northumberland.

But notwithſtanding theſe denyals, and that neither the Adultery was confeſſed, nor the Contract proved, ſome other ground was found out to diſſolve the mariage; though what it was doth not appear upon Record. All which occurs in reference to it, is a ſolemn inſtrument under the ſeal of Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, by which the marriage is declared (on good and valuable reaſons) to be null and void, no reaſon being expreſt particularly for the ground thereof. Which ſentence was pronounced at *Lambeth*, on the 17th. of *May*, in the preſence of Sir *Thomas Hadley*, Lord Chancellor, *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, *Iohn* Earl of *Oxon*, *Robert* Earl of *Suſſex*, *William* Lord *Sandys*, Lord Chancellor of his Majeſties houſhold, *Thomas Cromwel*, Maſter of the Rolls and principal Secretary, then newly put into the office of Vicar General, Sir *William Fitz Williams*, Treaſurer, and Sir *William Paulet* Controller of the Kings houſhold, *Thomas Bedil*, Arch-Deacon of *Cornwal*, and *John Trigunwel*, Dr. of the Lawes, all being of the Privy Council. Beſides which, there were preſent alſo *John Oliver*, Dean of Kings Colledge in *Oxen*, *Richard Guent*, Arch-Deacon of *London*, and Dean of the Arches, *Edmund Bonner*, Arch-Deacon of *Leiceſter*, *Richard Leighton*, Arch-Deacon of *Buckingham*, and *Thomas Lee*, Doctor of the Lawes; as alſo Dr. *Richard Sampſon*, Dean of the Chappel Royal, who appeared as Proctour for the King, together with Doctor *Nicholas Wotton*, and Doctor *Ioh. Barborur*, appointed Proctors for the Queen. By the authority of which great appearance, more then for any thing contain'd particularly in the Act or inſtrument, the ſaid ſentence of Divorce was approved by the Prelates and Clergy aſſembled in their Convocation on the ninth of *Iune*, and being ſo confirmed by them, it received the like approbation by Act of Parliament within few daies after; in which Act there alſo paſſed a clauſe, which declared the Lady *Elizabeth* (the only iſſue of this marriage) to be illegitimate. What elſe concerns this unfortunate Lady, together with ſome proof of divers things before delivered, cannot be more Pathetically expreſſed, than by her ſelf, bemoaning her misfortunes to the King, in this following Letter.

Sir.

Sir,

YOur Graces diſpleaſure, and my Impriſonment, are things ſo ſtrange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuſe, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you ſend unto me (willing me to confeſs a truth, and ſo obtain your favour) by ſuch an one whom you know to be my antient profeſſed enemy, I no ſooner received this meſſage, than I rightly conceived your meaning: And if (as you ſay) confeſſing a truth indeed may procure my ſafety, I ſhall without willingneſs and duty perform your commands; but let not your Grace ever imagine that your poor Wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not ſo much as a thought ever proceeded. And to ſpeak a truth, never Prince had never Wife more Loyal in all Duty, or in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Bollen. *With which name and place I could willingly have contented my ſelf, if God, and your Graces pleaſure had ſo been pleaſed. Neither did I at any time forget my ſelf in my Exaltation or received Queenſhip, but that I looked alwaies for ſuch an alteration as now I find; the ground of my preferment being on no ſurer Foundation than your Graces Fancy, the leaſt alteration whereof, I knew was fit and ſufficient to draw that Fancy to ſome other Subject.*

You have choſen me from a low Eſtate to be your Queen and Companion, far beyond my deſert or deſire. If then you find me worthy of ſuch Honour, Good your Grace let not any light fancy or bad counſel of my Enemies, withdraw your Princely Favour from me; neither let that ſtain, that unworthy ſtain of a Diſloyal heart towards your Good Grace, ever caſt ſo foul a blot on your moſt dutiful Wife, and the infant Princeſs, your daughter. Try me good King, but let me have a lawful tryal, and let not my ſworn enemies ſit as my accuſers and judges; Yea let me receive an open tryal, for my truths ſhall fear no open ſhames; then ſhall you ſee either my innocence cleared, your ſuſpicion and conſcience ſatisfied, the ignomy and ſlander of the World ſtopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatſoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open cenſure; and my offence being ſo lawfully proved, your Grace is at liberty both before God and man; not only to execute worthy puniſhment on me as an unfaithful Wife, but to follow your affection already ſetled on that party, for whoſe ſake I am now as I am; whoſe name I could ſomewhile ſince have pointed to, your Grace being not ignorant of my ſuſpicion therein. But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous ſlander might bring you the injoying of a deſired happineſs, then I deſire of God that he will pardon your great ſin herein, and likewiſe my enemies, the inſtruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a ſtrict account for your unprincely and cruel uſage of me, at his general judgement ſeat, where both you and my ſelf muſt ſhortly appear, and in whoſe judgement I doubt not, whatſoever the world may think of me, my innocency ſhall be openly known, and ſufficiently cleared.

My laſt and only requeſt ſhall be, that my ſelf may bear the burthen of your Graces diſpleaſure, and that it may not touch the innocent ſouls of thoſe poor Gentlemen, who as I underſtand are in ſtreight impriſonment for my ſake. If ever I have found favour in your ſight, if ever the name of Anne Bollen *hath been pleaſing in your ears, let me obtain this laſt requeſt, and I will ſo leave to trouble your Grace any further, with my earneſt prayers to the Trinity, to have you in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions.*

From my doleful Priſon in the Tower, *May* the 6th. 1536.

Your moſt Loyal and Faithful Wife, *Anne Bollen.*

I had not dwelt ſo long upon the ſtory of this Queen, but that there is ſo much which depends upon it in reference to the Honour, Birth and Title of the Princeſs *Elizabeth*; whoſe Reign of 44 years, accompanyed with ſo many ſignal bleſſings both at home and abroad, is uſed by ſome for a ſtrong Argument of her mothers innocence. For further proof whereof, they behold the Kings precipitate and haſty mariage, caſting himſelf into the bed of a third, before the

ſword was dried from the blood of his ſecond wife. But of theſe miſeries and calamities which befel her Mother, the Princeſs was too young (as not being fully three years old) to take any notice. And when ſhe came unto the years of underſtanding, ſhe had been much ſweetned and repaired by her Fathers goodneſs, By whoſe laſt will ſhe was aſſured of her turn in the ſucceſſion to the Crown, if her Brother and Siſter died without lawful iſſue; allowed the ſame yearly maintenance, and allotted the ſame portion in marriage with the Princeſs *Mary*. But no thing more declares his good affection to her, than the great care he took of her education; committed to the government and tuition of *Roger Aſcham*, a right learned man, ſhe attained unto the knowledge of the Greek and Latine; and by the help of other School-maſters, of the Modern Languages. Inſomuch that ſhe very well underſtood the Greek, and was able readily to expreſs her ſelf in the Latine tongue; as appears by an Oration which ſhe made at her entertainment in *Cambridge*, and the ſmart anſwer which ſhe gave *ex tempore* to a Poliſh Ambaſſador, of which we may hear more in their proper place. And as for the *Italian* and the *French*, ſhe ſpake them with as much facility and elegance, as if they had been natural to her. And if ſometimes ſhe made uſe of Interpreters when ſhe converſed with the Ambaſſadors of Forein Princes, it rather was to keep her State, than that ſhe could not entertain diſcourſe with them in their proper Languages. Her perſon may be beſt known by her Pictures, and the perfections of her mind by her following Government. Suffice it in this place to know, that ſhe ſeemed to be made up of Modeſty and Majeſty in an equal mixture; and was ſo moderate in the courſe and cariage of her deſires, that King *Edward* (who took much delight in her converſation) uſed commonly to call her his *Siſter Temperance*.

Yet notwithſtanding all theſe perſonal Graces, I do not find that ſhe was ſought in mariage in the time of King *Henry*; the blots of infamy which had
1550 been laid upon her Mother, ſerving as a bar to her preferment amongſt forein Princes. In the beginning of King *Edward*'s, ſhe was aymed at by Sir *Thomas*
1552 *Seymour*, a brother of the Lord Protectour *Sommerſets*, for the advancing of his lofty and ambitious projects. And in the latter end thereof, propounded to the eldeſt ſon of the King of *Denmark*. But it was propounded only and not perſued, whether neglected by that King for the former reaſon, or intermitted by her own averſneſs from mariage, we are yet to ſeek. But in the firſt year of Queen *Mary*, ſhe was deſired by *Edward Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, the eldeſt ſon of *Henry* Marquiſs of *Exeter*, deſcending from a daughter of King *Edward* the 4th. which proved ſo much to the diſpleaſure of the Queen, that it became dangerous to both of them, as was ſhewed before. For notice of the Queens diſpleaſure having been took by ſome of great place about her, they were both drawn into ſuſpicion of being privy at the leaſt unto *Wiat*'s Rebellion, (raiſed on the noiſe of the Queens mariage with the Prince of *Spain*) both of them clapt up in Priſon upon that account, and ſo detained for a long time, though both acquitted publickly by *Wiat* at the time of his death.

But nothing ſo much alienated the Queens affection from her, as the difference which was between them in the cauſe of Religion, occaſioned and continued by their ſeveral intereſts. For it concerned Queen *Mary* to maintain the Pope and his Religion, her mothers marriage not being otherwiſe to be defended as good and lawful but by his authority, which marriage, if by his authority made good and lawful, then muſt the marriage of *Anne Bollen* be made unlawful, and conſequently the Princeſs *Elizabeth* muſt actually be made illegitimate by the ſame Authority. Upon which point, as the Queen laboured nothing more than the reſtoring of the Pope to that Supremacy of which he had been deprived by the two laſt Kings; ſo kept ſhe a hard hand upon her Siſter, as of a different Religion from her, the viſible Head of the Proteſtant party in the Kingdome, and one whom ſhe ſuſpected to have more hearts amongſt the Subjects than ſhe had her ſelf. Upon the firſt ſurmiſe of her being privy to *Wyat*'s conſpiracy, Sir *Edward Haſtings* and ſome others were ſent to bring her

to

to the Court from her house at *Ashridge*, where though they found her extream sick, and unfit for travel, yet they compelled her to go with them on the morrow after. Being come unto the Court, she was first kept prisoner in her chamber for the space of a fortnight, neither permitted to come to the Queens presence, nor suffered without much difficulty to write unto her. Charged by the Bishop of *Winchester* and some other Lords with *Wyat*'s practices, she stoutly stood on the denyal, professing her fidelity and loyalty to the Queen her Sister. Which notwithstanding she was conveyed by water, on the *Sunday* commonly called *Palm-Sunday*, to the Tower of *London*, the people being commanded to keep their Churches, for fear she might be rescued and took from them who were to have the conduct of her; by whom compelled to land at the private Stairs, generally called *The Traitors Stairs*, she openly affirmed, *That there landed as true a Subject, being a Prisoner, as ever landed in that place*; and so was brought unto the Lodgings appointed for her, all doors being locked and bolted on her, to her great amazement. *Gage* Constable of the Tower, and at that time Lord Chamberlain also, was her bitter enemy, but more for love to the Pope than for hate to her person, and did not onely place a strong Guard about her, but suffered none but those of that ragged Regiment to carry up her dyet to her. Of which, complaint being made to him by some of her servants, he threatned to lay them in such a place where they should neither see the Sun nor Moon, if they troubled him any more about it; though afterwards it was otherwise ordered by the Lords of the Council. *March* 18. 1553

Wearied with the closeness of her imprisonment, she moved the Lord *Chandois* and the Lord Chamberlain, the one of which was Constable, and the other Lieutenant of the Tower, that she might have the liberty of walking in the private Garden, or at the least in the Queens Lodgins, for her better health. In which, not able to gratifie her by their own Authority, the Lord *Chandois* obtained leave of the Lords of the Council that she might walk in the Queens Lodgings; himself, the Lord Chamberlain, and three of the Queens Gentlewomen being still in her company, permitted afterwards to enjoy the benefit of the private Garden; the doors were alwaies shut upon her, and order given, that no Prisoners should be suffered by their Keepers to look out of the windows so long as she was walking in it. Such care there was to hinder all access unto her, and opportunity of conference with her, that a little Boy of four years old was threatned to be whipt for presenting her with Flowers and Nosegays, and a command given by *Gage* that the Boy's Father should keep him at home, and not suffer him to come thither any more. But the Tower being thought to be no safe prison for a person of such eminent quality, by reason of its nearness to the capital City, and the great number of Prisoners which were kept therein, she was committed to the custody of Sir *Henry Bedingfield*, a man of an untractable and rugged nature, by whom she was conducted with a guard of soldiers to the Mannor of *Woodstock*, which journey she began on the 19th. of *May* being *Trinity* Sunday, and ended by short and easie stages on the Thursday after; her own servants sometimes sequestred from her by command of her Jaylor, (as she commonly called him) the people sometimes rated and reviled by him for flocking to see her as she passed, and the Lord *Williams*, though associated in Commission with him, openly quarelled and reproached for giving her noble Entertainment at his house of *Ricot*. Being brought to *Woodstock*, she was kept under many locks and bolts, a guard of Ruffians continually attending before her dores, and the Keys every night brought up to *Bedingfield*, who suffered no access unto her upon any occasion; Which being made known to the Lord *Williams*, he sollicited the Queen that she might be Prisoner in his house, and offered to be Surety for her, and was in such a fair way of obtaining his sute, that he caused preparations to be made for her reception; but either by the interposition of the Bishop of *Winchester*, her most 1554

mortal

mortal enemy, or the ſollicitation of *Bedingfield*, who poſſibly might have ſome other end to work upon her, no effect followed anſwerably to that expectation.

About this time ſhe was adviſed by ſome of her friends to ſubmit her ſelf unto the Queen, which they conceived would be very well taken, and redound much both to her benefit and contentment. To which ſhe anſwered, That ſhe would never make any ſubmiſſion to them againſt whom ſhe never had offended in word or deed; adding withal, that if ſhe were guilty of any ſuch offence, ſhe would crave no mercy but the Law, which ſhe was ſure ſhe ſhould have had before that time, if any thing could have been proved againſt her by her greateſt enemies; onely ſhe was perſwaded to make a ſute to the Lords of the Council that ſhe might be ſuffered to write a Letter to the Queen; not gratified without much difficulty in that eaſie ſute, nor otherwiſe gratified at all, but that *Bedingfield* was to ſtand by her all the time ſhe Writ, and have the keeping of her Papers till ſhe came to an end, and to be made privy to the conveyance of thoſe Letters when they once were written. At her firſt coming to the Tower, ſhe had a Prieſt appointed to ſay Maſs in her Chamber; but whether the ſame Prieſt or any other was appointed for the like office at her being at *Woodſtock*, I find not in the ſtory of her life and troubles. Certain it is, that ſhe reſorted to the *Maſs* both before and after, and ſeemed not a little diſcontented that ſhe could not gain ſo much upon the Queen by her outward conformity, as to believe that ſhe was Catholickly affected. But the Queen was not the only one who beleived ſo of her, though ſhe behaved her ſelf ſo warily as not to come within the danger of the Laws, for acting any thing in oppoſition unto that Religion which was then eſtabliſhed. Concerning which there goes a ſtory, that when a Popiſh Prieſt had urged her very earneſtly to declare her judgement touching the Preſence of Chriſt in the bleſſed Sacrament; ſhe very cautelouſly reſolved the point in theſe following Verſes:

'Twas God the word that ſpake it,
He took the bread and brake it,
And what the Word did make it,
That I beleive and take it.

But all this caution notwithſtanding, her averſneſs from the Church of *Rome* was known ſufficiently, not to be altered while ſhe lived, and therefore ſhe to live no longer to be the occaſion of continual fears and jealouſies to the Catholick party. The times were then both ſharp and bloody, and a great perſecution was deſigned againſt the Proteſtants in all parts of the Kingdome; At what time Biſhop *Gardiner* was heard to ſay, That it was to no purpoſe to cut off the boughs and Branches, if they did not alſo lay the Ax to the Root of the Tree. More plainly the Lord *Paget* in the hearing of ſome of the *Spaniards*, *That the King ſhould never have a quiet Government in* England, *if her head were not ſtricken off from her ſhoulders.* With which the King being made acquainted, he reſolved to uſe his beſt endeavour, not onely to preſerve her life, but obtain her liberty; For he conſidered with himſelf, that if the Princeſs ſhould be taken away, the right of the Succeſſion would remain in the Queen of *Scots*, who being married to the Daulphin of *France*, would be a means of joyning this Kingdome unto that, and thereby gain unto the *French* the Soveraignty or ſupream command above all other Kings in *Europe*. He conſidered alſo with himſelf, that the Queen was not very healthy, ſuppoſed at that time to be with child, but thought by others of more judgement not to be like to bring him any children to ſucceed in the Crown, and hoped by ſuch a ſignal favour to obliege the Princeſs to accept him for her husband, on the

Queens

Queens deceaſe, by means whereof, he might ſtill continue Maſter of the treaſures and ſtrength of *England*, in all his Wars againſt the *French*, or any other Nation which maligned the greatneſs of the *Auſtrian* Family. Upon which grounds he dealt ſo effectually with the Queen, that order was given about a fortnight after *Eaſter* to the Lord *Williams* and Sir *Henry Bedingfield* to bring their Priſoner to the Court; which command was not more cheerfully executed by the one, than ſtomach'd and repin'd at by the other. Being brought to *Hampton* Court, where the Queen then lay, ſhe was conducted by a back way to the Prince's Lodgings, where ſhe continued a fortnight and more without being ſeen or ſent to by any body, *Bedingfield* and his guards being ſtill about her; ſo that ſhe ſeemed to have changed the place, but not the Priſon, and to be ſo much nearer danger, by how much ſhe was nearer unto thoſe who had power to work it. At laſt, a Viſit was beſtowed upon her, but not without her earneſt ſute in that behalf, by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Lord Chancellor, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Shrewsbury*, and Sir *William Peter*, whom ſhe right joyfully received, deſiring them to be a means unto the Queen that ſhe might be freed from that reſtraint, under which ſhe had been kept ſo long together. 1555.

Which being ſaid, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* kneeling down, beſought her to ſubmit her ſelf unto the Queen, that being, as he ſaid, the only probable expedient to effect her liberty. To whom ſhe anſwered as before, that rather than ſhe would betray her innocence by ſuch ſubmiſſion, ſhe would be content to lie in Priſon all the dayes of her life. For by ſo doing (ſaid ſhe) I muſt confeſs my ſelf to be an offender, which I never was againſt her Majeſty, in thought, word, or deed; and where no juſt offence is given, there needs no ſubmiſſion. Some other Overtures being made to the ſame effect, but all unto as little purpoſe, ſhe is at laſt brought before the Queen (whom ſhe had not ſeen in more than one year before) about ten of the Clock at night; before whom falling on her knees, ſhe deſired God to preſerve her Majeſty, not doubting, as ſhe ſaid, but that ſhe ſhould prove her ſelf to be as good a Subject to her Majeſty, as any other whoſoever. Being firſt dealt with by the Queen to confeſs ſome offence againſt her ſelf, and afterwards to acknowledge her impriſonment not to be unjuſt, ſhe abſolutely refuſed the one, and very handſomely declined the other. So that no good being to be gotten on her on either hand, ſhe was diſmiſſed with ſome uncomfortable words from the preſent Enterview, and about a week after was diſcharged of *Bedingfield* and his guard of ſoldiers. It was reported, that King *Philip* ſtood behind the Hangings, and hearkned unto every word which paſſed between them, to the end, that if the Queen ſhould grow into an extreamity, he might come to pacifie her diſpleaſures, and calm her paſſions. He knew full well, how paſſionately this Princeſs was beloved by the Engliſh Nation, and that he could not at the preſent more endear himſelf to the whole body of the people, than by effecting her enlargement; which ſhortly after being obtained, ſhe was permitted to retire to her own houſes in the Countrey, remaining ſometimes in one, and ſometimes in another, but never without fear of being remanded unto priſon, till the death of *Gardiner*, which hapned on the 12th. of *November* then next following. Some ſpeech there was, and it was earneſtly endeavoured by the Popiſh Party, of marrying her to *Emanuel Philebert* Duke of *Savoy*, as being a Prince that lived far off, and where ſhe could give no encouragement to any male-contented party in the Realm of *England*; Againſt which, none ſo much oppoſed as the King, who had a deſign on her for himſelf, as before is ſaid; and rather for himſelf than for *Charles* his ſon (though it be ſo affirmed by *Cambden*) the Princeſs being then in the twenty ſecond year of her age, whereas the young Prince was not above ſeven or eight. So that a reſolution being finally fixed of keeping her within the Kingdome, ſhe lived afterwards

afterwards for the moſt part with leſs vexations, but not without many watchful eyes upon all her actions, till it pleaſed God to call her to the Crown of *England*. She had much profited by the Pedagogy of *Aſcham*, and the reſt of her Schoolmaſters, but never improved her ſelf ſo much as in the School of Affliction, by which ſhe learned the miſeries incident to Subjects, when they groan under the diſpleaſure of offended Princes; that the diſpleaſures of ſome Princes are both made and cheriſhed by the art of their Miniſters, to the undoing of too many innocent perſons who do leſs deſerve it; that it is therefore neceſſary, that the Ears of Princes ſhould be open unto all complaints, and their hands ready to receive Petitions from all ſorts of people, to the end that knowing their grievances and diſtreſſes, they may commiſerate them in the one, and afford them remedy in the other; that a good Prince muſt have ſomewhat in him of the Prieſt, who if he be not ſenſible of the infirmities of his brethren, cannot be thought to intercede ſo powerfully in their behalf, as when he hath been touched with the true ſence and feeling of their extreamities; and finally, that the School is never better governed, than by one who hath paſt through all the forms and degrees thereof, and having been perfectly trained up in the waies of obedience, muſt know the better how to uſe both the *Rod* and *Ferula* when he comes to be Maſter of the reſt.

The

The first eight years of the Rein of QUEEN ELIZABETH.

An. Reg. Eliz. 1. *An. Dom.* 1558, 1559.

Elizabeth the only child then living of King *Henry* the 8th. succeeded her Sister in the Throne, on the 17th. of *November*, *Anno* 1558. *Ferdinand* of *Austria* being then Emperour, *Henry* the 2d. King of the *French*, *Philip* the second King of *Spain*, and *Paul* the 4th. commanding in the Church of *Rome*. Queen *Mary* not long before her death had called a Parliament, which was then sitting when the news thereof was brought unto the Lords in the House of Peers. The news by reason of the Queens long sickness, not so strange unto them, as to take them either unresolved or unprovided for the declaring of their duty to the next Successor; though some of them perhaps had some secret wishes that the Crown might have fallen rather upon any other, than upon her to whom it did of right belong; so that upon a short debate amongst themselves, a message is sent to the Speaker of the House of Commons, desiring him, and all the Members of that house, to come presently to them, upon a business of no small importance, to the good of the Kingdome. Who being come, the Lord Chancellor *Heath*, with a composed and setled countenance, not without sorrow enough for the death of the one, or any discontent for the succession of the other, declared unto them in the name of the rest of the Lords, that God had taken to his mercy the late Queen *Mary*, and that the succession to the Crown did belong of right to the Princess *Elizabeth*, whose Title they conceived to be free from all legal questions; that in such cases nothing was more necessary than expedition, for the preventing of all such ploce and Practises of any discontented or ambitious persons, as might be set on foot to the disturbance of the common quiet; and therefore that there concurrence was desired in Proclaiming the new Queen with all speed that might be, they being then so opportunely convened together as the Representees of the whole body of the Commons of the Realm of *England*; Which being said, the Knights and Burgesses gave a ready consent to that which they had no reason to deny; and they which gave themselves some thoughts of inclining otherwise, conceived ther opposition to the general Vote, neither safe nor seasonable. So that immediately the Princess *Elizabeth* was proclaimed

An. Reg. Eliz. 1. 1558.

by the King at Arms, first before *Westminster* Hall door in the Pallace Yard, in the presence of the Lords and Commons, and not long after, at the Crois in *Cheapside*, and other places in the City, in the presence of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and principal Citizens, to the great joy of all peaceable and well affected people.

It was not long before the Princess had advertisement of the death of her Sister, together with the general acknowledgement of her just and lawful Title to the Crown Imperial. The news whereof being brought unto her by some of the Lords, she prepaired for her removeal from *Hatfield* on the *Saturday* after, (being the 19th. of that month) and with a great and Royal Train set forwards to *London*. At *Highgate* four miles from the City, she was met by all the Bishops then living, who presented themselves before her upon their knees, in testimony of their Loyalty and affection to her. In which address she seemed to express no small contentment, so she gave to each of them particularly her hand to kiss, except only unto *Bonner* of *London*, whose bloody butcheries had render'd him uncapable in her opinion of so great a favour. At her first coming to the City she took her lodging in the *Charterhouse*, where she staid some daies, till all things in the Tower might be fitted and prepared for her reception. Attended by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, with a stately Train of Lords and Ladies, and their several followers, She entreth by *Cripplegate* into the City, passeth along the Wall till she came to *Bishops-gate*, where all the Companies of the City in their several Liveries waited her coming in their proper and distinct Rancks, reaching from thence until the further end of *Mark Lane*, where she was entertained with a Peal of Great Ordnance from the Tower. At her entrance into which place, she render'd her most humble thanks to Almighty God for the great and wonderous change of her condition, in bringing her from being a Prisoner in that place, to be the Prince of her people, and now to take possession of it as a Royal Palace, in which before she had received so much discomfort. Here she remained till the 5th. day of *December* then next following, and from thence removed by Water unto *Summerset* House. In each remove she found such infinite throngs of people, who flocked from all parts to behold her, both by Land and Water, and testified their publick joy by such loud acclamations, as much rejoyced her heart to hear, and could not but express it in her words and countenance, by which she doubled their affections, and made her self the absolute Mistriss at all times of their hands and purses. She had been forged upon the Anvil of adversity, which made her of so fine a temper, that none knew better then her self how to keep her State, and yet descend unto the meanest of her Subjects in a popular Courtship.

In the mean time the Lords of the Council had given Order for the stopping of all Ports and Havens, that no intelligence of the Queens death might be caried out of the Realm, by which any disturbance might be plotted or contrived against it, till all things were setled here at home. But finding such a general concurrence in all sorts of people, in acknowledging her just and lawful Title, testified by so many outward signs of a publick joy, that there was no fear of any danger from abroad, that barr was speedily removed, and the Ports opened as before to all sorts of Passengers. And in the next place care was taken for sending new Commissions unto such Embassadors as resided in the Courts of several Princes, both to acquaint them with the change, and to assure those Princes of the Queens desire to maintain all former Leagues between them and the Crown of *England*; but more particular instructions were directed to her Agent in the Court of *Spain*; to whom it was given in charge to represent unto the King, the dear remembrance which she kept of those many humanities received from him in the time of her troubles. Instructions are sent also to Sir *Edward Karn*, the late Queens Agent with the Pope, and now confirmed by her in the same imployment, to make his Holiness acquainted with the death of Queen *Mary*, and her succession to the Crown, not without

out some desire that all good offices might be reciprocally exchanged between them. But the Pope answered hereunto (according to his accustomed rigour) "That the Kingdome of *England* was held in *Fee* of the Apostolick See; "that she could not succeed being illegitimate; that he could not contradict "the Decleration of *Clement* the 7th. and *Paul* the 3d. that it was a great "boldness to assume the name and government of it without him; yet being "desirous to shew a Fatherly affection, if she will renounce her pretensions, "and refer her self wholly to his free disposition, he will do whatsoever may "be done with the Honour of the Apostolick See. To the making of which sudden answer, though there needed no other instigation of his own rough nature, yet many thought that he was put upon it by some Ministers of the Court of *France*, who fearing nothing more, than that *Philip* will endeavour by a second Mariage, to assure himself of the possession of the Realm of *England*, and to that end solicite for a dispensation to make way unto it, thought it expedient to prevent those practises in the first beginning, by putting the Pope upon such counsels, as would be sure to dash all his hopes that way. *Ann. Reg. Eliz. 1. 1558.*

But the new Queen having perform'd this office of civility to him, as she did to others, expected not the coming back of any answer, nor took much thought of it when she heard it. She knew full well, that her legitimation and the Popes Supremacy could not stand together, and that she could not possibly maintain the one, without the discarding of the other. But in this case it concerned her to walk very warily, and not to unmask her self too much at once, for fear of giving an Alarm to the Papal party, before she had put her self into a posture of ability to make good her actions. Many who were imprisoned for the cause of Religion, she restored to liberty at her first coming to the Crown. Which occasioned *Rainsford*, a Buffonly Gentleman of the Court, to make a sute to her in the behalf of *Matthew Mark*, *Luke* and *John*, who had been long imprisoned in a Latine Translation, that they might also be restored to liberty, and walk abroad as formerly in the English Tongue. To whom she presently made answer, That he should first endeavour to know the minds of the Prisoners, who perhaps desired no such liberty as was demanded. Which notwithstanding, upon a serious debate of all particulars, she was resolved to proceed to a Reformation, as the times should serve. In order whereunto, she constitutes her Privy Council, which she compounds of such ingredients, as might neither give encouragement to any of those who wish'd well to the Church of *Rome*, or alienate their affections from her, whose hearts were more inclined to the Reformation. Of such as had been of the Council to the Queen her Sister, she retained the Lord Archbishop of *York*, the Lord Marquess of *Winchester*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Shrewsbury*, *Darby*, and *Pembrock*, the Lords *Clinton* and *Effingham*, Sir *Thomas Cheiney*, Sir *William Petice*, Sir *John Mason*, Sir *Richard Sackvile*, and Doctor *Wotton*; To whom she added of her own, the Marquess of *Northhampton*, the Earl of *Bedford*, Sir *Thomas Parr*, Sir *Edward Rogers*, Sir *Ambrose Care*, Sir *William Cecil*, and Sir *Nicholas Bacon*. To which last, being then Atorney of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, and one that had been much imployed by her in some former services which had relation to the Law, she committed the custody of the Great Seal on the 22 of *December*, the Title of Lord Chancellor remaining to Archbishop *Heath*, as before it did, and that of the Lord Keeper being given to *Bacon*: Which being a new Title, and consequently subject unto some disputes, an Act was passed in the second Parliament of her Reign for investing the new Lord *Keeper*, and all that should from thenceforth enjoy that Office, with all the Powers, Priviledges, and Preheminences which anciently had been exercised and enjoyed by the Lord Chancellor of *England*, and for confirming of all sentences and decrees in *Chancery*, which had or should be made by the said Lord Keepers in all times to come. The like mixture she also caused to be made amongst other her subordinate Ministers, in adding such new Commissioners for the Peace in every County, as either were known to be of the Reformed Religion, or to wish well to it.

An. Reg. Eliz. 1. 1558.

The preferring of ſo many of the Proteſtant party, as well to places of employment in their ſeveral Countries, as to the Rank and Dignity of Privy Councellors, and the refuſal of her hand to Biſhop *Bonner* at her very firſt coming to the Crown, were taken to be ſtrong preſumptions (as indeed they were) that ſhe intended to reſtore the Reformed Religion. And as the Papiſts, in the firſt beginning of the Reign of Queen *Mary*, hoping thereby the better to obtain her favour, began to build new Altars, and ſet up the Maſs, before they were required ſo to do by any publick Authority; ſo fared it now with many unadviſed Zealots amongſt the Proteſtants, who meaſuring the Queens affections by their own, or elſe preſuming that their errors would be taken for an honeſt zeal, employed themſelves as buſily in the demoliſhing of Altars, and defacing of Images, as if they had been Licenced and commanded to it by ſome legal Warrant. It hapned alſo, that ſome of the Miniſters which remained at home, and others which returned in great numbers from beyond the Seas, had put themſelves into the Pulpits, and bitterly inveighed againſt the Superſtitions and corruptions of the Church of *Rome*. The Popiſh Preachers did the like, and were not ſparing of invectives againſt the others, whom they accuſed of Hereſies, Schiſms, and Innovation in the Worſhip of God. For the ſuppreſſing of which diſorders on the one ſide, and thoſe common diſturbances on the other, the Queen ſet out two Proclamations much about one time, by one of which it was commanded, that no man, of what perſwaſion ſoever he was in the points of Religion, ſhould be ſuffered from thenceforth to Preach in publick, but only ſuch as ſhould be Licenſed by her Authority; and that all ſuch as were ſo Licenſed or appointed, ſhould forbear Preaching upon any point which was matter of Controverſie, and might conduce rather to exaſperate then to calm mens paſſions. Which Proclamation was obſerved with ſuch care and ſtrictneſs, that no Sermon was Preached at St. *Paul's* Croſs or any publick place in *London*, till the *Eaſter* following. At what time the Sermons which was to be preached in the *Spittle* (according to the antient cuſtome) were performed by Doctor *Bill* the *Almoner* to the Queen, and afterwards the firſt Dean of *Weſtminſter* of the Queens foundation; Doctor *Richard Cox* formerly Dean of *Weſtminſter*, preferred in ſhort time after to the See of *Ely*, and Mr. *Robert Horn* (of whom mention hath been made before at the troubles of *Franckfort*) advanced not long after to the See of *Wincheſter*. The Rehearſal Sermon, accuſtomably preached at St. *Pauls* Croſs on the Sunday following, was undertook by Doctor *Thomas Sampſon* then newly returned from beyond the Seas, and after moſt unhappily made Dean of *Chriſt-Church*. But ſo it chanced, that when he was to go into the Pulpit, the dore was locked, and the Key thereof not to be found, ſo that a Smith was ſent for to break open the dore; and that being done, the like neceſſity was found of cleanſing and making ſweet the place, which by a long diſuſe had contracted ſo much filth and naſtineſs, as rendred it unfit for another Preacher.

By the other Proclamation which was publiſhed on the 30th. of *December*, it was enjoyned, That no man of what quality or degree ſoever, ſhould preſume to alter, any thing in the ſtate of Religion, or innovate in any of the Rites and Ceremonies thereunto belonging, but that all ſuch Rites and Ceremonies ſhould be obſerved in all Pariſh Churches of the Kingdome, as were then uſed and retained in her Majeſties Chappel, until ſome further order ſhould be taken in it. Onely it was permitted, and withal required, that the Letany, the Lords Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandements, ſhould be ſaid in the Engliſh Tongue, and that the Epiſtle and the Goſpel, at the time of the High Maſs, ſhould be read in Engliſh, which was accordingly done in all the Churches of *London* on the next Sunday after, being New-Years day, and by degrees in all the other Churches of the Kingdome alſo. Further than this, ſhe thought it not convenient to proceed at the preſent, but that ſhe had commanded the Prieſt or Biſhop (for ſome

ſay

ſay it was the one, and ſome the other) who officiated at the Altar in the Chapel-Royal; not to make any Elevation of the Sacrament, the better to prevent that adoration which was given unto it, and which ſhe could not ſuffer to be done in her ſight without a moſt apparent wrong to her judgement and conſcience; Which being made known in other places, and all other Churches being commanded to Conform themſelves to the Example of the Chapel, the Elevation was forborn alſo in moſt other places, to the great diſcontent and trouble of the *Popiſh* party. And though there was no further progreſs toward a Reformation by any publick Act or Edict, yet ſecretly a Reformation in the form of Worſhip, and conſequently in point of Doctrine, was both intended and projected. For making none acquainted with her ſecret purpoſes but the Lord Marquis of *Northampton*, *Francis* Earl of *Bedford*, Sir *John Gray* of *Pergo*, (one of the late Duke of *Suffolk*'s Brothers) and Sir *William Cecil*; ſhe committed the reviewing of the former Liturgy to the care of Doctor *Parker*, Doctor *Grindal*, Doctor *Cox*, Doctor *Pilkington*, Doctor *Bill*, Doctor *May*, and Mr. *Whitehead*, together with Sir *Thomas Smith* Doctor of the Laws, a very learned, moderate, and judicious Gentleman. But what they did, and what preferments they attained to on the doing of it, we ſhall ſee anon, when we ſhall find the Book reviewed, confirmed by Act of Parliament, and executed in all parts of the Kingdome, as that Act required. *Ann. Reg. Eliz.* 1. 1558

But firſt, ſome publick Acts of State, and great Solemnities of Court are to be performed. The Funeral of the Queen deceaſed ſolemniſed on the 13th. of *December* at the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*, and the Sermon preached by Doctor *White* then Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, ſeemed onely as a preamble to the like Solemnity performed at the ſaid place about ten daies after, in the Obſequies of *Chrles* the 5th. which mighty Emperor having firſt left the World by reſigning his Kingdoms, and retiring himſelf into a Monaſtery, as before was ſaid, did after leave his life alſo in *September* laſt; and now upon the 24th. of this preſent *December* a ſolemn Obſequie was kept for him in the wonted form, a rich Hearſe being ſet up for him in the Church of *Weſtminſter*, magnificently covered with a Pall of Gold, his own Embaſſador ſerving as the principal Mourner, and all the great Lords and Officers about the Court attending on the ſame in their Ranks and Orders. And yet both theſe, though ſtately and majeſtical in their ſeveral kinds, came infinitely ſhort of thoſe Pomps and Triumphs which were prepared and reſerved for the Coronation. As a preparation whereunto, ſhe paſſed from *Weſtminſter* to the *Tower* on the 12th. of *January*, attended by the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and other Citizens, in their Barges, with the Banners and Eſcutcheons of their ſeveral Companies, loud Muſick ſounding all the way; and the next day ſhe reſtored ſome unto their old, and advanced others to new Honours, according to her own fancy and their deſervings. The Marquis of *Northampton*, who had lain under an Attaindure ever ſince the firſt beginning of the Rein of Queen *Mary* ſhe reſtored in blood, with all his Titles and Eſtates. The Lord *Edward Seimer*, eldeſt ſon to the late Duke of *Somerſet*, was by her reconfirmed in the Titles of Viſcount *Beauchamp* and Earl of *Hertford*, which had been formerly intayled upon him by Act of Parliament. The Lord *Thomas Howard*, ſecond ſon of *Thomas* the late Duke of *Norfolk*, and brother to *Henry* Earl of *Surrey*, (beheaded in the laſt dayes of King *Henry* the Eighth) ſhe advanced to the Title of Viſcount *Howard* of *Bindon*. She alſo preferred Sir *Oliver St. Iohns*, who derived himſelf from the Lady *Margaret* daughter of *Iohn* Duke of *Somerſet*, from whom the Queen her ſelf deſcended, to the dignity of Lord St. *Iohn* of *Bletſo*, and Sir *Henry Carie*, ſon of Sir *William Carie* Knight, and of *Mary Bollen* his Wife, the only ſiſter of Queen *Anne Bollen*, ſhe promoted to the hour and degree of Lord *Carie* of *Hunſdon*.

The ordinary acts of grace and favour being thus diſpatched, ſhe prepares the next morning for a Triumphant paſſage through *London* to her Palace at *Weſtminſter*.

An. Reg. Eliz. 1. 1558/9

Westminster. But first before she takes her Chariot, she is said to have lifted up her eyes to Heaven, and to have used some words to this or the like effect, *O Lord Almighty and ever living God, I give thee most hearty thanks that thou hast been so merciful unto me, as to spare me to see this joyful day. And I acknowledge that thou hast dealt as wonderfully and as mercifully with me, as thou didst with thy true and faithful servant* Daniel *thy Prophet, whom thou deliveredst out of the Den from the cruelty of the raveing greedy Lyons; even so was I overwhelmed, and only by thee delivered; to thee only be thanks, honour and praise for ever. Amen.* Which said, she mounted into her Chariot with so cleer a spirit, as if she had been made for that daies solemnity. Entertained all the way she went with the joyful shouts and acclamations of *God save the Queen*, which she repaid with such a modest affability, and so good a grace, that it drew tears of joy from the eyes of some, with infinite Prayers and Thanksgiving from the hearts of all; but nothing more endeared her to them, than the accepting of an English Bible richly gilt, which was let down from one of the Pageants, by a child representing *Truth*. At the sight whereof she first kissed both her hands, with both her hands she received the book, which first she kiss'd and after laid unto her bosome, (as the neareſt place unto her heart) giving the City greater thanks for that excellent Gift, than for all the rest, which plentifully had been that day bestowed upon her, and promised to be diligent in the reading of it. By which, and many other Acts of Popular Piety, with which she passed away that day, she did not only gain the hearts of all them that saw her, but they that saw her did so magnifie her most eminent Graces, that they procured the like affections in the hearts of all others also.

On the next morning with like magnificence and splendor, she is attended to the Church of St. *Peter* in *Westminster*, where she was Crowned according to the Order of the *Roman Pontifical*, by Dr. *Owen Oglethorp*, Bishop of *Carlisle*, the only man among all the Bishops, who could be wrought on by her to perform that office. Whether it were that they saw some alteration coming, to which they were resolved not to yeild conformity, so that they could not be in a worse case upon this refusal, than they should be otherwise; or that they feared the Popes displeasure, if they should do an act so contrary unto his pretensions, without leave first granted; or that they had their own particular animosities and spleens against her, (as the Archbishop of *York* particularly for his being deprived of the Seal) is not certainly known. None more condemned for the refusal, than the Bishop of *Ely*, as one that had received his first Preferment from the King her Father, and who complied so far in the time of King *Edward*, as to assist in the Composing of the publick Liturgy, and otherwise appeared as forward in the Reformation, as any other of that Order. So that no reason can be given either for his denial now to perform that service, or afterwards for his not complying with the Queens proceedings, but that he had been one of those which were sent to *Rome* to tender the submission of the Kingdome to the Pope still living, and could not now appear with honour in any such action, as seemed to carry with it a repugnancy (if not a manifest inconsistency) with the said ingagement. It cannot be denyed but that there were three Bishops living of King *Edward*'s making, all of them zealously affected to the Reformation And possibly it may seem strange that the Queen received not the Crown rather from one of their hands, then to put her self unto the hazard of so many denyals as had been given her by the others. But unto this it may be answered, that the said Bishops at that time were deprived of their Sees, (but whether justly or unjustly, could not then be questioned) and therefore not in a capacity to perform that service. Besides there being at that time no other form established for a Coronation, than that which had much in it of the Ceremonies and Superstitions of the Church of *Rome*, she was not sure that any of the said three Bishops would have acted in it, without such alterations and omissions in the whole course of that Order, as might have render'd the whole action questionable amongst captious men, and therefore finally

finally she thought it more conducible to her Reputation amongst forein Princes, to be Crowned by the hands of a Catholick Bishop (or one at least which was accounted to be such) than if it had been done by any of the other Religion. *Ann. Reg. Eliz.* 1. 1559

And now the Parliament draws on, summoned to begin on the 25th. of that month, being the Anniversary day of St. *Paul's* Conversion; a day which seemed to carry some good *Omen* in it, in reference to that great work of the Reformation which was therein to be established. The Parliament opened with an eloquent and learned Sermon, Preached by Dr. *Cox*, a man of good credit with the Queen, and of no less esteem with the Lords and Commons, who carried any good affection to the memory of King *Edward* the 6th. The chusing of which man to perform that service, was able of it self to give some intimation of the Queens design to most of the Auditors; though to say truth, the Bishops refusing to perform the Ceremony of the Coronation had made themselves incapable of a further trust. Nor could the Queens design be so closely carried, but that such Lords and Gentlemen as had the managing of Elections in their several Countries, retained such men for Members of the House of Commons, as they conceived most likely to comply with their intentions for a Reformation. Amongst which none appeared more active than *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, whom the Queen had taken into her Council, *Henry Fitz-Allen* Earl of *Arundel*, whom she continued in the Office of Lord *Steward*, and Sir *William Cæcil*, whom she had restored to the place of Secretary, to which he had been raised by King *Edward* the 6th. Besides, the Queen was young, unmarried, and like enough to entertain some thoughts of an Husband; so that it can be no great marvel, not only if many of the Nobility, but some even of the Gentry also, flattered themselves with possibilities of being the man whom she might chuse to be her Partner in the Regal Diadem. Which hopes much smoothed the way to the accomplishment of her desires, which otherwise might have proved more rugged and unpassable then it did at the present. Yet notwithstanding all their care, there wanted not some rough and furious spirits in the House of Commons, who eagerly opposed all propositions which seemed to tend unto the prejudice of the Church of *Rome*. Of which number none so violent as *Story* D. of the Lawes, and a great instrument of *Bonner*'s Butcheries in the former Reign. Who being questioned for the cruelty of his Executions, appeared so far from being sensible of any errour which he then committed, as to declare himself to be sorry for nothing more, than that instead of lopping off some few boughs and branches, he did not lay his Axe to the root of the Tree; and though it was not hard to guess at how high a mark the wretches malice seemed to aim, and what he meant by laying his Ax to the root of the tree, yet passed he unpunished for the present though Divine Vengeance brought him in conclusion to his just reward. Others there were, and doubtless many others also in the House of Commons, who had as great zeal as heto the Papal interests, but either had more modesty in the conduct of it, or preferred their duty and Allegiance to their natural Prince, before their zeal to the concernments of the Church of *Rome*.

In this Parliament there passed an Act for recognizing the Queens just Title to the Crown; but without any Act for the validity of her mothers marriage, on which her Title most depended. For which neglect most men condemned the new Lord Keeper, on whose judgement she relyed especially in point of Law; in whom it could not but be looked on as a great incogitancy, to be less careful of her own and her Mothers Honour, than the Ministers of the late Queen *Mary* had been of hers. But *Bacon* was not to be told of an old Law-Maxim. *That the Crown takes away all defects and stops in blood, and that from the time that the Queen did assume the Crown, the foundation was cleared and all attainders and corruption of blood discharged.* Which Maxim how unsafe soever it may seem to others, yet since it goes for a known Rule amongst our Lawyers, could not be questioned at that present. And possible it is that he conceive

Ann. Reg. Eliz. 1. 1558

ceived it better for the Marriage of the Queens mother to pass unquestioned, as a matter justly subject unto no dispute, than to build the validity of it on no better ground than an Act of Parliament, which might be as easily reversed as it was agreed to. There past an Act also for restoring to the Crown the tenths and first fruits, first setled thereon in the time of King *Henry* the 8th, and afterwards given back by Queen *Mary* as before was said. For the better drawing on of which concession, it was pretended, that the Patrimony of the Crown had been much dilapitated, and that it could not be supported with such honour as it ought to be, if restitution were not made of such rents and profits, as were of late dismembred from it. Upon which ground they also passed an act for the dissolution of all such Monasteries, Convents, and Religious Orders, as had been founded and established by the Queen deceased. By vertue of which Act the Queen was repossessed again of all those Lands which had been granted by her sister to the Monks of *Westminster* and *Sheene*, the Knights Hospitalers, the Nuns of *Sion*, together with the Mansion Houses re-edified for the Observants at *Greenwich*, and the Black Friers in *Smithfield*. Which last being planted in a house neer the dissolved Priory of Great St. *Bartholmews*, had again fitted and prepared the Church belonging thereunto for Religious Offices; but had scarce fitted and prepared it, when dissolved again, and the Church afterwards made a Parochial Church, for the use of the Close, and such as lived within the verge and precincts thereof. How she disposed of *Sion* House, hath been shewn already; and what she did with the Rich Abby of *Westminster*, we shall see hereafter.

In the passing of these Acts there was little trouble, in the next there was. For when the Act of the *Supremacy* came to be debated, it seemed to be a thing abhorrent even in Nature and Polity, that a woman should be declared to be the supream Head on Earth of the Church of *England*. But those of the reformed party meant no thing less than to contend about words and phrases, so they might gain the point they aimed at, which was the stripping of the Pope of all Authority within these Dominions, and fixing the supream power over all persons and estates of what ranck soever in the Crown Imperial, not by the name of *Supream Head*, which they perceived might be made lyable to some just exceptions; but which comes all to one, of the *Supream Governess*. Which when it gave occasion of discourse and descant amongst many of the captious Papists, Queen *Mary* helped her Sister unto one good Argument for her justificarion, and the Queen helped her self to another, which took off the cavil. In the third Session of Parliament in Queen *Mary*'s time, there passed an Act, declaring, *That the Regal power was in the Queens Majesty, as fully as it had been in any of her Predecessors.* In the body whereof it is expressed and declared, "That the Law of the Realm is, is and ever hath been, and ought to be understood, that the Kingly or Regal Office of the Realm, and all Dignities, "Prerogatives Royal, Power, Preheminences, Priviledges, Authorities and Jurisdictions thereunto annexed, united or belonging, being invested either "in Male or Female, are, be, and ought to be, as fully, wholly, absolutely "and entirely, deemed, adjudged, accepted, invested, and taken, in the one "or in the other. So that whatsoever Statute or Law doth limit or appoint "that the King of this Realm may, or shall have, execute and do, any thing as "King, &c. the same the Queen, (being *Supream Governess*, Possessor and inheritor to the Imperial Crown of this Realm) may by the same power have and "execute, to all intents, constructions and purposes; without doubt, ambiguity scruple or question, any custome, use, or any other thing to the contrary notwithstanding. By the very tenor of which Act, Queen *Mary* grants unto her Sister as much Authority in all Church concernments, as had been exercised and enjoyed by her Father and Brother, according to any Act or Acts of Parliament in their several times. Which Acts of Parliament as our learned Lawyers have declared upon these occasions, were not to be consider'd as *Introductory* of a new power which was not in the Crown before, but

but only *Declaratory* of an old, which naturally belonged to all Chriſti- *Ann. Reg.*
an Princes, and amongſt others to the Kings and Queens of the Realm of *Eliz.* 1.
England. 1559

And to this purpoſe it is pleaded by the Queen in her own behalf. Some buſie and ſeditious perſons had diſperſed a rumour, that by the Act for recognizing of the Queens Supremacy, there was ſomething further aſcribed unto the Queen, her Heirs and Succeſſors, a power of adminiſtring Divine Service in the Church, which neither by any equity or true ſence of the words, could from thence be gathered; And thereupon ſhe makes this Declaration unto all her ſubjects. "That nothing was or could be meant or intended by the "ſaid Act, than was acknowledged to be due to the moſt Noble King of Fa- "mous memory, King *Henry* the 8th. her Majeſties Father, or King *Edward* "the 6th. her Majeſties Brother. And further ſhe declareth, That ſhe nei- "ther doth, nor will challenge any other Authority by the ſame, than was chal- "lenged and lately uſed by the ſaid two Kings, and was of antient time due un- "to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, that is, under God to have the Sove- "raignty and Rule over all perſons born within her Realms or Dominions, of "what eſtate (either Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal) ſoever they be, ſo as no "other foreign power ſhall or ought to have any ſuperiority over them. Which explication publiſhed in the Queens Injunctions, *Anno* 1559. Not giving ſuch a general ſatisfaction to that groundleſs cavil as was expected and intended, the Biſhops and Clergy in their Convocation of the year 1562. by the Queens authority and conſent, declared more plainly, that is to ſay, "That "they gave not to their Princeſs by vertue of the ſaid Act or otherwiſe, either "the miniſtring of Gods word or Sacraments, but that onely Prerogative which "they ſaw to have been given alwaies to all godly Princes in holy Scripture "by God himſelf, that is to ſay, that they ſhould rule all Eſtates and de- "grees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical "or Temporal, and reſtrain with the Civil Sword, the ſtubborn and evil "doers.

By all which, if the cavils of the Adverſary be not fully anſwered, it would be known upon what reaſon they ſhould queſtion that in a ſoveraign Queen, which they allow in many caſes to a Lady Abbeſs. For that an Abbeſs may be capable of all and all manner of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, even to the denouncing of that dreadful ſentence of Excommunication; and that they may lawfully exerciſe the ſame upon all ſuch as live within the verge of their authority, is commonly acknowledged by their greateſt Canoniſts. Firſt for ſuſpenſion, it is affirmed by their *Gloſs*, that an Abbeſs may ſuſpend ſuch Clerks as are ſubject to her, both from their benefice and Office. And queſtionleſs either to ſuſpend a Clerk, or to bring his Church under the ſentence of an Interdict, is one of the cheif parts of Eccleſiaſtical or ſpiritual cenſures. Nor have they this authority only by way of delegation from the Pope in ſome certain caſes, as is affirmed by *Aquinas*, *Durandus*, *Sylveſter*, *Dominicus Soto*, and many other of their Schoolemen, but in an ordinary way, as properly and perſonally inveſted them, which is the general opinion of their greateſt Canoniſts. Next for the Sacraments, it is ſufficiently known that the miniſtration of Baptiſm is performed by Midwives, and many other women as of common courſe; not onely as a thing connived at in extream neceſſity, but as a neceſſary duty, in which they are to be inſtructed againſt all emergencies by their Pariſh Prieſts; for which we have the teſtimony of the late Lord *Legate*, in the Articles publiſhed by him for his viſitation. And finally for excommunication, it is affirmed by *Palladanus* and *Navarre* (none of the meaneſt in the Pack) that the Pope may grant that power to a woman alſo; higher than which there can be none exerciſed in the Church by the ſons of men. And if a Pope may grant theſe powers unto a woman, as to a Priory or Abbeſs, or to any other; there can be then no incapacity in the Sex, for exerciſing any part of that juriſdiction which was reſtored unto the Crown by this Act of Parliament.

An. Reg. Eliz. 1. 1558, 1559.

And if perhaps it be objected, that a Lady Abbess is an Ecclesiastical or spiritual person in regard of her office, which cannot be affirmed of Queens, Pope *Gregory* himself will come in to help us, by whom it was not thought unfit to commit the cognisance of a cause concerning the purgation of a Bishop, who stood charged with some grievous crime, to *Brunichildis* or *Brunholt* Queen of *France*; of which, although the Gloss upon the decretals be pleased to say † That the Pope stretched his power too far in this particular, yet *Gregory* did no more therein but what the Popes may do, and have done of late times by their own confession; so little ground there is for so great a clamour as hath been made by *Bellarmine* and other of the Popish Jesuits, upon this occasion.

† *Fuit hic nimium popularitèr dispensatum.*

Now for the better exercising and enjoying of the jurisdiction thus recognised unto the Crown, there are two Clauses in the Act of great importance, the first whereof contains an oath, for the acknowledgement and defence of this *Supremacy*, not only in the Queen, but her heirs and Successors; the said Oath to be taken by all Archbishops, Bishops, and all other Ecclesiastical persons, and also by all temporal Judges, Justiciaries, Mayors, or any other temporal Officers, &c. For the refusal whereof when lawfully tendred to them by such as were thereto commissionated under the great Seal of *England*, every such person so refusing, was actually to stand deprived of his or their Ecclesiastical Preferments, or other temporal office of what sort soever; only it was provided, that the Oath should not be imposed on any of the temporal Peers, of whose fidelitie the Queen seemed willing to assure her self without any such tie; though this exemption was esteemed by others but a piece of cunning, the better to facilitate the passing of that Act amongst them, which otherwise they might have hindred. But this provision was not made till the following Parliament, though for the reason before mentioned it was promised now. By the last Clause it was enacted, "That it should and might be lawful to the Queen, "her Heirs and Successors, by Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England*, "to assign, name and authorise when and as often as her Highness, her Heirs or "Successors, should think convenient, such persons being natural born Subjects "to them, to exercise, use, and occupie under her Highness, her Heirs and "Successors, all manner of Jurisdictions, Privileges, and Preheminences, "in any wise touching or concerning any Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, within the Realm of *England* and *Ireland*, or any other her Highness Dominions or Countries, and to visit, reform, repress, order, correct, and "amend all such errors, Heresies, Schisms, abuses offences, contempts and enormities whatsoever, which by any manner of spiritual or Ecclesiastical Power, "Authoritie, or Jurisdiction, or can or may lawfully be reformed, ordered, "redressed, corected, restrained or amended, to the pleasure of Almighty "God, the increase of vertue, and conservation of the peace and unitie of this Realm. With a Proviso notwithstanding, that nothing should from thenceforth be accounted for Heresie, but what was so adjudged in the Holy Scripture, or in one of the four first General Councils, or in any other National or Provincial Council, determining according to the Word of God; or finally which should be so adjudged in the time to come by the Court of Parliament, first having the assent of the Bishops and Clergie in their Convocation. This was the first Foundation of that Famous Court of *High Commission*, the principal Bullwark and Preservative of the Church of *England*, against the practices and assaults of all her Adversaries, whether *Popish* or *Puritan*. And from hence issued that Commission, by which the Queens Ministers proceeded in their Visitation in the first year of her Reign, for rectifying all such things as they found amiss, and could not be redressed by any ordinary Episcopal power, without the spending of more time than the exigencies of the Church could then admit of.

There also past another Act for recommending and imposing the Book of Common-Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, according to such alterations and corrections as wee made therein by those who were appointed

ed to reviſe it, as before is ſaid. In the performance of which ſervice, there was great care taken for expunging all ſuch paſſages in it, as might give any ſcandal or offence to the Popiſh party, or be urged by them in excuſe for their not comming to Church, and joyning with the reſt of the Congregation in Gods publick Worſhip. In the Letany firſt made and publiſhed by King *Henry* the 8th. and afterwards continued in the two Liturgies of King *Edward* the 6th. there was a Prayer to be delivered *from the tyrannie and all the deteſtable enormities of the Biſhop of Rome*, which was thought fit to be expunged, as giving matter of ſcandal and diſ-affection to all that party, or otherwiſe wiſht well to that Religion. In the firſt Liturgie of King *Edward*, the Sacrament of the Lords Body was delivered with this *Benediction*, that is to ſay, *The Body of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt which was given for the preſervation of thy body and ſoul to life everlaſting*; *The Blood of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt*, *&c.* Which being thought by *Calvin* and his Diſciples to give ſome countenance to the groſſe and carnal Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, which paſſeth by the name of *Tranſubſtantiation*, in the Schools of *Rome*, was altered into this form in the ſecond Liturgie, that is to ſay, *Take and eat this in remembrance that Chriſt died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving. Take and drink this, &c.* But the Reviſors of the Book joyned both Forms together, leſt under colour of rejecting a *Carnal*, they might be thought alſo to deny ſuch a *Real Preſence* as was defended in the Writings of the Antient Fathers. Upon which ground they expunged alſo a whole Rubrick at the end of the Communion-ſervice, by which it was declared, that kneeling at the participation of the Sacrament was required for no other reaſon, than for a ſignification of the humble and gratefull acknowledging of the benefits of Chriſt, given therein unto the worthy Receiver, and to avoid that prophanation and diſorder which otherwiſe might have enſued, and not for giving any adoration to the Sacramental Bread and Wine there bodily received, *or in regard of any reall and eſſential preſence of Chriſts body and bloud.* And to come up the cloſer to thoſe of the Church of *Rome*, it was ordered by the Queens Injunctions, that the Sacramental Bread (which the Book required only to be made of the fineſt flower) ſhould be made round in faſhion of the Wafers uſed in the time of Queen *Mary*, She alſo ordered, that the Lords Table ſhould be placed where the Altar ſtood, that the accuſtomed reverence ſhould be made at the name of Jeſus, Muſick retained in the Church, and all the old Feſtivals obſerved with their ſeveral Eves. By which compliances, and the expunging of the paſſages before remembred, the Book was made ſo paſſable amongſt the Papiſts, that for ten years they generally repaired to their Pariſh Churches, without doubt or ſcruple, as is affirmed not only by Sir *Edward Coke*, in his ſpeech againſt *Garnet*, and his Charge given at the Aſſizes held at *Norwich*, but alſo by the Queen her ſelf in a Letter to Sir *Francis Walſingham*, then being her reſident or Leiger-Ambaſſador in the Court of *France*; the ſame confeſſed by *Sanders* alſo in his Book *de Schiſmate*.

An. Reg. Eliz. 1. 1558, 1559.

And that the Book might paſſe the better in both Houſes when it came to the Vote, it was thought requiſite that a Diſputation ſhould be held about ſome points, which were moſt likely to be checked at; the Diſputants to be five Biſhops and four other learned men of the one ſide, and nine of the moſt learned men, graduated in the Schools, on the other ſide the Diſputation to begin on the 30th. of *March*, and to be holden in the Church of *Weſtminſter*, in the preſence of as many of the Lords of the Council, and of the Members of both Houſes, as were deſirous to inform themſelves in the ſtate of the Queſtions. The Diſputation for that reaſon to be held in the Engliſh Tongue, and to be managed (for the better avoiding of confuſion) by a mutual interchange of writings upon every point, thoſe writings which were mutually given in upon one day, to be reciprocally anſwered on another, and ſo from day to day till the whole were ended. To all which points the Biſhops gave conſent for themſelves, and the reſt of their party, though they refuſed to

An. Reg. Eliz. 1. 1559.

ſtand unto them when it came to the tryal. The points to be diſputed on were three in number, that is to ſay, *That it is againſt the Word of God and the cuſtom of the antient Church, to uſe a Tongue unknown to the people in Common-Prayer, and in the adminiſtration of the Sacraments.* 2. *That every Church hath authority to appoint, take away, and change Ceremonies and Eccleſiaſtical Rites ſo the ſame be to edification.* 3. *That it cannot be proved by the word of God, that there is in the Maſſe offered up a ſacrifice propitiatory for the living and the dead.* And for the Diſputants of each ſide, they were theſe that follow, that is to ſay, firſt, for the Popiſh party, Dr. *White* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* Dr. *Bayn* Biſhop of *Lichfield*, Dr. *Scot* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and Dr. *Watſon* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Dr. *Fecknam* Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, Dr. *Henry Cole* Dean of St. *Pauls*, Dr. *Harpſfield* Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Chadſey* Prebend of St. *Pauls* and Dr. *Langdale* Archdeacon of *Lewis* in *Suſſex*. For thoſe of the Proteſtant perſwaſion appeared Dr. *Scory* the late Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, Dr. *Cox* the late Dean of *Weſtminſter*, Dr. *Sandys* late Maſter of *Katherine Hall*, Mr. *Horn* the late Dean of *Durham*, Mr. *Elmar* late Archdeacon of *Stow*, Mr. *Whitehead*, Mr. *Grindal*. Mr. *Gueſt*, and Mr. *Iewel*; all of which, except only *Whitehead*, attained afterwards to ſome eminent place in the ſacred Hierarchy.

The day being come, and the place fitted and accommodated for ſo great an audience, the Lord Keeper *Bacon* takes the Chair as Moderator, not for determining any thing in the points diſputed, but for ſeeing good order to be kept, and that the Diſputation might be managed in the form agreed on. When contrary to expectation, the Biſhops and their party brought nothing in writing to be read publickly in the hearing of all the Auditors, but came reſolved to try it out by word of mouth, and to that end appointed *Cole* to be their Spokeſman. For which neglect, being reproved by the Lord Keeper, they promiſed a conformity on the Monday following, being the ſecond day of *April*; but would not ſtand unto it then, becauſe they would not give their Adverſaries ſo much leiſure as a whole nights deliberation to return an anſwer. Deſired and preſſed by the Lord Keeper to proceed according to the form agreed on, for the better ſatisfaction and contentment of ſo great an Audience, it was moſt obſtinately denyed, *Watſon* and *White* behaving themſelves with ſo little reverence (or ſo much inſolency rather) as to threaten the Queen with Excommunication in that publick Audience, for which they were committed to the Tower on the fifth of *April*. The reſt of the Biſhops were commanded to abide in *London*, and to give bond for their appearance at the Council-Table whenſoever they ſhould be required. And ſo the whole Aſſembly was diſmiſt, and the conference ended before it had been well begun, the Lord Keeper giving to the Biſhops this ſharp remembrance, *Since* (ſaid he) *you are not willing that we ſhould hear you, you ſhall very ſhortly hear from us.* Which notwithſtanding produced this good effect in the Lords and Commons, that they conceived the Biſhops were not able to defend their Doctrine in the points diſputed; which made the way more eaſie for the paſſing of the publick Liturgy, when it was brought unto the Vote. Two ſpeeches there were made againſt it in the Houſe of Peers, by *Scot* and *Fecknam*, and one againſt the Queens Supremacy by the Archbiſhop of *York*; but they prevailed as little in both points by the power of their Eloquence, as they had done in the firſt by their want of Arguments.

It gave much matter of diſcourſe to moſt knowing men, that the Biſhops ſhould ſo wilfully fall from an appointment to which they had before agreed, and thereby forfeit their whole Cauſe to a Condemnation. But they pretended for themſelves, that they were ſo ſtraightned in point of time, that they could not poſſibly digeſt their Arguments into form and order; that they looked upon it as a thing too much below them to humble themſelves to ſuch a *Conference* or *Diſputation*, in which *Bacon* a meer Lay-man, and of no great learning was to ſit as Judge; and finally, that the points had been determined already by the Catholick Church, and therefore were not to be called in queſtion

An. Reg. Eliz. 1. 1559.

ſtion without leave from the Pope. Which laſt pretence, if it were of any weight and moment, it muſt be utterly impoſſible to proceed to any Reformation in the ſtate of the Church, by which the power and pride of the Popes of *Rome* may be any thing leſſened, or that the corruptions of the Church ſhould be redreſſed, if it conſiſt not with their profit. For want of time they were no more ſtraightned than the oppoſite party, none of them knowing with what arguments the other ſide would fortifie and confirm their cauſe, nor in what forms they would propoſe them, before they had peruſed their reciprocal Papers. But nothing was more weakly urged, than their exception againſt the Precedency of Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, which could not be conſidered as a matter either *new* or *ſtrange*; not *ſtrange*, becauſe the like Preſidency had been given frequently to *Cromwel*, in the late Reign of King *Henry* the 8th. and that not only in ſuch generall Conferences, but in ſeverall Convocations and Synodical meetings. Not *new*, becauſe the like had been frequently practiſed by the moſt godly Kings and Emperors of the Primitive times; for in the Council of *Chalcedon* the Emperor appointed certain Noblemen to ſit as Judges, whoſe names occurre in the firſt Action of that Council. The like we find exemplified in the *Epheſine* Council, in which, by the appointment of *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian*, then *Roman* Emperors, *Candidianus*, a Count Imperial, ſate as Judge or Preſident, who in the managing of that truſt over-acted any thing which was done by *Cromwel* as Vicar-General to that King, or *Bacon* was impowered to do as the Queens Commiſſioner. No ſuch unreaſonable condeſcention to be found in this, as was pretended by the Biſhops and the reſt of that party, to ſave themſelves from the guilt and cenſure of a Tergiverſation; for which, and other their contempts, we ſhall find them callled to a reckoning within few months after.

In the Convocation which accompanied the preſent Parliament, there was little done, and that little which they did was to little purpoſe. Held under *Bonner*, in regard of the Vacancy of the See of *Canterbury*, it began without the ordinary preamble of a Latine Sermon, all preaching being then prohibited by the Queens command. The Clergy for their Prolocutor made choice of Doctor *Nicholas Harpſfield* Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, a man of more ability (as his works declare) than he had any opportunity to make uſe of in the preſent ſervice. The Act of the ſubmiſſion of the Clergy to King *Henry* the 8th. and his Succeſſors Kings of *England*, had been repealed in the firſt year of Queen *Mary*, ſo that the Clergy might have acted of their own authority, without any licenſe from the Queen; and it is much to be admired this *Bonner*, *White*, or *Watſon* did not put them to it; but ſuch was either their fear, or modeſty, or a deſpair of doing any good to themſelves and the cauſe, that there was nothing done by the Biſhops at all, and not much more by the lower Clergie, than a declaration of their judgement in ſome certain points, which at that time were conceived fit to be commended to the ſight of the Parliament, that is to ſay, "1. That in the Sacrament of the Altar, by vertue of "Chriſts aſſiſting, after the word is duly pronounced by the Prieſt, the natural "body of Chriſt conceived of the Virgin *Mary* is really preſent under the "ſpecies of Bread and Wine, as alſo his natural Blood. 2. That after the Con"ſecration there remains not the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine, or any ſub"ſtance, ſave the ſubſtance of God and Man. 3. That the true body of Chriſt "and his Blood is offered for a propitiatory ſacrifice for the quick and the "dead. 4. That the ſupream power of feeding and governing the militant "Church of Chriſt, and of confirming their brethren, is given to *Peter* the "Apoſtle, and to his lawfull Succeſſors in the See Apoſtolick, as unto the Vi"cars of Chriſt. 5. That the authority to handle and define ſuch things which "belong to Faith, the Sacraments, and Diſcipline Eccleſiaſtical, hath hither"to ever belonged, and only ought to belong unto the Paſtors of the Church "whom the holy Spirit hath placed in the Church, and not unto Lay-men. Theſe Articles, they cauſed to be engroſſed, & ſo commended them to the care

and

An. Reg. Eliz. 1. 1559.

and conſideration of the Higher Houſe. By *Bonner* afterwards, that is to ſay on the third of *March*, preſented to the hands of the Lord Keeper *Bacon*, by whom they were candidly received. But they prevailed no further with the Queen or the Houſe of Peers, when imparted to them, but that poſſibly they might help forward the diſputation, which not long after was appointed to be held at *Weſtminſter*, as before was ſaid.

It was upon the eight of *May* that the Parliament ended, and on the 24th. of *June*, that the publick Liturgy was to be officiated in all the Churches of the Kingdome. In the performance of which ſervice, the Biſhops giving no encouragement, and many of the Clergy being backward in it, it was thought fit to put them to the finall teſt, and either to bring them to conformity, or to beſtow their places and preferments on more tractable perſons. The Biſhops at that time had been reduced into a narrow number than at any other time before. The Sees of *Salisbury* and *Oxon* had been made vacant in the year 1557. by the death of *Capon* in the one, and of *King* in the other, neither of which Churches had ſince been filled, and that of *Oxon* not in ten years after. *Pacefew* of *Hereford*, *Holyman* of *Briſtow*, and *Glyn* of *Bangor*, dyed ſome few weeks before the Queen, Cardinal *Pole* of *Cauterbury* on the ſame day with her. *Hopton* of *Norwich*, and *Brooks* of *Gloceſter*, within few weeks after. *Gryffin* of *Rocheſter* departed this life about the beginning of the Parliament, about which time alſo *Pates* of *Worceſter* forſook the Kingdome, and was followed by *Goldwel* of St. *Aſaph* in the end of *May*; ſo that there were no more than fifteen living of that ſacred Order. And they being called in the beginning of *July* by certain of the Lords of the Council, commiſſionated thereunto in due form of Law, were then and there required to take the oath of Supremacy, according to the law made in that behalf. *Kitchin* of *Landaff* only takes it, who having formerly ſubmitted unto every *change*, reſolved to ſhew himſelf no *Changling* in not conforming to the pleaſure of the Higher Powers. By all the reſt it was refuſed, that is to ſay by Dr. *Heath* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Bonner* of *London*, *Touſtall* of *Durham*, *White* of *Wincheſter*, *Thirlby* of *Ely*, *Watſon* of *Lincoln*, *Pool* of *Peterborough*, *Chriſtopherſon* of *Chicheſter*, *Bourn* of *Wels*, *Turbervile* of *Exeter*, *Morgan* of St. *Davids*, *Bain* of *Lichfield*, *Scot* of *Cheſter*, and *Oglethorp* Biſhop of *Carliſle*. And yet theſe men (which makes it ſeem the greater wonder) had either taken the like oath as Prieſts or Biſhops in ſome part or other of the Reign of the two laſt Kings.

But now they had hardned one another to a reſolution of ſtanding out unto the laſt, and were thereupon deprived of their ſeveral Biſhopricks, as the Law required. A puniſhment which came not on them all at once, ſome of them being born withall (in hope of their conformity and ſubmiſſion) till the end of *September*. And when it came, it came accompanied with ſo much mercy, that they had no reaſon to complain of the like extremity as they had put upon their brethren in the late Queens time. So well were they diſpoſed of and accommodated with all things neceſſary, that they lived more at eaſe, and in as proſperous a condition, as when they were poſſeſſed of their former dignities. Archbiſhop *Heath* was ſuffered to abide in one of his own purchaſed houſes, never reſtrained to any place, and dyed in great favour with the Queen, who beſtowed many gracious viſits on him during this retirement. *Touſtall* of *Durham* ſpent the remainder of his time with Archbiſhop *Parker*, by whom he was kindly entertained, and honourably buried. The like civility afforded alſo in the ſame houſe to *Thirlby* of *Ely*, and unto *Bourn* of *Wells* by the Dean of *Exon*, in which two houſes they both dyed about ten years after. *White* though at firſt impriſoned for his haunts and inſolencies, after ſome cooling of himſelf in the Tower of *London*, was ſuffered to enjoy his liberty, and to retire himſelf to what friend he pleaſed. Which favour was vouchſafed unto *Turbervile* alſo, who being by birth a Gentleman of an ancient Family, could not want friends to give him honeſt entertainment. *Watſon* of *Lincoln* having endured a ſhort reſtraint, ſpent the remainder of his time with the Biſhops of

Rocheſter

Rocheſter and *Ely*, till being found practiſing againſt the States, he was finally ſhut up in *Wisbich* Caſtle, where at laſt he died. *Oglethorp* died ſoon after his deprivation, of an *Apoplexy*. *Bayne* of the *Stone*, and *Morgan* of ſome other diſeaſe in *December* following; but all of them in their beds, and in perfect liberty. *Poole* by the clemency of the Queen, enjoyed the like freedom, courteouſly treated by all perſons amongſt whom he lived, and at laſt died upon one of his own Farms in a good old age. And as for *Chriſtopherſon*, he had been in his time ſo good a Benefactor to *Trinity* Colledge in *Cambridge*, whereof he had been ſometimes Maſter, that he could not want ſome honeſt and ingenious retribution, if the neceſſity of his eſtate had required the ſame. *Bonner* alone was doomed to a conſtant impriſonment, which was done rather out of care for his preſervation, than as a puniſhment of his crimes; the priſon proving to that wretch his ſafeſt ſanctuary, whoſe horrid tyrannies had otherwiſe expoſed him to the popular fury. So loud a lye is that of *Genebrard*, (though a good Chronologer) that the Biſhops were not only puniſhed with impriſonment and the loſs of their livelihoods, but that many of them were deſtroyed by poyſon, famine and many other kinds of death. *An. Reg. Eliz.* 1. 1559.

The Biſhops being thus put to it, the Oath is tendered next to the Deans and Dignitaries, and by degrees alſo to the Rural Clergy; refuſed by ſome, and took by others, as it ſeemed moſt agreeable to their conſciences, or particular ends. For the refuſall whereof, or otherwiſe not conforming to the publick Liturgy, I find no more to have been deprived of their preferments, than fourteen Biſhops, ſix Abbots, Priors, and Governours of Religious Orders, twelve Deans, and as many Arch-Deacons, fifteen Preſidents or Maſters of Colledges, fifty Prebendaries of Cathedral Churches, and about eighty Parſons or Vicars. The whole number not amounting to 200 men, which in a Realm conſiſting of nine thouſand Pariſhes, and 26 Cathedral Churches, could be no great matter. But then we are to know withall, that many who were cordially affected to the intereſs of the Church of *Rome*, diſpenſed with themſelves in theſe outward conformities, which ſome of them are ſaid to do upon a hope of ſeeing the like revolution by the death of the Queen, as had before hapned by the death of King *Edward*; and otherwiſe that they might be able to relieve their brethren, who could not ſo readily frame themſelves to preſent compliance. Which notwithſtanding ſo it was, that partly by the deprivation of theſe few perſons, but principally by the death of ſo many in the laſt years ſickneſſe, there was not a ſufficient number of learned men to ſupply the cures, which filled the Church with an ignorant and illiterate Clergy, whoſe learning went no further than the Liturgy, or the Book of Homilies, but otherwiſe conformable (which was no ſmall felicity) to the Rules of the Church. And on the other ſide, many were raiſed to great preſements, who, having ſpent there time of exile in ſuch forein Churches as followed the platform of *Geneva*, returned ſo diſaffected to Epiſcopal Government, unto the Rites and Ceremonies here by law eſtabliſhed, as not long after filled the Church with moſt ſad diſorders; not only to the breaking of the bond of peace, but to the grieving and extinguiſhing of the ſpirit of Unity. Private opinions not regarded, nothing was more conſidered in them, than their zeal againſt Popery, and their abilities in learning to confirm that zeal. On which account we find the Queens Profeſſor in *Oxford* to paſs amongſt the *Non-Conformiſts*, though ſomewhat more *moderate* than the reſt; and *Cartwright* the Lady *Margarets* in *Cambridge*, to prove an unextinguiſhed firebrand to the Church of *England*. *Whittington* the chief Ringleader of the *Frankfort* Schiſmaticks, preferred unto the Deanry of *Durham*, from thence encouraging *Knox* and *Goodman*, in ſetting up Presbytery and Sedition in the Kirk of *Scotland*; *Sampſon* advanced unto the Deanry of *Chriſt-Church*, and within few years after, turned out again for an *incorrigible Non-conformiſt*; *Hardiman* one of the firſt twelve Prebends of the Church of *Weſtminſter*, deprived ſoon after for throwing down the Altar, and defacing the veſtments of the Church.

Which

An. Reg. Eliz. 1. 1559.

Which things I only touch at new, leaving the further prosecution of them to another place.

Of all these traverses, the Pope received advertisement from the first to the last. But being of a rugged humour, he fell most infinitely short of that dexterity which the case required, for finding out a fit expedient to prevent the Rupture. When his first sullen fits had left him, he began to treat more seriously with the English Agent; not that the Queen should sue unto him for the Crown, which she was possessed of, but that no alteration of Religion might be driven at by her. To which *Karn* answered according to such instructions as he had received, That he could give him no assurance in that point, unless the Pope would first declare, that the Marriage of King *Henry* with *Queen Anne Bollen*, had been good and lawful. Which cross request so stumbled both the Pope and the Conclave, that they made choice rather of doing nothing, than to do that, of which they could not promise to themselves any Fortunate issue. Roused at the last by the continual Alarms which came from *England*, he entertains some secret practices with the *French*, and on the sudden signifies his commands to *Karn*, that he should not depart out of *Rome* without his leave, and that in the mean time he should take upon him the Government of the English Hospital in the City. In which command each of them is affirmed to have had his own proper ends: For *Karn* affected that restraint, which he was thought to have procured under hand, because he had no mind to return into *England*, where he was like to find a different Religion from that which he embraced in his own particular. And the Pope had his own ends also, in hindring as he thought the discovering of that secret intelligence which he maintained with the *French* King, to the Queens destruction, if his designs had took effect. But his design was carryed with so little cunning, that presently it discovered it self, without the help of a revelation from the English Agent. For whether it were by his instigation, or by the solicitation of the *French* King, or the ambition of the *Daulphin*, who had then married the Queen of *Scots*, (as before was said) the Queen of *Scots* assumes unto her self the stile and title of the Queen of *England*, quartereth the Arms thereof upon all her Plate, and in all Armories and Escoutcheons, as she had occasion. And this she did as Cosin and next Heir to the Queen deceased; which could not be without imputing bastardy to the Queen then living. A folly which occasioned such displeasure in the heart of *Elizabeth*, that it could neither be forgotten, nor so much as forgiven, till that unfortunate Lady was driven out of her Kingdome, hunted into a close Imprisonment, and finally brought out to the Fatal Block.

This as it somewhat startled the new Queen of *England*, so it engaged her the more resolutely in that Reformation which was so happily begun. And to that end she sets out by Advice of her Council, a certain Body of Injunctions, the same in purpose and effect, with those which had been published in the first of King *Edward*, but more accommodated to the temper of the present time. Nothing more singular in the same, than the severe course taken about Ministers Mariages, the use of singing, and the Reverences in Divine Worship to be kept in Church, the posture of the Communion Table, and the form of bidding Prayers in the Congregation. This last almost the same *verbatim* with that which is prescribed *Can.* 55. *Anno* 1603. and therefore not so necessary to be here repeated. The first worne long since out of use, and not much observed neither when it first came out, as if it had been published in the way of caution, to make the Clergy men more wary in the choice of their Wives, than with a purpose of persuing it to an Execution. But as for that concerning the use of singing, and the accustomed Reverences to be kept in Churches, they are these that follow. Touching the last it is enjoyned, 'That "whensoever the name of *Iesus* should be in any Lesson, Sermon, or otherwise "in the Church pronounced, that due reverence be made of all persons, young "and old, with lowlines of courtesie, and uncovering of the heads of the men "kind

"kind, as thereunto did neceſſarily belong, and heretofore hath been accuſto-
"med. For the encouragement of the Art, and the continuance of the uſe of
Singing in the Church of *England*, it was thus enjoyned, that is to ſay, That
becauſe in divers Collegiate, as alſo in ſome Pariſh Churches, heretofore, there
hath been Livings appointed for the maintenance of men and children for ſing-
ing in the Church, by means whereof, the laudable exerciſe of Muſick hath
been had in eſtimation, and preſerved in knowledge; The Queens Majeſty
neither meaning in any wiſe the decay of any thing, that might conveniently
tend to the uſe and continuance of the ſaid Science, neither to have the ſame
ſo abuſed in any part of the Church, that thereby the Common-Prayer ſhould
be the worſe underſtood by the hearers, willeth and commandeth, that firſt
no alterations be made of ſuch aſſignments of Livings as heretofore hath been
appointed to the uſe of Singing or Muſick in the Church, but that the ſame
ſo remain. And that there be a modeſt and diſtinct Song ſo uſed in all parts of
the Common-Prayers in the Church, that the ſame may be as plainly un-
derſtood as if it were read without ſinging; And yet nevertheleſs, for the
comforting of ſuch as delight in Muſick, it may be permitted, that in the be-
ginning or in the end of Common-Prayer, either at morning or evening, there
may be ſung an Hymn or ſuch like Song to the praiſe of Almighty God, in the
beſt Melody and Muſick that may be conveniently deviſed, having reſpect that
the ſentence of the Hymn may be underſtood and perceived. According to
which order, as Plain-ſong was retained in moſt Pariſh-Churches for the daily
Pſalms, ſo in her own Chappels, and in the Quire of all Cathedrals, and ſome
Colledges, the Hymns were ſung after a more melodious manner, with Or-
gans commonly, and ſometimes with other muſical Inſtruments, as the ſolem-
nity required. No mention here of ſinging *David's* Pſalmes in Meeter,
though afterwards they firſt thruſt out the Hymns which are herein mentioned,
and by degrees alſo did they the *Te Deum*, the *Magnificat*, and the *Nunc di-
mittis*.

Ann. Reg.
Eliz. 1.
1559

Concerning the *Poſition* of the holy Table it was ordered thus, *viz.* "That
"no Altar ſhould be taken down, but by overſight of the Curat of the
"Church, or the Church-wardens, or one of them at the leaſt, wherein no
"riotous or diſordered manner was to be uſed; and that the holy Table in
"every Church be decently made, and ſet in the place where the Altar ſtood,
"and there commonly covered as thereto belongeth, and as ſhould be ap-
"pointed by the Viſitors, and ſo to ſtand, ſaving when the Communion of
"the Sacrament is to be adminiſtred; at which time the ſame ſhall be ſo pla-
"ced in good ſort within the Quire or Chancel, as whereby the Miniſter may
"be more conveniently heard of the Communicants in his Prayer and Mini-
"ſtration, and the Communicants alſo more conveniently and in more num-
"ber communicate with the ſaid Miniſter. And after the Communion done,
"from time to time the ſaid holy Table to be placed where it ſtood before.
Which permiſſion of removing the Table at Communion times, is not ſo to be
underſtood, (as the moſt excellent King *Charles*, declared in the caſe of St. *Gre-
gories*) as if it were ever left to the diſcretion of the Pariſh, much leſs to the
particular fancy of any humorous perſon; but to the judgement of the Ordina-
ry, to whoſe place and function it doth properly belong to give direction in that
point, both for the thing it ſelf, or for the time, when, and how long, as he may
find cauſe.

By theſe *Injunctions* ſhe made way to her Viſitation, executed by Com-
miſſioners in their ſeveral Circuits, and regulated by a Book of Articles prin-
ted and publiſhed for that purpoſe. Proceeding by which Articles, the Com-
miſſioners removed all carved Images out of the Church, which had been for-
merly abuſed to ſuperſtition, defacing alſo all ſuch Pictures, Paintings, and
other monuments, as ſerved for the ſetting forth of feigned Miracles; and this
they did without any tumult and diſorder, and without laying any ſacrilegious
and ravenous hands on any of the Churches Plate, or other Utenſils which

An. Reg. Eliz. 1. 1559.

had been repaired and re-provided in the late Queens time. They enquired also into the life and doctrine of Ministers, their diligence in attending their several Cures, the decency of their apparel, the respect of the Parishioners towards them, the reverent behaviour of all manner of persons in Gods publick worship. Inquiry was also made into all sorts of crimes, haunting of Taverns by the Clergy; Adultery, Fornication, Drunkenness, amongst those of the Laity, with many other things since practised in the visitations of particular Bishops; by means whereof, the Church was setled and confirmed in so good an order, that the work was made more easie to the Bishops when they came to govern, than otherwise it could have been. But more particularly in *London* (which for the most part gives example to the rest of the Kingdome) the Visitors were Sir *Richard Saskvile*, (father to *Thomas* Earl of *Dorset*) Mr. *Robert Horn* after Bishop of *Winchester*, Dr. *Huick* a Civilian, and one *Salvage* possibly a Common Lawyer; who calling before them divers persons of every Parish, gave them an Oath to enquire and present upon such Articles and *Injunctions* as were given unto them. In pursuance whereof, both the Commissioners and the People shewed so much forwardness, that on St. *Bartholemews* day and the morrow after, they burned in St. *Pauls* Church-yard, Cheap-side, and other places of the City, all the Roods and other Images which had been taken out of the Churches. And as it is many times supposed that a thing is never well done if not over done, so hapned it in this case also, zeal against superstition had prevailed so far with some ignorant men, that in some places the Coaps, Vestments, Altar-cloaths, Books, Banners, Sepulchres, and Rood-lofts, were burned altogether.

All matters of the Church being thus disposed of, it will be time to cast our eyes on the concernments of the civil State which occurred this year, in which I find nothing more considerable than the overtures of some Marriages which had been made unto the Queen. *Philip* of *Spain* had made an offer of himself by the Count of *Feria* his Ambassadour; but the Queen had heard so much of the disturbances which befell King *Henry*, by marrying with his brothers wife, that she had no desire to run into the like perplexities by marrying with her sisters husband; and how he was discouraged from proceeding in it, hath been shewed already. Towards the end of the Parliament the Lords and Commons made an humble address unto her, in which they most earnestly besought her, That for securing the peace of the Kingdome, and the contentation of all her good and loving subjects, she would think of marrying; not pointing her particularly unto any one man, but leaving her to please her self in the choice of the person. To which she answered, That she thanked them for their good affections, and took their application to her to be well intended, the rather, because it contained no limitation of place or person; which had they done, she must have disliked it very much, and thought it to have been a great presumption. But for the matter of their suit, she lets them know, That she had long since made choice of that state of life in which now she lived, and hoped that God would give her strength and constancy to go through with it; that if she had been minded to have changed that course, she neither wanted many invitations to it in the reign of her Brother, nor many strong impulsions in the time of her sister. That as she had hitherto remained, so she intended to continue by the grace of God, though her Words, compared with her Youth, might be thought by some to be far different from her meaning. And so having thanked them over again, she licensed them to depart to their several businesses. And it appeared soon after that she was in earnest, by her rejecting of a motion made by *Gustavus* King of *Sweden* for the Prince *Ericus*; for the soliciting whereof, his second son *John* Duke of *Finland* (who succeeded his Brother in that Kingdom) is sent Ambassador into *England* about the end of *September*; Received at *Harwich* in *Essex* by the Earl of *Oxford* and the Lord *Robert Dudley*, with a goodly train of Gentlemen and Yeomen, he was by them conducted honourably towards *London*, where he was met by the Lord

Lords and Gentlemen of the Court, attended through the City on the 5th. of *October* to the Biſhop of *Wincheſters* houſe in *Southwark*; there he remained with his Train, conſiſting of about fifty perſons, till the *Eaſter* following; magnificently feaſted by the Queen, but otherwiſe no farther gratified in the buſineſs which he came about than all the reſt, who both before and after tried their fortunes in it. *Ann. Reg. Eliz.* 1. 1559

The next great buſineſs of this year was a renewing of the Peace with the Crown of *France*, agreed on at the Treaty near the City of *Cambray*; in which all differences were concluded alſo between *France* and *Spain*. all other Articles being accorded, the reſtitution of *Calais* to the Queen of *England* ſeemed the only obſticle, by which the general peace of Chriſtendome was at the point to have been hindred. But the Queen, either preferring the publick good before private intereſt, or fearing to be left alone if ſhe ſhould ſtand too obſtinately upon that particular, came at the laſt to this agreement, *viz.* That *Calais* ſhould remain for the term of eight years then next following in the hands of the *French*, that at the end of the ſaid tearm it ſhould be delivered unto the *Engliſh*, or otherwiſe the French King ſhould pay unto the Queen the ſum of 500000 Crowns. According unto which agreement, Peace was proclaimed in *London*, on the 7th. of *April* between the Queens Majeſty on the one part, and the French King on the other; as alſo between her and the King *Dolphin*, with his Wife the Queen of *Scots*, and all the Subjects and Dominions of the ſaid four Princes; The Proclamation publiſhed by *Garter* and *Norrey* Kings at Arms, accompanied with three other Heralds and five Trumpeters, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in their Scarlet Gowns being preſent on horſeback. But long the *French* King lived not to enjoy the benefit of this general Peace, unfortunately wounded in *Paris* at a Tilt or Tournament by Count *Montgomery*, of which wound he ſhortly after died on the 10th. of *July*, leaving behind him four Sons, *Francis*, *Charles*, *Henry*, and another *Francis*, of which, the three firſt, according to their ſeniority, enjoyed that Kingdome. And though ſhe had juſt cauſe to be offended with the young King *Francis*; for cauſing the Queen of *Scots* his Wife to take upon her ſelf the Title and Arms of *England*, yet ſhe reſolved to beſtow a Royal Obſequy on the King deceaſed, which was performed in St. *Paul's* Church on the 8th. and 9th. of *September* in moſt ſolemn manner, with a rich Hearſe made like an Imperial Crown, ſuſtained with eight Pillars, and covered with black Velvet, with a *Vallance* fringed with Gold, and richly hanged with Scutcheons, Pennons and Banners of the French Kings Arms; the principal Mourner for the firſt day was the Lord Treaſurer *Paulet*, Marquis of *Wincheſter*, aſſiſted with ten other Lords Mourners, with all the Heralds in black, and their Coat-Armours uppermoſt. The Divine Offices performed by Doctor *Matthew Parker* Lord elect of *Canterbury*, Doctor *William Barlow* Lord elect of *Chicheſter*, and Doctor *John Scory* Lord elect of *Hereford*, all ſitting in the Throne of the Biſhop of *London*, no otherwiſe at that time then in Hoods and Surplices; by whom the *Derige* was executed at that time in the Engliſh tongue: The Funeral Sermon Preached the next morning by the Lord of *Hereford*, and a Communion celebrated by the Biſhops then attired in Copes upon their Surplices. At which time ſix of the cheif mourners received the Sacrament, and ſo departed with the reſt to the Biſhops Palace, where a very liberal Entertainment was provided for them. By which magnificency and the like, this prudent Queen not only kept her own reputation at the higheſt amongſt Foreign Princes, but cauſed the greater eſtimation to be had by the Catholick party of the Religion here eſtabliſhed.

An. Reg. Eliz. 2. 1559.

Anno Reg. Eliz. 2. *A D.* 1559, 1560.

WE muſt begin this year with the Conſecration of ſuch new Biſhops, as were elected to ſucceed in the place of thoſe which had been deprived, the firſt of which was that of the moſt Reverend Doctor *Matthew Parker* Elected to the See of *Canterbury* on the firſt of *Auguſt*, but not conſecrated till the 17th of *December* following. That Dignity had firſt been offered, as is ſaid by ſome, to *Doctor Nicholas Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*, who grown in years, and ſtill a well-willer to the Pope, deſired to be excuſed from undertaking of a charge ſo weighty. And ſome ſay it was offered unto *Whitehead* alſo, who had been Chaplain to *Anne Bollen* the Queen's Mother; but he returned the like refuſal, though on other grounds, as more inclined (by reaſon of his long aboade in *Calvin's* Churches) to the Presbyterians than the Epiſcopal form of Government; and it was happy, for the Church might have been betrayed by his diſaffection, that he did refuſe it. The Chair being better filled by *Parker* another of Queen *Anne Bollen's* Chaplains, but better principled, and of a far more ſolid judgement in affairs of moment. The *Conge d' ſleiur*; which opened him the way to this eminent Dignity, bears date on the 18th. day of *July*, within few daies after the deprivation of the former Biſhops, to ſatisfie the World in the Queens intention of preſerving the Epiſcopal Government. And therefore why the Conſecration was deferred ſo long may be made a queſtion; ſome think it was, that ſhe might ſatisfie her ſelf, by putting the Church into a poſture by her Viſitation, before ſhe paſſed it over to the care of the Biſhops; others conceive, that ſhe was ſo enamoured with the Power and Title of ſupream Governeſs, that ſhe could not deny her ſelf that contentment in the exerciſe of it which the preſent Interval afforded; For what are Titles without Power? and what pleaſure can be took in Power if no uſe be made of it?

And it is poſſible enough that both or either of theſe conſiderations might have ſome influence upon her. But the main cauſe for keeping the Epiſcopal Sees in ſo long a vacancy muſt be found elſe-where. An Act had paſſed in the late Parliament, which never had the confidence to appear in Print, in the Preamble whereof it was declared, That by diſſolution of Religious Houſes in the time of the late King her Majeſties Father, many Impropriations, Tithes, and portions of Tithes had been inveſted in the Crown, which the Queen, being a Lady of a tender Conſcience, thought not fit to hold, nor could conveniently diſmember from it without compenſation, in regard of the preſent low condition in which ſhe found the Crown at her coming to it; And thereupon it was Enacted, that in the vacancy of any Archbiſhoprick or Biſhoprick, it ſhould be lawful for the Queen to iſſue out a Commiſſion under the Great Seal, for taking a ſurvey of all Caſtles, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, and all other Hereditaments to the ſaid Epiſcopal Sees belonging or appertaining; and on the return of ſuch ſurveys, to take into her hands any of the ſaid Caſtles, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, &c. as to her ſeemed good; giving to the ſaid Archbiſhops or Biſhops as much annual Rents, to be raiſed upon Impropriations, Tithes and portions of Tithes, as the ſaid Caſtles, Mannors, Lands, &c. did amount unto. The Church Lands certified according to the antient Rents, without conſideration of the *Caſualties* and other *Perquiſites* of Court which belonged unto them; the Retribuſion made in Penſions, Tithes, and portions of Tithes, extended at the utmoſt value, from which no other profit was to be expected than the Rent it ſelf. Which Act not being to take effect till the end of that Parliament, the interval between the end of the Parliament, the deprivation of the old Biſhops, and the conſecration of the new, was to be taken up in the executing of ſuch Surveys, and making ſuch advantages of them, as moſt redounded to the profit of the Queen and her Cour-

Courtiers. Upon which ground, as all the Biſhops Sees were ſo long kept vacant before any one of them was filled, ſo in the following times they were kept void one after another as occaſion ſerved, till the beſt Flowers in the whole Garden of the Church had been culled out of it. There was another Clauſe in the ſaid Statutes, by which the Patrimony of the Church was as much dilapidated, *ſede plena*, as it was pulled by this in the times of vacancy; for by that Clauſe, all Biſhops were reſtrained from making any Grants of their Farms and Manhors for more than twenty one years, or three lives at the moſt, except it were unto the Queen, her Heirs and Succeſſors. But either to the Queen, or to any of her Heirs and Succeſſors (and under that pretence to any her hungry Courtiers) they might be granted in Fee-farm, or for a Leaſe of Fourſcore and nineteen years, as it pleaſed the Parties. By which means, *Credinto* was diſmembred from the See of *Exon.* the goodly Mannor of *Sherborn* from that of *Salisbury*, many fair Mannors alienated for ever from the Rich Sees of *Wincheſter*, *Elie*, and indeed what not?

Ann. Reg. Eliz. 2. 1559

But to proceed unto the Conſecration of the new Arch-biſhop, the firſt thing to be done after the paſſing of the Royal Aſſent for ratifying of the Election of the Dean and Chapter, (was the confirming of it) in the Court of the Arches, according to the uſual form in that behalf; Which being accordingly performed, the Vicar General, the Dean of the Arches, the Proctors and Officers of the Court, whoſe preſence was required at this Solemnity, were entertained at a Dinner provided for them at the *Nags head* Tavern in *Cheapſide*; for which, though *Parker* paid the ſhot, yet ſhall the Church be called to an after reckoning. Nothing remains to expedite the Conſecration but the Royal Mandat, which I find dated on the ſixth of *December*, directed to *Anthony Kitching* Biſhop of *Landaff*, *William Barlow* late Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, Lord Elect of *Chicheſter*; *John Scory* late Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, Lord Elect of *Hereford*; *Miles Coverdale* late Biſhop of *Exeter*, *John Hodgskins* Suffragan of *Bedford*, *John* Suffragan of *Thetford*, and *John Bale* Biſhop of *Oſſerie* in the Realm of *Ireland*, requiring them, or any of them at the leaſt, to proceed unto the Conſecration of the Right Reverend *Matthew Parker* lately elected to the Metropolitical See of *Canterbury*. The firſt, and the two laſt, either hindred by ſickneſs, or by ſome other lawful impediment, were not in a condition to attend the ſervice; which notwithſtanding was performed by the other four on Sunday the ſeventeenth of that Month, according to the Ordinal of King *Edward* the ſixth, then newly Printed for that purpoſe; the Ceremony performed in the Chapel at *Lambeth* Houſe, the Eaſt end whereof was hanged with Rich *Tapeſtry*, and the floor covered with red Cloth; the Morning Service read by *Pearſon* the Archbiſhops Chaplain, the Sermon Preached by Doctor *Scory* Lord Elect of *Hereford*, on thoſe words of St. *Peter*, *The Elders which are among you I exhort, &c.* 1 *Pet.* 5. 1. The Letters Patents for proceeding to the Conſecration publickly read by Doctor *Dale*, the Act of Conſecration legally performed by the impoſition of the Hands of the ſaid four Biſhops, according to the antient Canons and King *Edward*'s Ordinal; and after all, a plentiful Dinner for the entertainment of the Company which reſorted thither, amongſt whom, *Charles Howard*, eldeſt ſon of *William* Lord *Effingham*, created afterwards Lord Admiral and Earl of *Nottingham*, hapned to be one, and after teſtified to the truth of all theſe particulars, when the reality and form of this Conſecration was called in queſtion by ſome captious ſticklers for the Church of *Rome*.

For ſo it was, that ſome ſticklers for the Church of *Rome* having been told of the Dinner which was made at the *Nags head* Tavern at ſuch time as the election of the new Archbiſhop was confirmed in the Arches, raiſed a report, that the *Nags head* Tavern was the place of the Conſeration. And this report was countenanced by another ſlander, cauſing it to be noiſed abroad, and publiſhed in ſome Seditions Pamphlets, that the perſons deſigned by the Queen for the ſeveral Biſhopricks, being met at a Tavern, did then and there lay hands

An. Reg. Eliz. 2. 1559.

hands upon one another, without Form or Order. The first calumny fathered on one *Keale*, once *Hebrew* Reader in the University of *Oxford*, and Chaplain unto Bishop *Bonner*; which last relation were sufficient to discredit the whole tale, if there were no other evidence to disprove the same. And yet the silence of all Popish Writers concerning this Nags-head-Consecration, during the whole Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, when it had been most material for them to insist upon it, as much discrediteth the whole figement, as the Author of it. The other published by Dr. *Nicholas Sanders*, (never more truly Dr. *Slanders* than in that particular) in his pestilent and seditious Book, Entituled *De Schismate Anglicano*; whose frequent falshoods make him no fit Author to be built upon in any matter of importance. Yet on the credit of these two, but on the first especially, the Tale of the Nags-head-Consecration being once taken up, was generally exposed to sale, as one of the most vendible commodities in the writings of some Romish Priests and Jesuits, as *Champney's*, *Fitzsimons*, *Parson Kellison*, *&c.* They knew right well, that nothing did more justifie the Church of *England* in the eye of the world, then that it did preserve a succession of Bishops, and consequently of all other Sacred Orders, in the ministration. Without which, as they would not grant it to be a Church, so could they prove it to be none by no stronger Argument than that the Bishops (or the pretended Bishops rather in their opinion) were either not consecrate at all, or not canonically Consecrated as they ought to be. And for the gaining of this point, they stood most pertinaciously on the fiction of the Nags-head Tavern, which if it could be proved, or at least beleived, there was an end of the Episcopal succession in the Church of *England*; and consequently also of the Church it self.

For the decrying of this clamour, and satisfying all Opponents in the truth of the matter, it was thought fit by Dr. *George Abbot* then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to call before him some of the Priests and Jesuits, that is to say, *Faircloth*, *Leake*, *Laithwait* and *Collins*, being then Prisoners in the *Clink*. Who being brought to *Lambeth* on the 12th. of *May* 1613. were suffered in the presence of divers Bishops, to peruse the publick Registers, and thereby to satisfie themselves in all particulars concerning the Confirmation and Consecration of Archbishop *Parker*, according to the Circumstances and *Punctilioes* before laid down. This stilled the clamour for the present, though it brake out again forty years after, and was again stilled by the care and industry of the right Reverend Dr. *Bramhal*, Lord Bishop of *Derry*, in a Book Entituled, *The Church of* England *defended against some scandalous and fabulous imputations cast upon her*, *&c.* Which cavil (for it is no better) being thus refelled, the other objections of the Adversaries will be easily answered: though *Barlow* and *Scory* were deprived of their Episcopal Sees, yet first the justice and legality of their deprivation was not clear in Law; and secondly they neither were nor could be deprived of their Episcopal Character, which remained in them undefaced, as before it was. And whilst the Character remained, they were in a capacity of performing all Episcopal Offices to which they should be called by their Metropolitan, or any higher Power directing and commanding in all such matters as concerned the Church. And as for *Suffragans*, by which title *Hodgskins* is Commissionated for the Consecration, they were no other than the *Chore-Episcopi* of the Primitive times, Subsidiary Bishops, ordained for easing the Diocesan of some part of his burthen. By means whereof, they were enabled to perform such offices belonging to that sacred function, not limited to time and place by the ancient Canons, by which a Bishop was restrained in some certain acts of Jurisdiction to his proper Dioces. Of this sort there were twenty six in the Realm of *England*, distinguished by the names of such principal Towns as were appointed for their title and denomination. The names and number whereof, together with the jurisdiction and preheminences proportioned to them, the Reader may peruse in the Act of Parliament made in the 26th. year of King *Henry* the 8th.

No

No sooner was this solemnity ended, but a new mandate comes for the Confirmation of Dr. *Barlow* in the See of *Chichester*, and Dr. *Scory* to the See of *Hereford*, to which they had been severally elected in *August* last. And though the not restoring of them to their former Sees, might seem to justifie the late Queen *Mary* in their deprivation, yet the Queen wanted not good reasons for their present removal; not that she did consult therein her own power and profit, (as is thought by some) but studied rather their content and satisfaction than her own concernments. For *Barlow* having wasted the revenue of the Church of *Wells*, could not with any comfort behold a place which he had so spoiled; and *Scory* having been deprived of the See of *Chichester*, under pretence of wanting a just title to it, desired not to be put upon the hazard of a second ejection. But as for *Coverdale*, he did not onely wave the acceptation of *Oxon*, but of any other Church then vacant. He was now 72 years old, and desired rather to enjoy the pleasure of a private life, then be disquieted in his old age with the cares of Government. And somewhat might be also in it of a disaffection, not to the Calling but the Habit, which is to be believed the rather, because he attended not at the Consecration in his Cope and Rochet, as the others did, but in a plain black Coat reaching down to his Ankles. And now the rest of the Episcopal Sees begin to fill; for on the 21 of the same *December*, Dr. *Edmond Grindall* was consecrated to the See of *London*, Dr. *Richard Cox* to that of *Ely*, Dr. *Edwin Sandys* to the Church of *Worcester*, Dr. *Rowland Merick* unto that of *Bangor*. On the 21 of *January* then next following, Dr. *Nicholas Bullingham* was by the like consecration made Bishop of *Lincoln*, the right learned Mr. *John Iewel*, (who afterwards accepted the degree of Doctor) Bishop of *Sarisbury*, Dr. *Thomas Young* Bishop of St. *Davids*, and Mr. *Richard Davis* Bishop of St. *Asaph*. The 24th of *March* was honoured with the Consecration of three other Bishops, that is to say, of Mr. *Thomas Bentham* to the See of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, of Mr. *Gilbert Barclay* to the See of *Wells*, and of Dr. *Edmund Guest* to that of *Rochester*. On the 14th. of *July* comes the consecration of Dr. *William Alley* to the Church of *Exon*, and that of Mr. *John Parkhurst* to the Church of *Norwich*, on the first of *September*. By which account we find no fewer than sixteen Sees to be filled with new Bishops, within the compass of the year, men of ability in matter of learning, and such as had a good report for the integrity of their lives and conversations. Nor was it long before the rest of the Episcopal Sees were supplied with new Pastors, as shall be shewn hereafter in due time and place. The Queens commission of survey had not crossed the *Trent*, which possibly may be the reason why we find no new Bishops in the Province of *York*, and *Winchester* must afford one *Michaelmas* rent more to the Queens Exchequer, before the Lord Treasurer could give way to a new incumbent.

An. Reg. Eliz. 2 1559.

1559.

And now we may behold the face of the Church of *England* as it was first setled and established under Queen *Elizabeth*. The Government of the Church by Archbishops and Bishops, according to the practice of the best and happiest times of Christianity. These Bishops nominated and elected according to the Statute in the 26th. of King *Henry* 8th. and consecrated by the Ordinal, confirmed by Parliament, in the 5th. and 6th. years of King *Edward* the 6th. never appearing publickly, but in their Rochets, nor officiating otherwise than in Copes at the Holy Altar. The Priests not stirring out of doors but in their square Caps, Gowns, or Canonical Coats, nor executing any divine Office but in their Surplice, a vestment set apart for Religious services in the Primitive times, as may be gathered from St. *Chrysostome* for the Eastern Churches, and from St. *Hierom* for the *Western*. The Doctrine of the Church reduced unto its ancient purity, according to the Articles agreed upon in Convocation *Anno* 1552. The Liturgy conform to the Primitive patterns, and all the Rites and Ceremonies therein prescribed, accommodated to the honour of God and increase of piety. The Festivals preserved in their former dignity, observed with their distinct Offices peculiar to them, and celebrated with

1560.

An. Reg. Eliz. 2. 1560.

with a Religious concourſe of all ſorts of people; the weekly Faſts, the holy time of Lent, the Embring weeks, together with the Faſt of the Rogation, ſeverely kept by a forbearance of all kind of fleſh, not now by vertue of the Statute, as in the time of King *Edward*, but as appointed by the Church in her publick Calender before the Book of Common Prayer, The Sacrament or the Lords Supper celebrated in moſt reverend manner, the Holy Table ſeated in the place of the Altar, the people making their due reverence at their firſt entrance into the Church, kneeling at the Communion, the Confeſſion, and the publick Prayers, ſtanding up at the Creed, the Goſpels, and the *Gloria patri*, and uſing the accuſtomed reverence at the name of Jeſus. Muſick retained in all ſuch Churches in which proviſion had been made for the maintenance of it, or where the people could be trained up at the leaſt to plain-ſong. All which particulars were either eſtabliſhed by the Laws, or commanded by the Queens Injunctions, or otherwiſe retained by vertue of ſome ancient uſages not by Law prohibited. Nor is it much to be admired, that ſuch a general conformity to thoſe antient uſages was conſtantly obſerved in all Cathedral, and the moſt part of the Pariſh Churches, conſidering how well they were preſidented by the Court it ſelf, in which the Liturgy was officiated every day both morning and evening, not only in the publick Chappel, but the private Cloſet; celebrated in the Chappel with Organs, and other muſical inſtruments, and the moſt excellent voices both of men and children, that could be got in all the Kingdome. The Gentlemen and children in their Surplices, and the Prieſts in Copes as oft as they attended the Divine Service at the Holy Altar. The Altar furniſhed with rich Plate, two fair gilt Candleſticks with Tapers in them, and a maſſie Crucifix of ſilver in the midſt thereof. Which laſt remained there for ſome years, till it was broke in pieces by *Pach* the Fool (no wiſer man daring to undertake ſuch a deſperate ſervice) at the ſolicitation of Sir *Francis Knolles*, the Queens neer Kinſman by the *Caries*, and one who openly appeared in favour of the Schiſm at *Frankfort*. The antient Ceremonies accuſtomably obſerved by the Knights of the Garter in their adoration toward the Altar, aboliſhed by King *Edward* the 6th. and revived by Queen *Mary*, were by this Queen retained as formerly in her Fathers time, which made that Order, ſo eſteemed amongſt forein Princes, that the Emperors *Maximillian* and *Rodolphus*, the French Kings, *Charles* the 9th. and *Henry* the 3d. together with *Francis* Duke of *Mont Morency* though of a contrary Religion to her, (not to ſay any thing of divers *Lutheran* Kings and Princes) did thankfully accept of their elections into that ſociety. The ſolemn Sermons upon each *Wedneſday*, *Friday*, and *Sunday*, in the time of Lent, preached by the choiceſt of the Clergy, ſhe devoutly heard, attired in black, according to the commendable cuſtome of her Predeceſſors, in which if any thing eſcaped them contrary to the Doctrine and approved Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, they were ſure to hear of it; for which ſhe received both thanks and honour from her very enemies, as appears by Dr. *Harding*'s Epiſtle Dedicatory before his Anſwer to the *Apology* writ by Biſhop *Jewel*. Particularly when one of her Chaplains (Mr. *Alexander Nowell* Dean of St. *Pauls*) had ſpoke leſs reverently in a Sermon preached before her of the ſign of the Croſs, ſhe called aloud to him from her cloſet window, commanding him to retire from that ungodly digreſſion, and to return unto his Text. And on the other ſide when one of her Divines had preached a Sermon in defence of the *Real Preſence* on the day commonly called *Good Fryday*, *Anno* 1565, ſhe openly gave him thanks for his pains and piety. The Biſhops and the Clergy had been but ill proficients in the ſchool of conformity under ſo excellent a Miſtriſs, if they had not kept the Church in the higheſt ſplendor, to which they were invited by that great example. And in this glorious poſture ſtill had laſted longer, had not her Order been confounded, and her Peace diſturbed by ſome factious ſpirits; who having had their wills at *Franckfort*, or otherwiſe ruling the Presbytery when they were at *Geneva*, thought to have carried all before them with the like facility when they were in *England*.

But

But leaving them and their designes to some other time, we must next look upon the aid which the Queen sent to those of the reformed Religion in the Realm of *Scotland*, but carried under the pretence of dislodging such *French* Forces as were Garrisoned there, and might have proved bad neighbours to the Kingdom of *England*. Such of the Scots as desired a Reformation of Religion, taking advantage by the Queens absence, the easiness of the Earl of *Arran*, and want of power in the Queen Regent to suppress their practices, had put themselves into a Body; Headed by some of the Nobility, they take unto themselves the name of the *Congregation*, managing their own affairs apart from the rest of the Kingdom, and in assurance of their own strength, petition to the Queen Regent and the Lords of the Council, that the Sacrament of the Lords Supper might be administred in both kinds, that Divine Offices might be celebrated in the Vulgar tongue, and that they might have the choice of their own Ministers according to the practice (as it was pretended) of the Primitive times. The answer hereunto was fair and gracious, but rather for the gaining of time, than with a purpose to grant any of the points demanded. The principal Leaders of the party, well followed by the common people, put themselves into *Perth*, and there begin to stand on higher terms than before they did. The news whereof occasioneth *Knox* to leave his Sanctuary in *Geneva*, and joyn himself unto the Lords of the Congregation; At *Perth* he goes into the Pulpit, and falls so bitterly on *Images*, *Idolatry*, and other superstitions of the Church of *Rome*, that the people in a popular fury deface all the Images in that Church, and presently demolish all Religious Houses within that City; This hapned about the end of *May*, *Anno* 1559. and gave a dangerous example to them of *Couper*, who forthwith on the hearing of it destroyed all the Images, and pulled down the Altars in that Church also, Preaching at *Craile* he inveighed sharply against the Queen Regent, and vehemently stirred up the people to joyn together for the expulsion of the *French*, which drew after it the like destruction of all Altars and Images, as was made before at *Perth* and *Couper*. The like followed on his preaching at St. *Andrews* also, the Religious Houses being pulled down as well as the Images, and laid so flat, that there was nothing left in the form of a building. Inflamed by the same firebrand, they burned down the rich Monastery of *Scone*, and ruined that of *Cambuskenneth*, demolished all the Altars, Images, and Covents of Religious persons in *Sterling*, *Lithgow*, *Glascough*, *Edenburgh*, make themselves Masters of the last, and put up their own Preachers into all the Pulpits of that City, not suffering the Queen Regent to have the use of one Church onely for her own devotions. *Ann. Reg. Eliz.* 2. 1560

Nor staid they there, but being carried on by the same ill spirit, they pass an Act among themselves for depriving the Queen Regent of all place and power in the publick Government; concerning which, the Oracle being first consulted, returned this answer, sufficiently ambiguous, as all Oracles are, that is to say, *That the iniquity of the Queen Regent ought not to withdraw their hearts from the obedience due to their Soveraigns, nor did he wish any such sentence to be pronounced against her, but when she should change her course, and submit her self to good counsel, there should be place left unto her of regresse to the same honors, from which, for good causes, she ought to be deprived.* This Act is intimated to the Queen Regent, who now begins as seriously to provide for her own preservation, as she had done before in maintenance of the Queens Authority. Some Forces had been sent from *France*, together with many Arms and Ammunition in proportion to them; but these not being great enough to suppress those insolencies, she is supplied at times with 3000 Foot, beside *Octavian*'s Regiment sent over to make way for the rest. Some Horse were also shipt from *France*, but so scattered and dispersed by tempest, that few of them came safely thither. Yet by the terrour of their coming, and the noise of more, she recovereth *Edenborough*, compelleth the confederate *Scots* to go further North, fortifies *Lieth* the Port-Town to *Edenburgh*, and the chief Key of all

An. Reg. Eliz. 2. 1560.

that Kingdom, Garriſoned forthwith by the *French*, not onely to make good their *Entrance*, but ſecond their *Exit*. On theſe diſcouragements, many of the *Scots* ſoldiers drop away, and the reſt refuſe to ſtand unto their Arms, without preſent pay. Had the *French* gone to work like ſoldiers, and poured ſuch forces into that Kingdom as the condition of affairs did require at their hands, they might eaſily have ſuppreſſed that ſcattered Faction, before they were united under the protection of a foreign Power; but this doing of their work by halves proved the undoing of the whole, and onely ſerved to give the *Scots* ſufficient time to renew their forces, and call the Engliſh to their aid. They had all along maintained a correſpondence with ſome in *England*, but more particularly with *Croſts* Governor of the Town of *Barwick*; To him they ſend for a ſupply in this great neceſſity, by whom their Agents are diſpatched with four thouſand Crowns; but the Queen Regent was ſo ſeaſonably advertiſed of it, that ſhe intercepted on the way both the men and the money.

In this extremity they take counſel of deſpair, with *Knox*, by whom they are adviſed to caſt themſelves into the arms of the Queen of *England*, the onely viſible means then left to ſupport the cauſe; to whom the neighbourhood of the *French*, upon juſt jealouſies and reaſons of State, was not very acceptable. No better counſel being offered (as indeed none could) *Maitland* and *Melvin* are diſpatched to the Court of *England*, by whom the Queen is made acquainted with the ſtate of that Kingdom, the difficulty under which it ſtrugled, the danger like to fall on her own Dominions if the *French* ſhould grow too ſtrong in *Scotland*; and thereupon entreat her ſuccours and aſſiſtance for the expulſion of that People, who otherwiſe might to both Realms prove alike deſtructive. The buſineſs being taken into conſideration, it was conceived by ſome of the Council, that the Queen ought not to give ear unto their deſires; that it was a matter of dangerous conſequence, and of ill example, to aſſiſt the Subjects of that or any other Kingdom againſt their own natural and Lawful Princes, and that ſhe did not know how ſoon it might be her own caſe, to have the like troubles and commotions raiſed againſt her by thoſe who liked not her proceedings in the change of Religion. By others it was thought a matter of no ſmall impiety not to aſſiſt their brethren of the ſame profeſſion, imploring their aſſiſtance in the preſent exigency; that it was a work of charity to defend their neighbours from the oppreſſion of ſtrangers; that the *French* were always enemies to the Crown of *England*, and therefore that it could not be conſiſtent with the rules of prudence to ſuffer them to grow too ſtrong upon their borders; that the French King had already aſſumed the Title of *England*, and it concerned them to take care that they gave him not by their improvidence the poſſeſſion alſo. Theſe reaſons carried it for the *Scots*, And ſo they are diſmiſt with promiſe of ſuch preſent aid, and on ſuch conditions as ſhould be agreed on by Commiſſioners on both ſides in the Town of *Barwick*.

About the middle of *February* the Commiſſioners meet, the Duke of *Norfolk* for the Queen, the Lord *James Stewart* (one of the baſtard brothers of the Queen of *Scots*) the Lord *Ruthwin*, and ſome other principal men of the Congregation in the name of the reſt. By whom it was concluded on the 27th. of that month, That the Queen ſhould ſend ſufficient forces into *Scotland* both by Sea and Land, furniſhed with Money, Arms, and Ammunition; that ſhe ſhould not recall her forces till that Kingdom was cleared of all the *French*; that proviſion of Victuals for the Army ſhould be made by the *Scots*; and that the *Scots* ſhould ſhew themſelves enemies to all ſuch as were enemies to the Crown of *England*, whether *Scots* or *French*; But by all means, that nothing ſhould be done by vertue of this Agreement, which might import the leaſt withdrawing of the *Scots* from that loyalty, duty and obedience which was due unto their natural Queen, or the King her husband. By which Agreement with the *Scots*, the Queen abundantly provided for her own ſecurity from all Invaſions on that ſide; and by affording them ſuch ſuccours as their wants required,

quired, but chiefly by conferring some small annual pensions on the Chiefs amongst them, she made her self more *absolute* on that side of the *Tweed*, than either the Queen of *Scots* her self, or King *James* her son, or any of their Predecessors in all times before. According to these Capitulations, an Army gallantly appointed is sent into *Scotland*, consisting of 6000 Foot and 2000 Horse, and commanded by the Lord *Gray* a right expert Soldier, accompanied by some Lords and Gentlemen of eminent quality; some ships were also sent to block up the Haven, and hinder all relief which might come by Sea to the Town of *Lieth*, on the defence whereof depended the whole hopes of the *French*, together with the interest of that Crown in the Realm of *Scotland*. *An. Reg. Eliz. 2.* 1560.

It was about the beginning of *April* that the English Army came before it, recruited afterwards by the comming of 2000 more; which fresh supply, together with some ill success which they found in the action, did so disanimate the besieged, that they conceived no possibility of a long resistance; Ambassadors are therefore sent from *France* to *Edenborough*, there to confer with such of the same quality as should also come thither, authorised by the Queen of *England*, by whom it was in fine concluded, That all the *French* Forces should forthwith depart out of *Scotland*, except 60 onely to be left in *Dunbar*, and as many in the Fort of *Nachkeeth*; that they should be transported for their greater safety in English Bottoms; that all matters of Religion should be referred to the following Parliament; that an act of Oblivion should be passed for the indemnity of all who had born Arms on either side; that a general Bond of Love and Amity should be made betwixt the Lords and their Adherents of both Religions; and finally, amongst many other particulars, that neither the Queen of *Scots* nor the *French* King should from thenceforth assume the Titles and Arms of *England*. Which Articles being signed and confirmed for both Kingdoms, the *French* about the middle of *July* take their leave of *Scotland*, and the English Army at the same time set forward for *Barwick*, being there disbanded and dismissed to their several dwellings. Followed not long after by the Earls of *Morton* and *Glencarn*, in the name of the rest of the Congregation, sent purposely to render to the Queen their most humble thanks for her speedy and prosperous assistance, and to desire the continuance of her Majesties favours, if the French should any more attempt to invade their Country. Assured whereof, and being liberally rewarded with gifts and presents, they returned with joy and glad tydings to the *Congregation*, whom as the Queen had put upon a present confidence of going vigorously on in their Reformation, so it concerned them to proceed so carefully in persuance of it, as might comply with the dependence which they had upon her.

First therefore, that she might more cordially espouse their quarrel, they bound themselves by their subscription to embrace the Liturgy, with all the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, which for a time remained the onely form of Worship for the Kirk of *Scotland*; when, and by whose means they receded from it, may be shown hereafter. In the next place they cause a Parliament to be called in the month of *August*, according to the Articles of the Pacification, from which no person was excluded, who either had the right of Suffrage in his own capacity, or in relation to their Churches, or as returned from their Shrevalties or particular Burroughs; of which last, there appeared the accustomed number, but of the Lords Spiritual, no more than six Bishops of thirteen, with thirteen Abbots and Priors or thereabouts; and of the Temporal Lords to the number of ten Earls and as many Barons: By whose *Authority* and consent they passed three Acts, conducing wholly to the advantage of the Reformation; the first whereof was for abolishing the Popes Jurisdiction and *Authority* within the Realm; the second, for annulling all Statutes made in former times for maintenance of Idolatry and Superstition; and the third, for the punishment of the Sayers and Hearers of the Masse. To this Parliament also some of the Ministers presented *A Confession of the Faith and Doctrine to be believed and professed by the Protestants of the*

An. Reg. Eliz. 2. 1560.

Kirck of Scotland; modelled in many places by the Principles of *Calvin's* Doctrine, which *Knox* had brought with him from *Geneva*; but being put unto the Vote, it was oppoſed by no more then three of the Temporal Lords, that is to ſay, the Earl of *Atholl*, and the Lords *Somervil* and *Borthwick*, who gave no other reaſon for it, *but that they would beliebe as their Fathers did.* The Popiſh Prelates were ſilent in it, neither aſſenting nor oppoſing: Which being obſerved by the Earl-Marſhal, he is ſaid to have broke out into theſe words following; *Seeing* (ſaith he) *that my Lords the Biſhops (who by their learning can, and for the zeal they ſhould have to the truth, ought as I ſuppoſe to gainſay any thing repugnant to it) ſay nothing againſt the Confeſſion we have heard; I cannot think but that it is the very truth of God, and that the contrary of it falſe and deceivable Doctrine.*

Let us now croſs over into *Ireland*, where we ſhall find the Queen as active in advancing the reformed Religion, as ſhe had been in either of the other Kingdoms. King *Henry* had firſt broke the ice, by taking to himſelf the Title of *Supream Head* on Earth of the Church of *Ireland*, exterminating the Popes authority, and ſuppreſſing all the Monaſteries and Religious Houſes. In matters doctrinal, and forms of Worſhip, as there was nothing done by him, ſo neither was there much endeavoured in the time of King *Edward*, it being thought perhaps unſafe to provoke that people in the Kings minority, conſidering with how many troubles he was elſewhere exerciſed. If any thing were done therein, it was rather done by tolleration than command. And whatſoever was ſo done, was preſently undone again in the Reign of Queen *Mary*. But Queen *Elizabeth* having ſetled her affairs in *England*, and undertaken the protection of the *Scots*, conceived her ſelf obliged in point of piety, that *Ireland* alſo ſhould be made partaker of ſo great a benefit. A Parliament is therefore held on the 12th. of *January*, where paſt an Act, reſtoring to the Crown the antient juriſdiction over all Eccleſiaſtical and Spiritual perſons. By which Statute were eſtabliſhed both the Oath of Supremacy and the High Commiſſion, as before in *England*. There alſo paſt an Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer, &c. with a permiſſion for ſaying the ſame in Latine, in ſuch Church or place, where the Miniſter had not the knowledge of the Engliſh Tongue. But for tranſlating it into *Iriſh* (as afterwards into *Welſh* in the 5th. year of this Queen) there was no care taken, either in this Parliament, or in any following. For want whereof, as alſo by not having the Scriptures in their native language, moſt of the natural *Iriſh* have retained hitherto there old barbarous cuſtomes, or pertinaciouſly adhere to the corruptions of the Church of *Rome*. The people by that Statute are required under ſeveral penalties, to frequent their Churches, and to be frequent at the reading of the Engliſh Liturgy, which they underſtand no more than they do the Maſs. By which means the *Iriſh* was not only kept in continual ignorance as to the Doctrines and Devotions of the Church of *England*, but we have furniſhed the Papiſts with an excellent Argument againſt our ſelves, for having the Divine Service celebrated in ſuch a language as the people do not underſtand.

There alſo paſt another Statute for reſtoring to the Crown the firſt fruits, and twenty parts of all Eccleſiaſtical promotions within that Kingdom; as alſo of all impropriat Parſonages, which there are more in number than thoſe Rectories which have cure of ſouls. King *Henry* had before united the firſt fruits, &c. to the Crown Imperial, but Queen *Mary* out of her affection to the Church of *Rome*, had given them back unto the Clergy, as before was ſaid. The like Act paſſed for the reſtitution of all ſuch Lands belonging to the Knights of St. *John* of *Ieruſalem*, as by that Queen had been regranted to the Order; with the avoidance of all Leaſes and other grants, which had been made by Sir *Oſwald Maſſingberd*, the late Prior of the ſame. Who fearing what was like to follow, had voluntarily forſook the Kingdom in the *Auguſt* foregoing, and thereby ſaved the Queen the charge of an yearly penſion, which otherwiſe he might have had as his Predeceſſors had before him in the time

time of King *Henry*. During the Reign of which King, a Statute had been made in *Ireland* (as in *England* alſo) for the electing and conſecrating of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, repealed in the firſt year of Queen *Mary*, and now revived by her Siſter, in which there is nothing more memorable, than that amongſt many other Ceremonies therein directed, there is mention of giving the *Pall* to a new Archbiſhop, that being an Ornament or Habit peculiar only unto thoſe of the higheſt ranck in the Holy Hierarchy. And that ſhe might not only take care for the good of the Church, without conſulting her own ſafety, ſhe cauſed an Act to paſs for the recognition of her own juſt title to the Crown, as before in *England*. All which being done, ſhe left the proſecution of the work to her Biſhops and Clergy, not ſo well countenanced by power as they were by Law; and yet more countenanced by Law than they made good uſe of. For many of them finding how things went in *England*, and knowing that the like alterations would enſue amongſt themſelves, reſolved to make ſuch uſe of the preſent times, as to inrich their friends and kindred by the ſpoil of their Churches. To which end they ſo diſſipated the revenues of their ſeveral Biſhopricks, by long Leaſes, fee Farms, and plain alienations, that to ſome of their Sees they left no more than a Rent of five Marks *per annum*, to others a bare yearly Rent of 40. ſhillings, to the high diſpleaſure of Almighty God, the reproach of Religion, the great diſſervice of the Church, and the perpetual ignominy of themſelves for that horrible ſacriledge. *An. Reg. Eliz. 2. 1560.*

It is now time that we hoiſe ſail again for *England*, where we ſhall find an entertainment made ready for us in a Sermon preached by Reverend *Iewel*, then newly Conſecrated Biſhop of the Church of *Saritbury*. The Sermon preached at St. *Paul*'s Croſs on the 30th. of *March*, being *Paſſion-Sunday*, or the Sunday fortnight before *Eaſter*, the Text or Theam of his diſcourſe being taken out of St. *Paul*'s 1. Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, Chap. 11. Ver. 23. *That which I delivered to you I received of the Lord, &c.* Which Text being opened, and accommodated to the preſent times, he publiſhed that memorable *Challenge*, which ſo much exerciſed the pens and ſtudies of the *Romiſh* Clergy. By whom the Church had been injuriouſly upbraided with the imputation of novelty, and charged with teaching ſuch opinions as were not to be found in any of the ancient Fathers, or approved Councils, or any other Monument of true Antiquity, before *Luther*'s time. For the ſtopping of whoſe mouths for ever, this learned Prelate made this ſtout and gallant challenge in theſe following words.

Biſhop *Jewel*'s Challenge.

If any Learned man of our Adverſaries, or all the Learned men that be alive be able to bring any one ſufficient ſentence out of any old Catholick Doctor or Father, or General Council, or Holy Scripture, or any one example in the Primitive Church, whereby it may clearly and plainly be proved, during the firſt ſix hundred years. 1. *That there was at that time any private Maſſe in the world.* 2. *Or that there was then any communion miniſtred unto the people under one kind.* 3. *Or that the people had their Common Prayer in a ſtrange tongue that the people underſtood not.* 4. *Or that the Biſhop of Rome was then called an univerſal Biſhop, or the head of the univerſal Church.* 5. *Or that the people were then taught to believe that Chriſts body is really, ſubſtantially, corporally, carnally, or naturally in the Sacrament.* 6. *Or that his body is or may be in a thouſand places or more at one time.* 7. *Or that the Prieſt did then hold up the Sacrament over his head.* 8. *Or that the people did then fall down and worſhip it with Godly honour.* 9. *Or that the Sacrament was then or now ought to be hanged up under a Canopy.* 10. *Or that in the Sacrament after the words of Conſecration, there remain only the accidents and ſhewes, without the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine.* 11. *Or that then the Prieſts divided the Sacrament into three parts, and afterwards received himſelf all alone.* 12. *Or that whoſoever had ſaid the Sacrament is a figure, a pledge, a*

token

An. Reg. Eliz. 2. 1560.

token or a remembrance of Christs body, had therefore been judg'd for an Heretick, 13. *Or that it was lawful then to have thirty, twenty, fifteen, ten, or five Masses said in one day.* 14. *Or that images were then set up in the Churches, to the intent the people might worship them.* 15. *Or that the lay people were then forbidden to read the word of God in their own tongue.* 16. *Or that it was then lawful for the Priest to pronounce the words of Consecration closely, or in private to himself.* 17. *Or that the Priest had then authority to offer up Christ unto his Father.* 18. *Or to communicate and receive the Sacrament for another, as they do.* 19. *Or to apply the vertue of Christs death and passion to any man by the means of the Masse.* 20. *Or that it was then thought a sound doctrine to teach the people, that Mass ex opere operato, that is even for that it is said and done, is able to remove any part of our sin.* 21. *Or that any Christian man called the Sacrament the Lord his God.* 22. *Or that the people were then taught to believe that the body of Christ remaineth in the Sacrament, as long as the accidents of Bread and Wine remain there without corruption.* 23. *Or that a mouse, or any other worm or beast, may eat the body of Christ, (for so some of our Adversaries have said and taught.)* 24. *Or that when Christ said* hoc est corpus meum, *the word* hoc *pointed not the Bread, but* individuum vagum, *as some of them say.* 25. *Or that the Accidents, or Forms, or Shews of Bread and Wine, be the Sacraments of Christs body and blood, and not rather the very Bread and Wine it self.* 26. *Or that the Sacrament is a sign or token of the body of Christ that lyeth hidden underneath it.* 27. *Or that ignorance is the mother and cause of true Devotion*; the conclusion is, that I shall be then content to yield and subscribe.

This *Challenge* being thus published in so great an auditory, startled the English Papists both at home and abroad, none more than such of the fugitives, as had retired to *Lovain*, *Doway*, or Saint *Odomars* in the Low-Country Provinces belonging to the King of *Spain*. The business first agitated by the exchange of friendly Letters, betwixt the said Reverend Prelate, and Dr. *Henry Cole* the late Dean of St. *Pauls*; more violently followed in a Book of *Rastal's* who first appeared in the lists against the *Challenger*. Followed therein by *Dorman* and *Marshal*, who severally took up the cudgels to as little purpose; the first being well beaten by *Nowel*, and the last by *Calfhil*, in their discourses writ against them. But they were only *velitations*, or preparatory skirmishes in reference to the main encounter, which was reserved with the Reverend Challenger himself, and Dr. *John Harding*, one of the Divines of *Lovain*, and the most learned of the Colledge. The Combatans were born in the same County, bred up in the same Grammar School, and studied in the same University also: So that it may be said of them, as the Historian hath of *Iugurth* and *Sylla* under *Caius Marius*, that is to say, that they both learned those fears of Arms in the same Camp, and under the same Commander, which afterwards they were to exercise against one another. Both zealous Protestants also in the time of King *Edward*, and both relapsed to Popery in the time of Queen *Mary*; *Iewel* for fear, and *Harding* upon hope of favour and preferment by it. But *Iewel's* fall may be compared to that of Saint *Peter*, which was short and sudden, rising again by his repentance, and fortified more strongly in his Faith than before he was: But *Harding's* like to that of the other *Simon*, premeditated and resolved on, never to be restored again (so much was there *within him of the gaul of bitternesse*) to his former standing. But some former differences had been between them in the Church of *Sarisbury*, whereof the one was Prebendary, and the other Bishop, occasioned by the Bishops visitation of that Cathedral, in which as *Harding* had the worst, so was it a presage of a second foil which he was to have in this encounter. Who had the better of the day, will easily appear to any that consults the writings. By which it will appear how much the Bishop was too hard for him at all manner of weapons. Whose learned answers as well in maintenance of his *Challenge*, as in defence of his *Apology*, (whereof more hereafter) contain in them such a magazin of all sorts of

of learning, that all our controversors since that time, have furnished themselves with Arguments and Authority from it. *An. Reg. Eliz.* 2. 1560.

But these discourses came not out until some years after, though the occasion was given now by this famous *Challenge*; the interval being spent in preparations by the *Romish* party, before they shewed themselves in publick. In the mean time, the Papists mad enough before, seemed to grow more outragious upon this occasion, though they were willing to impute it to some other cause. *Philip* of *Spain* shewed himself much incensed against her, as well for alteing the Religion here by him established, as for refusing him in marriage when the offer had been made unto her by the Count of *Feria*: Nor was the Count less troubled at it than the King. And in this melancholy humour he imploys all his Interest with the Pope then being, for subjecting her unto a sentence of Excommunication. Which motion if it had been press'd on Pope *Paul* the 4th. who seemed very much displeased at her for accepting the Crown without his consent, there is no question to be made but that it had been hearkned to with a listning ear, and executed with a rash and ungoverned hand. But *Paul* the 4th, deceased about the middle of *August*, in the year last past, and *John Angelo* Cardinal of *Medices*, succeeded him by the name of Pope *Pius* the 4th. in *December* following. Who being a more moderate man, did not think fit to proceed to such extremities. For seeing that his power was a thing rather consisting in the conceits of men, than in truth and substance, if it should once appear that this thunderbolt of Excommunication (whereby the world is so much terrified) should prove ineffectual and without all power, then might this great authority fall into contempt, and become ridiculous. Upon which ground he goes another way to work, and is resolved to try all fair and plausible means, for gaining her to the obedience of the See Apostolick. To which end he directs unto her an affectionate Letter, in which he calls her his dearest daughter, and seems exceeding careful of her salvation, and the prosperity of her people; not to be found by wandring out of the Communion of the Catholick Church, to which she is again invited with much Christian meekness. Which Letter he dispatcheth by the hands of *Vincentius Parpalia*, a right trusty Minister, and one (by reason of some former imployments hither in the time of Queen *Mary*) not unknown to her. Whom he had furnished also with [illegible] secret instructions to be communicated to her at his being in *England*. Concerning which (for with that intimation he concludes his Letter) the same *Vincentius* was to deal more largely with her, and declare his fatherly affection towards her; She being in like sort desired to receive him lovingly, hear to him diligently, and to give the same credit to his speeches, as she would to the Pope himself.

This Letter of the Popes bears date on the 5th. of *May*, *Anno* 1560. before which time the Queen had caused the English Liturgy to be translated into Latine, using therein the pen and diligence of *Walter Haddon*, (as some suppose), who afterwards appeared against *Osorius* upon several Arguments. And being translated into Latine, it was commended by her Letters Patents of the first of *April*, not onely to all Colledges and Halls in both Universities, but also to the Colledges of *Eaton* and *Winchester*, to be used by them in their several and respective Chapels. And she caused further, some selected Hymns to be added to it for some particular occasions, but most especially to be sung in funerals and solemn obsequies; which not being warranted by the Statute of the year preceding, were therefore authorized with a *non obstante*. All which as she was thought to do, to satisfie and instruct all foreign Princes in the form and fashion of our Devotions; So did she so far satisfie the Pope then being, that he shewed himself willing to confirm it by his Papal power. The learned *Camden*, who received all his choice intelligence from Sir *William Cecil*, (but better known in his last times by the name of Lord *Burleigh*) gives us to understand, that this *Parpalio* was instructed to offer in the name of his Holiness, that the English Liturgy should be confirmed, the use of the Communion in both kinds

An. Reg. Elizt. 2. 1560.

kinds allowed of. And that all Sentences which had passed in the Court of *Rome* against the marriage of her Mother, should be rescinded and made void, conditioned onely, that she would re-unite her self to the *Roman* Church, and acknowledge the Primacy of that See. For the carrying on of which accord, the Abbot was commissionated to distribute some thousands of Crowns amongst such men, as should be found most forward to effect the same. *Sanders* makes this to be another of his secret mandates, that if she had any diffidence in her Title to the Crown of *England*, either in regard of the doubtfulness of her Legitimation, or any thing which had been done by the authority of the Pope and Church of *Rome*, all matters should be cleared and sweetned to her best advantage, by the benignity and favour of the *See* Apostolick. But for all this, the Abbot came no nearer than *Brussels* with his Bulls and Faculties, not being suffered to set foot upon English ground, whether it were upon a probable suspition, that under colour of such plausible and specious overtures, he was designed to encourage a Rebellion amongst the Papists, as was thought by some; or rather, that the Queen was grown so confident of her own just Title, and the affections of her people, as not to be beholden to the Pope for a confirmation, remains a matter undetermined by our best Historians. How it succeeded with this Pope in another project for the reducing of this Kingdom under his command, we shall see hereafter.

But all this while there was no care taken to suppress the practice of another Faction, who secretly did as much endeavour the subversion of the English Liturgy, as the seemed willing to confirm it; For whilest the Prelates of the Church, and the other learned men before remembred, bent all their forces toward the confuting of some Popish Errors, another enemy appeared, which seemed not openly to aim at the Church's Doctrines, but quarrelled rather at some Rites and Extrinsecalls of it. Their purpose was to shew themselves so expert in the Art of War, as to take in the Out-works of Religion first, before they levelled there Artillery at the Fort it self. The Schismaticks at *Francfort* had no sooner heard of Queen *Mary*'s death; but they made what hast they could for *England*, in hope of fishing better for themselves in a troubled water than a composed and quiet Current; Followed not long after by the Brotherhood of the Separation, which retired from thence unto *Geneva*, who having left some few behind to compleat their Notes upon the Bible, and make up so many of the *Psalms* in *English Meeter* as had been left unfinished by *Sternhold* and *Hopkins*, hastned as fast homewards as the others. But notwithstanding all their haste, they came not time enough to effect their purposes, either in reference to the Liturgy or Episcopal Government, on which the Queen had so resolved according to her own most excellent judgement, that they were not able to prevail in either project. It grieved them at the heart that their own Prayers might not be made the rule of Worship in their Congregations, and that they might not Lord it here in their several Parishes, as *Calvin* did in the Presbytery of the Church of *Geneva*. Some friends they had about the Queen, and *Calvin* was resolved to make use of all his power and credit both with her and *Cecil* (as appears by his Letters unto both) to advance their ends; and he was seconded therein by *Peter Martyr*, who thought his interest in *England* to be greater than *Calvin*'s, though his name was not so eminent in other places. But the Queen had fixed her self on her resolution of keeping the Church in such outward splendor, as might make it every way considerable in the eye of the world; so that they must have faith enough to remove a mountain, before they could have hope enough to draw her to them. When therefore they saw the Liturgy imposed by Act of Parliament, and so many Episcopal Sees supplyed with able Pastors, nothing seemed more expedient to them than to revive the quarrels raised in King *Edward*'s time against Copes and Surplices, and such particulars as had then been questioned in the publick Liturgy; And herein they were seconded (as before in King *Edward*'s time) by the same *Peter Martyr*, as appears by his Letters to a name-

less

leſs friend, bearing date at *Zurick* on the 4th. of *November* 1560. to which he added his diſlike in another of his Letters to the ſame friend alſo, touching the ſame and other points propoſed unto him, that is to ſay, the Cap, the Epiſcopal Habit, the Patrimony of the *Church*, the manner of proceeding to be held againſt Papiſts, the Perambulation uſed in the Rogation weeks, with many other points of the like condition, in which his judgment was deſired. *An. Reg. Eliz. 2. 1560.*

But theſe helps being too far off, and not to be conſulted with upon all inconveniencies, without a greater loſs of time than could conſiſt with the impatiency of their deſires, they fell upon another project, which promiſed them more hopes of ſetting up their Diſcipline, and decrying the Liturgy their quarrels about *Caps* and Veſtments. Some friends they had about the *Court*, as before was ſaid, and *Gryndal* the new Biſhop of *London* was known to have a great reſpect to the name of *Calvin*, the buſineſs thereof is ſo ordered, that by *Calvins* Letters unto *Gryndal*, and the friends they had about the Queen, way ſhould be given to ſuch of the *French* Nation, as had repaired hither to enjoy the freedom of their own Religion, to have a *Church* unto themſelves, and in that *Church* not only to erect the *Genevian* diſcipline, but to ſet up a form of Prayer, which ſhould hold no conformity with the Engliſh Liturgy. They could not but remember thoſe many advantages which *John Alaſco* and his *Church* of ſtrangers afforded to the *Zuinglian* Goſpellers in the Reigne of King *Edward*, and they deſpaired not of the like, nor of greater neither, if a *French Church* were ſetled upon *Calvin's* Principles, in ſome part of *London*. A *Synagogue* had been built for the uſe of the *Jews*, *Anno* 1231. not far from the place in which now ſtands the Hall of the *Merchant-Taylors* near the Royal Exchange: But the Jews having removed themſelves to ſome other place, the *Chriſtians* obtained that it ſhould be dedicated to the bleſſed Virgin, and by that name was given unto the Brotherhood of *St. Anthony* of *Vienna* by King *Henry* the 3d. After which time, an Hoſpital was there founded by the name of *St. Anthony*, conſiſting of a Maſter, two Prieſts, one *School*-maſter, and 12 poor men; Inlarged in the ſucceeding times by the addition of a fair Grammer-*School*, and other publick Buildings for the uſe of the Brethren. It was privileged by King *Edward* the 4th, to have Prieſts *Clerks*, *Scholars*, poor men, and Brethren of the ſame, or Lay-men, Quiriſters, Proctors, Meſſengers, *Servants* in houſhold, and other things whatſoever, like unto the Prior and *Covent* of *St. Anthony* of *Vienna*, &c. and being ſo privileged, it was annexed to the *Collegiat Chappel* of *St. George* in *Windſor*, under whoſe Patronage it remained, but much impoveriſhed by the fraud and folly of one of its *School*-maſters, till the final diſſolution of it, amongſt other Hoſpitals and Brotherhoods by King *Edward* the ſixth; ſo that being veſted in the *Crown*, and of no preſent uſe to the *City*, it was no hard matter to obtain it for the uſe of the *French*, as it ſtill continueth.

And now again we have another Church in *London*, as different from the Church of *England* in Government and forms of Worſhip, and ſome Doctrinals alſo, as that of *John Alaſco* was in the *Auguſtine Friers*. Nor muſt we marvail if we find the like dangerous conſequents to enſue upon it; for what elſe is the ſetting up of a Presbytery in a *Church*, founded and eſtabliſhed by the Rules of Epiſcopacy, than the erecting of a Commonwealth or popular Eſtate in the midſt of a Monarchy? Which *Calvin* well enough perceived and thereupon gave *Gryndal* thanks for his favour in it of whom they after ſerved themſelves upon all occaſions. Upon the news of which ſucceſs, divers both *French* and *Dutch* repaired into *England*, planting themſelves in the Sea-towns, and openly profeſſing the Reformed Religion, under which covert, they diſguiſed their ſeveral Heterodoxies and blaſphemous Dotages, ſome of them proving to be *Anabaptiſts*, others infected with unſound opinions of as ill a nature, but all endeavouring to diſperſe their Heretical Doctrines, and by invenoming the good people amongſt whom they lived to encreaſe their

An. Reg. Eliz. 2. 1560.

Sects. Which being made known unto the Queen, she presently commands them all by her Proclamation to depart the Kingdome, whether they were Aliens or natural born English, and not to stay above the term of twenty days, upon pain of imprisonment, and forfeiture or loss of all their goods: Which Proclamation notwithstanding, too many of them lurked in *England* without fear of discovery, especially after the erecting of so many *French* and *Dutch* Churches in the Maritime parts, as at this time they did in *London*, infecting the *French* and *Dutch* Churches there with some of their frenzies, and occasioned such disputes amongst them upon that account, that *Peter Martyr* found it necessary to interpose his authority with them, to the composing of those Heats and differencies which had grown amongst them; for which consult his Letter bearing date at *Zurick* on the 15th. of *February*, next following after the date of the said Proclamation, and superscribed, *Unto the Church of Strangers in the City of London*,

Now for the date of the said Proclamation, it seemeth to have been about the 19th. of *September*, at which time it pleased the Queen to set forth another, no lesse conducing to the honour, than did the other to the preservation of the Churches purity. She had given command by her Injunctions in the year foregoing, "For destroying and taking away all Shrines, and coverings of "Shrines, all Tables, Candlesticks, *Trindals*, and Rolls of Wax, together "with all Pictures, Paintings, and other monuments of feigned Miracles, Pil-"grimages, Idolatry and Superstition, so that there remain no memory of the "same in walls, glasse-windows, or else-where, whether it were in Churches "or mens private houses. But some perverting rather than mistaking her intention in it, guided by covetousnesse, or over-ruled by some new fangle in Religion, under colour of conforming to this command, defaced all such Images of Christ and his Apostles, all Paintings which presented any History of the holy Bible, as they found in any windows of their Churches or Chapels. They proceed also to the breaking down of all Coats of Arms, to the tearing off of all the Brasses on the Tombs and Monuments of the dead, in which the figures of themselves, their wives or children, their Ancestors, or their Arms, had been reserved to posterity. And being given to understand, that Bells had been baptized in the times of Popery, and that even the Churches themselves had been abused to Superstition and Idolatry, their zeal transported them in fine to sell their Bells, to turn the Steeples into Dove-coats, and to rob the Churches of those sheets of Lead with which they were covered. For the restraining of which Sacriledge and prophane abuses, she gave command in her said Proclamation of the 19th. of *September*, "That all manner of men should "from thenceforth forbear the breaking or defacing of any parcell of any Mo-"nument, or Tomb, or Grave, or other inscription and Memory of any per-"son deceased, being in any manner of place; Or to break any Image of Kings, "Princes, or Nobles, Estates of this Realm, or of any other that have been in "times past erected and set up for the only memory of them to their posteri-"ty, in common Churches, and not for any Religious honor; Or to break "down or deface any Image in glasse-windows in any Church, without the con-"sent of the Ordinary, upon pain of being committed to the next Goal with-"out Bail or Mainprize, and there to remain till the next comming of the Justi-"ces for Goal-delivery, and then to be further punished by Fine or Imprison-"ment (besides the restitution or re-edification of the thing broken) as to the "said Justices shall seem meet, and if need shall be, to use the advice of her Ma-"jesties Council in her Star-Chamber.

It was also signified in the said Proclamation, "That some Patrons of "Churches and others, who were possessed of Impropriations, had prevailed "with the Parson and Parishioners, to take or throw down the Bells of "Churches or Chappels, and the Lead of the same, and convert the same "to their private gain, by which ensued not onely the spoil of the said "Churches, but even a slanderous desolation of the places of Prayer. And

"there-

"thereupon it was commanded, that no manner of person should from thence- *Ann. Reg. Eliz. 1.*
"forth take away any Bells or Lead off any Church or Chapel, under pain of
"Imprisonment during her Majesties pleasure, and such further Fine for the
"contempt as shall be thought meet; With a charge given to all Bishops and
"other Ordinaries, to enquire of all such contempts done from the beginning
"of her Majesties Reign, and to enjoyn the persons offending to repair the
"same within a convenient time, and of their doing therein to certifie the
"Privy Council, or the Council in the Star-chamber, that order may be taken
"therein. And in pursute of this most seasonable and religious Act, she did
not only sign the said Proclamation, one for all, to authorise it for the Press, as
the custom is, but signed them every one apart (amounting to a very great num-
ber) with her own Royal Hand, that so it might be known rather for her own
proper act than an act of the council. 1559

With like care also she provided for the honour and prosperity of her estate, in affairs Politick and Civil. The monies of the Realm had been much debased by King *Henry* 8th. to the great disprofit of the Merchant, and reproach of the Kingdom, for which, no remedy had been taken by her Brother or Sister, though they had better opportunities, and more advantages to go thorow with it. But this brave Queen, endeavouring nothing more than the restoring of her Kingdom to its ancient splendor, first caused all such base monies as were coined by any of her Predecessors, to be decryed to a less value, according to the fineness or alloy thereof; and that being done, by vertue of her Proclamation bearing date the 28th. of *September*, she caused all the said base monies, so reduced to a lower value, to be brought in to her Majesties Mint, for which she gave them mony of the purest silver, (such as passed commonly by the name of *Easterling* or *Sterling* mony) since which time, no base mony hath been coyned in *England*, but onely of pure Gold and Silver, to pass for current in the same; save that of late times, in relation to the necessity of poor people, a permission hath been given to the coyning of Farthings, which no man can be forced to accept in satisfaction of a Rent or Debt; which as it could not be affirmed of *England* in the times preceding, so neither can it now be said of any State or Nation in the Christian world, in all which there are several sorts of copper money, as current with them for publick uses, as the purest metal. She provided also in like manner for her peoples safety, and the encrease of Trade and Merchandise in English Bottoms; For towards the end of this second year, she made great preparation of Ordinance, Arms, Munition, and Powder of her own materials, to be in a readiness to defend her Realm in all emergencies of danger; For the advancing of which service it so pleased the divine Providence which watched over her actions, that a rich Mine of Brass was found near *Keswick* in *Cumberland*, such as sufficed not onely for furnishing her own Forts and Ships with all manner of Ordinance, but for supplying other Countryes as their wants required. And to compleat so great a mercy in her preservation, the Stone called *Lapis Calamniaris*, exceeding necessary for all Brass-works, was at the same time also found in *England* in most plentiful manner. And whereas complaint was made unto her by the Marchants of the *Hans-towns*, or Merchants of the *Stilyard*, as then commonly called, that King *Edward* had first seized their Liberties, and that afterwards Queen *Mary* had raised their Customs upon all sorts of Merchandises from one to twenty in the Hundred, her Answer was, That as she was resolved not to Innovate any thing, so she could grant no other priviledges and immunities to them than those in which she found them when she came to the Crown. Their Trading hereupon being intermitted, the English Merchants took the managing of it upon themselves, and thrived therein so well after some adventures, that Cloth, and other Manufactures, heretofore transported in the ships of those Merchants, were from henceforth fraughted and dispersed in English Vessels; By means whereof, the English in a very short time attained unto the reputation

An. Reg. Eliz. 2. 1560.

of being the wealthieſt Merchants, the moſt expert Mariners, and the ableſt Commanders for Sea-fights of any Nation in the world.

I ſhall conclude this year with a work of piety in the foundation of the Collegiat Church of St. *Peter* in *Weſtminſter*, which in the ſpace of twenty years had been changed from an Abbey to a Deanry, from a Deanry to a See Epiſcopal, reduced unto a Deanry again, and finally reſtored to the ſtate of an Abbey. But the Abbey being diſſolved in the foregoing Parliament, an offer was made to *Feckenam* and the reſt of the Convent (if *Sanders* be to be believed in this particular) for continuing in their places and poſſeſſions as before they did, clogged with no other conditions than the taking of the Oath of *Supremacy*, and officiating all divine Offices by the Engliſh Liturgy. But this offer being by them rejected, the Act of diſſolution paſſed in both Houſes of Parliament; concerning which there goes a ſtory, that the Lord Abbot being then buſied in planting ſome young Elms in the Deans yard there, one that came by, adviſed him to deſiſt from his purpoſe, telling him, that the Bill was juſt then paſſed for diſſolving his Monaſtery. To which the good old man replied, that he reſolved howſoever to go on with his work, being well aſſured, that that Church would be always kept for an encouragement and ſeat of Learning. And ſo it proved in the event; for the Queen having pleaſed her ſelf in the choice of ſome of the beſt Lands which remained unto it, confirmed the reſt upon that Church, which ſhe cauſed to be called the *Collegiat Church of St. Peter in Weſtminſter*, as appears by her Letters Patents bearing date in the ſecond year of her moſt gracious and moſt proſperous Reign. A Foundation of a large capacity, and as amply privileged, conſiſting of a Dean, and twelve ſecular Canons, two Schoolmaſters, and forty Scholars, petit Canons and others of the Quire to the number of thirty, ten Officers belonging to the Church, and as many ſervants appertaining to the Colledge diet, and twelve Alms-men, beſides many Officers, Stewards, Receivers, and Collectors for keeping Courts, and bringing in of their Revenue: the principal of which called the High Steward of *Weſtminſter*, hath ever ſince been one of the prime Nobility, and in great favour at the Court. The Dean entruſted with keeping the *Regalia*, honoured with a place of neceſſary ſervice at all Coronations, and a Commiſſioner for the Peace within the City of *Weſtminſter* and the Liberties of it by Act of Parliament. The Dean and Chapter veſted with all manner of juriſdiction both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, not only within the City and liberties of *Weſtminſter*, but within the precinct of St. *Martins le grand*, and ſome Towns of *Eſſex*, exempted in the one from the Biſhop of *London*, and in the other from the power of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. The Scholars annually preferred by election, either to *Chriſt Church* in *Oxon*, or *Trinity College* in *Cambridge*, each Colledge being bound by an Indenture made with Queen *Elizabeth*, to take off yearly two or three at the leaſt (though ſince, that number is extended to four or five) to be preferred to Scholarſhip and Fellowſhips in their ſeveral Houſes. A Colledge founded as it proved in ſuch a happy conjuncture, that ſince this new foundation of it, it hath given breeding and preferment to four Archbiſhops, two Lord Chancellors, or Lord Keepers of the Great Seal of *England*, twenty two Biſhops, and thirteen Deans of Cathedral Churches, beſides Archdeacons and Prebendaries, and other dignitaries in the Church to a proportionable number; which is more than can be ſaid of either of the two famous Colledges of *Æton* and *Wincheſter*, or of both together, though the one was founded 168, and the other 114 years before it.

An.

An. Reg. Eliz. 3 1560.

Anno Reg. Eliz. 3. *A. D.* 1560, 1561.

WE ſhall begin this third year of the Queen with the death of *Francis* the ſecond, King of the *French*, who deceaſed on the 5th. day of *December*, when he had ſcarce lived to the end of his 17th year, and had Reigned but one year and five moneths, or thereabouts. His death much altered both the counſels and affairs of Chriſtendom, diſtracting the *French* Nation into ſchiſms and factions, incouraging the *Scots* to proceed with confidence in their Reformation, and promiſing no ſmall ſecurity to Queen *Elizabeth*, in regard of the pretenſions of the Queen of *Scots*. But ſo little was her condition bettered by it, that ſhe ſeemed to be in more danger by the acts of her enemies after his deceaſe, than formerly in the time of his life and government. *Francis* of *Guiſe*, a man of great abilities for Camp and Counſel, had made himſelf a very ſtrong party in the Court of *France*, which he intended to make uſe of for the Queen of *Scots*, whoſe Mother, the late Queen Regent of *Scotland*, was his only ſiſter. And this he might the better do by reaſon of a diviſion in the Court of *France* about the government of the Kingdom, during the minority of *Charls* the 9th. the ſecond brother, and next heir to the King deceaſed. *Katherine de Medices* the Relict of *Henry* the 2d. and the Mother of *Charles*, layes claim to the Regency, for who could have a greater care either of the Young Kings perſon or eſtate, than his natural Mother? But againſt her, as being a meere ſtranger to the Nation and affairs of *France*, *Anthony* of *Burbon*, Duke of *Vendoſme* by deſcent, and King of *Navarr*, at the leaſt in Title, in the Right of *Joan d' Albret* his wife, the ſole Heir of that Crown, layes his claim unto it, as being the firſt Prince of the blood, and therefore fitter to be truſted with the Regency by the rules of that government. The *Guiſian* faction joyn themſelves to that of the Queen, of whom they better know how to make advantage than they could of the other, and to that end endeavour by all ſubtil artifices, to inveſt her in it.

To this end they inſinuate themſelves into the Duke, perſwade him either to relinquiſh his demands of the Regency, or to aſſociate himſelf with the Queen-Mother in the publick government; and to joyn counſels with the Catholick party for ſuppreſſing the *Hugonots*. Which that they might allure him to, or at leaſt take him off from his firſt perſute, they offered to procure a Divorce from his preſent wife, and that inſtead of holding the Kingdom of *Navarr* in Right of his wife, he ſhould hold it in his own perſonal capacity by a grant from the Pope, his wife being firſt deprived of it by his Holineſs as ſuſpected of *Lutheraniſm*; that being divorced from his wife, he ſhould marry *Mary* Queen of the *Scots*, with whom he ſhould not only have the Kingdom of *Scotland*, but of *England* alſo, of which *Elizabeth* was to be deprived on the ſame account; that for the recovery of that Kingdom, he ſhould not onely have the Popes authority, and the power of *France*, but alſo the forces of the King of *Spain*; and finally, that the Catholick King did ſo much ſtudy his contentment, that if he would relinquiſh his pretenſions to the Crown of *Navarr*, he ſhould be gratified by him with the ſoveraignty and actual poſſeſſion of the Iſle of *Sardinia* of which he ſhould receive the Crown with all due ſolemnities. By which temptations when they had render'd him ſuſpected to the Proteſtant party, and thereby ſetled the Queen-Mother in that place and power, which ſo induſtriouſly ſhe aſpired to, they laid him by as to the Title, permitting him to live by the air of hope for the ſhort time of his life, which ended on the 17th. of *November*, *Anno* 1562. And ſo much of the game was plaid in earneſt, that the Duke of *Guiſe* did mainly labour with the Pope, to fulminate his Excommunications againſt *Elizabeth*, as one that had renounced his authority, apoſtated from the Catholick Religion, and utterly exterminated the profeſſion of it out of her Dominions.

But

An. Reg. Eliz. 1. 1559.

But the Duke sped no better in this negotiation, than the Count of *Feria* did before. The Pope had still retained some hope of regaining *England* and meant to leave no way unpractised by which he might obtain the point he aimed at. When first the See was vacant by the death of Pope *Paul* the 4th. the Cardinals assembled in the *Conclave* bound themselves by oath, that for the better setling of the broken and distracted estate of Christendome, the Council formerly held at *Trent*, should be returned withall convenient speed that might be. Which being too fresh in memory to be forgotten, and of too great importance to be laid aside, the new Pope had no sooner setled his affairs in *Rome*, which had been much disordered by the harshness and temerity of his predecessor, but he resolved to put the same in execution. For this cause he consults with some of the more moderate and judicious Cardinals, and by his resolution and dexterity, surmounts all difficulties which shewed themselves in the design; and he resolved not only to call the Council, but that it should be held in *Trent*, to which it had been formerly called by Pope *Paul* the 3d. 1545. that it should rather be a continuance of the former Council which had been interrupted by the prosecution of the wars in *Germany* than the beginning of a new; and that he would invite unto it all Christian Princes, his dear daughter Queen *Elizabeth* of *England* amongst the rest. And on these terms he stood when he was importuned by the Ministers of the Duke of *Guise* to proceed against her to a sentence of Excommunication, and thereby to expose her Kingdoms to the next Invader. But the Pope was constantly resolved on his first intention of treating with her after a fair and amicable manner, professing a readiness to comply with her in all reciprocal offices of respect and friendship, and consequently inviting her amongst other Princes to the following Council; to which if she should please to send her Bishops, or be present in the same by her Ambassadors, he doubted not of giving them such satisfaction, as might set him in a fair way to obtain his ends.

Leaving the Pope in this good humour, we shall go for *England*, where we shall find the Prelates at the same imployment in which we left them the last year, that is to say, with setting forth the Consecrations of such new Bishops as served to fill up all the rest of the vacant Sees. The first of which was *Robert Horn*, Dr. in Divinity, once Dean of *Durham*, but better known by holding up the English Liturgy, and such a form of Discipline as the times would bear, against the schismaticks of *Frankfort*, preferred unto the See of *Winchester*, and consecrated Bishop in due form of Law, on the 16th. of *February*. Of which we shall speak more hereafter on another occasion. On which day also Mr. *Edmond Scambler*, Batchelor of Divinity, and one of the Prebendaries of the new Collegiate Church of St. *Peter* in *Westminster*, was consecrated Bishop of the Church of *Peterborough*. During the vacancy whereof, and in the time of his incumbency, Sir *William Cecil* principal Secretary of Estate, possess'd himself of the best Mannors in the *Soake* which belonged unto it; and for his readiness to confirm the same Mannors to him, preferred him to the See of *Norwich*, *Anno* 1584. Next followes the translation of Dr. *Thomas Young* Bishop of Saint *Davids*, to the See of *York*, which was done upon the 25th. of *February* in an unlucky hour to that City, as it also proved: For scarce was he setled in that See, when he pulled down the goodly Hall, and the greatest part of the Episcopal Palace in the City of *York*, which had been built with so much care and cost, by *Thomas* the elder, one of his predecessors there, in the year of our Lord 1090. Whether it were for covetousness to make money of the materials of it, or out of sordidness to avoid the charge of Hospitality in that populous City, Let them guess that will. Succeeded in the See of St. *David's*, by *Davis* Bishop of St. *Asaph*, translated thither the 21 of *May*, 1561. as he was by another of the same name, Dr. *Thomas Davis*, within few moneths after.

The Province of *York* being thus fitted with a new Archbishop, it was not long before the consecration of Dr. *James Pilkinton* to the See of *Durham*, which

which was performed by the hands of his own Metropolitan on the ſecond of *March*, at whoſe firſt comming to that See, he found it clogged with an annual penſion of an hundred pound, to be paid into her Majeſties Exchequer yearly, toward the maintenance of the Gariſon in the Town of *Barwick*, firſt laid upon this Biſhoprick, when that Town ſeemed to be in danger of ſuch *French* forces as had been brought into that Kingdome, or otherwiſe might fear ſome practice of the Popiſh party, for the advancing of the intereſſe of the Queen of *Scots*. The Biſhops Tenants were protected in their corn and cattell by the power of this Gariſon, and conſequently the more inabled to make juſt payment of their rents; and it was thought to be no reaſon that the Queen ſhould be at the ſole charge of protecting his Tenants, and he enjoy the whole benefit of it without any diſburſement. But this was only a pretence for raiſing ſome revenue to the Crown out of that rich patrimony; the penſion being ſtill charged upon it, though the Gariſon was removed in the firſt of King *James*. On the ſame day, that is to ſay the ſecond of *March*, Dr. *John Beſt* was conſecrated Biſhop of *Carliſle*, after the See had been refuſed by *Bernard Gilpbin*, Parſon of *Houghton* in the Spring, betwixt *Durham* and *Newcaſtle*. The offer made him with relation to his brother *George*, a man much uſed in many imployments for the State; but on what ground declined by him, is not well aſſured. Whether it were that he was more in love with the retirements of a private life, or that he could not have the bird, without he yielded to the ſtripping of it of the moſt part of it's feathers (as it came to *Beſt*) may be ſooner queſtioned than reſolved. And finally on the 4th. of *May* comes in the conſecration of Mr. *William Downham* (the Queens Chaplain, when ſhe was but Princeſſe, and afterwards made one of the Prebendaries of St. *Peter's* in *Weſtminſter*) to the See of *Cheſter*, by this preferment recompenſed for his former ſervices. By which laſt care the vacant Sees were all ſupplyed with learned Paſtors, except *Oxon*, *Gloceſter* and *Briſtol*. Of which we ſhall ſpeak more in the following year. *An. Reg. Eliz.* 3. 1560.

But neither this diligence and care in filling all the vacant Sees with learned Paſtors, nor the Queens Proclamation for baniſhing all Anabaptiſts and other Sectaries which had reſorted hither out of other Countries, could either free the land from thoſe dangerous inmates, or preſerve the Church from the contagion of their poyſonous doctrines. Too many of thoſe Fanatical ſpirits ſtill remained behind, ſcattering their tares, and diſperſing their blaſphemous follies amongſt ſimple people. In which number they prevailed ſo far upon *More* and *Geofrys*, that the firſt profeſs'd himſelf to be Chriſt, the laſt believed him to be ſuch, and did ſo report him. Continuing obſtinate in this frenzy, *Geofrys* was committed priſoner to the *Marſhalſea* in the Burrough of *Southwark*, and *More* to the houſe of mad men (commonly called *Bethlem*) without Biſhops Gate, in the City of *London*. Where having remained above a year, without ſhewing any ſign of their repentance, *Geofrys* was whipt on the 10th. of *April* from the ſaid *Marſhalſea* to *Bethlem* with a paper bound about his head, which ſignified that this was *William Geofrys*, a moſt blaſphemous Heretick, who denyed Chriſt to be in Heaven. At *Bethlem* he was whipt again in the preſence of *More*, till the laſh had extorted a confeſſion of his damnable error. After which *More* was ſtript and whipt in the open ſtreets till he had made the like acknowledgement, confeſſing Chriſt to be in Heaven, and himſelf to be a vile, miſerable, and ſinful man. Which being done, they were again remitted to their ſeveral priſons for their further cure. At which the Papiſts made good game and charged it on the ſcore of the Reformation, as if the Principles thereof did naturally lead them to thoſe dreams and dotages. Whereas they could not chuſe but know, that Chriſt our Saviour propheſied of the following times, that ſome ſhould ſay *loe here is Chriſt*, and others would ſay *loe there is Chriſt*; that *Simon Magus* even in the daves of the Apoſtles, aſſumed unto himſelf the glorious Title of *the great power of God*; that *Menander* in the age next following, did boldly arrogate to himſelf the name of Chriſt; and finally that *Montanus* when

An. Reg. Eliz. 3. 1561.

when the Church was ſtored with Learned and Religious Prelates, would needs be taken and accounted for the holy Ghoſt. Or if they think the Reformation might pretend unto more perfection than the Primitive times, they ſhould have looked no farther back than to King *Henry* the 3d. in whoſe Reign the Popes authority in *England* was at the higheſt; and yet neither the Pope by his authority, nor by the diligence of his Preachers and other Miniſters, could ſo ſecure the Church from *Mores* and *Geoffrys*, but that two men roſe up at that very time, both which affirmed themſelves to be *Jeſus Chriſt*, and were both hanged for it. And as *Montanus* could not go abroad without his *Maximilla* and *Priſcillia* to diſperſe his dotages, ſo theſe impoſtors alſo had their female followers, of which the one affirmed her ſelf to be *Mary Magdalen*, and the other that ſhe was the Virgin *Mary*. So that the Reformation is to be excuſed from being acceſſary in the leaſt degree to theſe mens hereſies, or elſe the Apoſtolical Age, and the Primitive times, yea and the Church of *Rome* it ſelf (which they prize much more) muſt needs come under the neceſſity of the like condemnation.

Nor did the *Zuinglian Goſpellers*, or thoſe of the *Genevian* party, rejoyce much leſs at a moſt lamentable accident which hapned to the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul* on the fourth of *June*, on which day, about four or five of the clock in the afternoon, a fearful fire firſt ſhewed it ſelf near the top of the Steeple, and from thence burnt down the Spire to the ſtone-work, and Bells, and raged ſo terribly, that within the ſpace of four houres the Timber and Lead of the whole Church, and whatſoever elſe was combuſtible in it, was miſerably conſumed and burnt, to the great terror and amazement of all beholders; Which Church, the largeſt in the Chriſtian world for all dimenſions, contains in length 720 foot, or 240 Taylors yards, in breadth 130 foot, and in heighth from the pavement to the top of the roof 150 foot. The Steeple from the ground to the croſs or Weather-cock contained in height 520 foot, of which the ſquare Tower only amounted to 260, the Pyramid or Spire to as many more. Which Spire being raiſed of maſſie Timber, and covered over with ſheets of Lead, as it was the more apt to be inflamed, ſo was the miſchief more incapable of a preſent remedy. The terror being over, moſt men began to caſt about for the firſt occaſion of ſuch a miſerable misfortune; the generality of the *Zuinglian* or *Genevian* party affirmed it for a juſt judgment of God upon an old idolatrous Fabrick, not throughly reformed and purged from its Superſtitions, and would have been content that all other Cathredrals in the Kingdom had been ſo deſtroyed. The Papiſts on the other ſide aſcribe it to ſome practice of the *Zuinglian* faction, out of their hatred unto all ſolemnity and decency in the ſervice of God, performed more punctually in that Church, for examples ſake, than in any other of the Kingdom. But generally it was aſcribed by the common people to a flaſh of lightning, or ſome ſuch ſuddain fire from heaven, though neither any lightning had been ſeen, or any clap of thunder had been heard that day. Which fiction notwithſtanding got ſuch credit amongſt the vulgar, and amongſt wiſer perſons too, that the burning of St. *Pauls* Steeple by lightning was reckoned amongſt the ordinary *Epoches* or accounts of time in our common Almanacks; and ſo it ſtood till within theſe thirty years now laſt paſt, when an old *Plumber* at his death confeſſed that woful accident to have hapned through his negligence only, in leaving careleſly a pan of coals and other fewel in the Steeple when he went to dinner, which catching hold of the dry timber in the Spire before his return, was grown ſo dangerous, that it was not poſſible to be quenched, and therefore to no purpoſe (as he conceived) to make any words of it. Since which diſcovery, that ridiculous Epoche hath no more been heard of.

But the Queen quickly hearing what a great misfortune had befallen the City, regarded not the various reports of either party, but bent her thoughts upon the ſpeedy reparation of thoſe fearful ruines; And knowing right well (without the help of an Informer) that the Patrimony of that Church had been

been ſo waſted in theſe latter times, that neither the Biſhop, nor the Dean and Chapter were able to contribute any thing proportionable to ſo vaſt a charge She directed her Letters to the Lord Mayor and City of *London* to take care therein, as moſt concerned in the preſervation of their Mother-Church, and in the honor of their City. In obedience to whoſe Royal pleaſure, the Citizens granted a Benevolence and three fifteens to be ſpeedily paid, beſides the extraordinary bounty of particular perſons, or was to be iſſued from the chamber. And that they might proceed therein with the greater zeal, the Queen ſent in a thouſand Marks in ready money, and warrants for one thouſand load of timber to be ſerved out of her Majeſties woods. Incouraged by which brave example, the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* contributed towards the furtherance of the work, the fortieth part of their Benefices which ſtood charged with firſt fruits, and the thirtieth part of thoſe which had paid the ſame. The Clergy of the Dioceſs of *London* beſtowing the thirtieth part of ſuch of their Livings as were under the burthen of that payment, and the twentieth part of thoſe which were not. To which the Biſhop added at ſeveral times the ſum of 900l. 1s. 11d.) the Dean and Chapter 1361. 13s. 4d. By which and ſome other little helps (the benevolence, the three fifteens, and the contributions of the Biſhop and Clergy, with the aid aforeſaid, amounting to no more than 6702l. 13s. 4d.) the work was carried on ſo faſt, that before the end of *April*, 1566. the timber work of the roof was not only fitted, but compleatly covered. The raiſing of a new ſpire was taken alſo into conſideration, but conceived unneceſſary; but whether becauſe it was too chargeable, or that ſome feared it might prove a temptation, is not yet determined. *An. Reg. Eliz. 3.* 1561.

And now the ſeaſon of the year invites the Popes *Nuncio* into *England*, advanced already in his way as far as *Flanders*, and there expecting the Queens pleaſure touching his admittance; For the Pope always conſtant to his reſolutions, could not be taken off from ſending his *Nuncio* to the Queen, with whom he conceived himſelf to ſtand upon tearms of amity. It had been much labored by the *Guiſiards* and *Spaniſh* faction to divert him from it, by telling him that it would be an undervaluing of his power and perſon, to ſend a *Nuncio* into *England*, or to any other Princes of the ſame perſwaſions, who openly profeſſed a ſeparation from the See of *Rome*. To which he made this prudent and pious anſwer, That he would humble himſelf even to Hereſie it ſelf; in regard that whatſoever was done to gain ſouls to Chriſt, did beſeem that See. And to this reſolution he adher'd the rather, becauſe he had been told and aſſured by *Karn* the old Engliſh Agent, that his *Nuncio* would be received by one half of the Kingdom with the Queens conſent. But as it proved, they reckoned both without their Hoſt and Hoſteſs too, who deſired not to give entertainment unto ſuch gueſts. For having deſigned the Abbot *Martinengo* to this imployment, and the Abbot being advanced as far as *Flanders*, as before was ſaid, he there received the Queens command not to croſs the ſeas. Upon advertiſement whereof, as well the King of *Spain* himſelf, as *Ferdinand* of *Toledo* Duke of *Alva* (the moſt powerful Miniſter of that King) did earneſtly intreat that he might be heard; commending the cauſe of his Legation, as viſibly conducing to the union of all the Chriſtian Church in a general Council. But the Queen perſevered in her firſt intent, affirming ſhe could not treat with the Biſhop of *Rome*, whoſe authority was excluded out of *England* by conſent of Parliament. Nor had the Popes *Nuncio* in *France* any better fortune in treating with *Throgmorton* the Engliſh Agent in that Court, to advance the buſineſs; who though he did ſolicit by his Letters both the Queen and the Council, to give ſome ſatisfaction in that point to the *French* and *Spaniards*, (though not unto the Pope himſelf) could get no other anſwer from them, but the ſame denyal.

For ſo it was, that on the firſt noiſe of the *Nuncio*'s coming, the buſineſſe had been taken into conſideration at the Council Table, and ſtrongly pleaded

An. Reg. Eliz. 3. 1561.

on both sides, as mens judgements varied. By some it was alleged in favour of the *Nuncio's* coming, that Pope *Pius* was nothing of so rugged a nature, as his Predecessor; that he had made a fair address unto the Queen by his last years Letters; that his designs did most apparently tend to the peace of Christendom, that the admitting of the *Nuncio* was a matter which signified nothing, it being still left in her Majesties power, whether she would embrace or reject his Overtures; but that the refusing to admit him to a publick audience, was the most ready way to disoblige all Catholick Princes, with whom she stood at that time in terms of amity. On the other side it was alleged, that King *Henry* a most prudent Prince, had formerly protested against the calling of this council by Pope *Paul* the 3d. who did as much pretend to the peace of Christendom, as the Pope now being; that to admit a Minister of the Pope, in the quality or capacity of a *Nuncio*, inferred a tacit acknowledgement of that supremacy, whereof he had been deprived by Act of Parliament; that the Popes of *Rome* have alwayes raised great advantages by the smallest concessions, and therefore that it was most expedient for the good of the Kingdom, to keepe him alwaies at a distance; that Queen *Mary* in favour only unto *Pole*, refused to give admittance to Cardinal *Peitow*, though coming from the Pope in quality of a *Legate a Latere*; that a great part of the people were in discontentment with the change of Religion, and wanted nothing but such an opportunity to break out into action as the *Nuncio's* presence might afford them; and therefore that it concerned the Queen to be as zealous for Religion and the weal of her people, as her sister the late Queen *Mary* was in maintenance of Cardinal *Pole* and his private authority. And to say truth, the greatest obstacle in the way of the *Nuncio's* coming, was partly laid in it by the indiscretion of some Papists in *England*, and partly by the precipitancy of the Popes Ministers in *Ireland*. For so it was, that the only noise of the coming of a *Nuncio* from the Pope, had wrought in sundry evil-disposed persons such a courage and boldness, that they did not only break the Laws made against the Pope and his authority, with great audacity, but spread abroad false and slanderous reports, that the Queen was at the point to change her Religion, and alter the government of the Realm. Some also had adventured further, even to a practising with the Devil by conjurations, charms, and casting of Figures; to be informed in the length and continuance of her Majesties Reign. And on the other side, the Popes Legat being at the same time in *Ireland*, not only joyned himself to some desperate Traytors, who busied themselves in stirring up rebellion there, but for as much as in him was, had deprived her Majesty of all Right and Title to that Kingdom. Upon which grounds it was carried clearly by the Board against the *Nuncio*. Nor would they vary from the Vote upon the intercession of the *French*, the *Spaniard*, or (whose displeasure was more dangerous) of the Duke of *Savoy*.

Nothing discouraged with the repulse which had been given to the *French* and *Spaniard*, the Emperour *Ferdinand* must make tryal of his fortune also, not as they did, in favour of the *Nuncio's* coming, but in perswading her to return to the old Religion. To this end he exhorts her by his Letters in a friendly way, not to relinquish the Communion of so many Catholick Kings and Princes, and her own Ancestors into the bargain; not to prefer her single judgement, and the judgement of a few private persons, and those not the most learned neither, before the judgement and determination of the Church of Christ. That if she were resolved to persist in her own opinion, she should deal favourably with so many reverend and Religious Prelates as she kept in prison, and which she kept in prison for no other reason but for adhering unto that Religion which himself professed; and, finally he intreats most earnestly, that she would set apart some Churches to the use of the Catholicks, in which they might with freedome exercise their own Religion, according to the Rites and Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*. To which desires she made a full and sufficient answer, by satisfying him touching her merciful dealing with those

those Bishops, whom for their obstinacy and many other weightie reasons, she had deprived of their preferments in the Church. And to the rest she answered, That she had setled her Religion on so sure a bottome, that she could not easily be changed; that she doubted not but that she had many learned men in her Dominions, which were able to defend the doctrine by them taught, against all Opponents; and that for granting any Churches to the use of the Papists, it was a point so contrary to the policy and good Lawes of the Land, that she desired to be excused for not yielding to it. In which last she seemed to have an eye upon the Edict of the Emperour *Constantine*, touching the meetings of the *Marcionites*, *Novatians*, *Valentinians*, and other Hereticks of that age; In which it was enjoyned, that none of them should from thenceforth hold any assemblies, and that for the more certain conforming unto his Decree, those Churches or other houses whatsoever they were, in which they used to hold their Meetings, should be demolished to the ground, to the end that there might be no place in which such men as were devoted to their superstitious faction, might have the opportunity of assembling together. For which the Reader may consult *Eusebius* in the life of *Constantine*, *l.3.c.63*. But that it might appear both to him and others, that she was ready to shew all just favours, she laid a most severe command upon all her Officers, for the full payment of all such pensions, as had been granted unto all such Abbots, Monks and Friers, in the time of her father, as were not since preferred in the Church to cures or dignities. And this to be performed to the utmost farthing, on pain of her most high displeasure in neglect thereof. *An. Reg. Eliz. 3. 1561.*

It could not be but that the governing of her affairs with such an even and steady hand, though it occasioned admiration in some, must needs create both envy and displeasure in the hearts of other Christian Princes, from none of which she had a juster cause to fear some practice, than the King of *Spain*, or rather from the fierce and intemperate Spirit of the Duke of *Alva*, as appeared afterwards when he was made Lord Deputy, or Vice-Gerent of the Belgick Provinces. They had both shewed themselves offended, because their intercession in behalf of the *Nuncio* had found no better entertainment; and when great persons are displeased, it is no hard matter for them to revenge themselves, if they find their adversaries either weak or not well provided. But the Queen looked so well about her, as not to be taken tardy in either kind. For which end she augments her store of Arms and Ammunition, and all things necessary for the defence of her Kingdom; which course she had happily begun in the year foregoing. But holding it a safer maxim in the Schools of Polity, not to admit, than to endeavour by strong hand to expel an enemy, She entertains some fortunate thoughts of walling her Kingdom round about with a puissant Navy, for Merchants had already increased their shipping, by managing some part of that wealthy trade which formerly had been monopolized by the *Hanse* of *Easterlings*. And she resolves not to be wanting to her self in building ships of such a burthen, and so fit for service, as might inable her in short time, not only to protect her Merchants, but command the Ocean. Of which the *Spaniard* found good proof to his great loss, and almost to his total ruine, in the last 20 years of her glorious government. And knowing right well that mony was the sinew of war, she fell upon a prudent and present course to fill her coffers. Most of the monies in the Kingdom were of foreign coynage, brought hither for the most part by the Easterling and *Flemish* Merchants. These she called in by Proclamation, dated the 15th. of *November* (being but two dayes before the end of this 3d. year) commanding them to be brought to her Majesties Mint, there to be coyned, and take the stamp of her Royal authority, or otherwise not to pass for current within this Realm, which counsel took such good effect, that monies came flowing into the Mint, insomuch that there was weekly brought into the Tower of *London*, for the space of half a year together, 8000. 10000. 12000. 16000. 20000. 22000 l. of silver plate, and as much more in Pistols, and other gold of *Spanish* coins, which were great sums according to the stand-

An. Reg. Eliz. 3. 1561.

and of those early dayes, and therefore no small profit to be growing to her by the coynage of them.

The *Genevians* slept not all this while, but were as busily imployed in practising upon the Church, as were the *Romanists* in plotting against the Queen. Nothing would satisfie them, but the nakedness and simplicity of the *Zuinglian* Churches, the new fashions taken up at *Franckfort*, and the Presbyteries of *Geneva*. According to *the pattern which they saw in those mounts*, the Church of *England* is to be modell'd; nor would the Temple of *Jerusalem* have served their turn, if a new Altar fashioned by that which they found at *Damascus*, might not have been erected in it. And they drove on so fast upon it, that in some places they had taken down the steps where the Altar stood, and brought the Holy Table into the midst of the Church; in others they had laid aside the antient use of Godfathers and Godmothers in the administration of Baptism, and left the answering for the child to the charge of the father. The weekly Fasts, the time of Lent, and all other dayes of abstinence by the Church commanded, were looked upon as superstitious observations. No fast by them allowed of but occasional only, and then too of their own appointing. And the like course they took with the Festivals also, neglecting those which had been instituted by the Church, as humane inventions, not fit to be retained in a Church reformed. And finally, that they might wind in their outlandish Doctrines with such foreign usages, they had procured some of the inferiour Ordinaries to impose upon their several Parishes, certain new books of Sermons and Expositions of the holy Scripture, which neither were required by the Queens Injunctions, nor by Act of Parliament. Some abuses also were discovered in the Regular Clergy, who served in Churches of peculiar or exempt jurisdiction. Amongst whom it began to grow too ordinary, to marry all such as came unto them, without Baine or Licence, and many times not onely without the privity, but against the expres pleasure and command of their Parents. For which those Churches past by the name of *Lawless Churches* in the voice of the people.

For remedy whereof it was found necessary by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to have recourse unto the power which was given unto him by the Queens Commission, and by a clause or passage of the Act of Parliament *for the Uniformity of Common prayer and Service in the Church, &c.* As one of the Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical, he was authorized with the rest of his associates, according to the Statute made in that behalf, *To reform, redress, order, correct and amend all such Errours, Heresies, Schismes, abuses, offenses, contempts and enormities whatsoever*, as might from time to time arise in the Church of *England*, and did require *to be redressed and reformed to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of vertue, and conservation of the peace and unity of the Kingdom.*

And in the passage of the Act before remembred, it was especially provided, "That all such Ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers thereof, should "be retained and be in use, as were in the Church of *England* by authority of "Parliament, in the second year of the Reign of King *Edward* the 6th. untill "further Order should be therein taken by authority of the Queens Majesty, "with the advice of her Commissioners Appointed & Ordered under the Great "Seal of *England* for Causes Ecclesiastical, or of the Metropolitan of this "Realm. And also if there shall happen any contempt or irreverence to be "used in the Ceremonies or Rites of the Church, by the misusing of the Or-"ders of the said Book of Common Prayer; the Queens Majesty might by the "like advice of the said Commissioners or Metropolitan, Ordain or publish "such further Ceremonies or Rites, as should be most for the advance of Gods "glory, the edifying of his Church, and the due reverence of Christs holy My-"steries and Sacraments;

Fortified and assured by which double power, the Archbishop by the Queens consent, and the advice of some of the Bishops, Commissionated and instructed to the same intent, sets forth a certain book of Orders to be diligently observed

observed and executed by all and singular persons whom it might concern. In which it was provided. "That no Parson, Vicar or Curate of any exempt "Church, (commonly called *Lawless* Churches) should from thenceforth at- "tempt to conjoyn, by solemnization of Matrymony, any not being of his "or their Parish Church, without sufficient testimony of the Bains being "ask'd in the several Churches where they dwell, or otherwise were sufficiently "licensed. That there should be no other dayes observed for Holy dayes or "Fasting dayes, as of duty and commandment, but only such Holy dayes as "be expressed for Holy dayes in the Kalender lately set forth by the Queens "authority; and none other Fasting dayes to be so commanded, but as the "Lawes and Proclamations of the Queens Majesty should appoint; that it "should not be lawful to any Ordinary, to assign or enjoyn the Parishes to "buy any Books of Sermons or Expositions in any sort, than is already, or shall "be hereafter appointed by publick Authority; that neither the Curates, or "Parents of the children which are brought to Baptism, should answer for "them at the Font, but that the antient use of Godfathers and Godmothers "should be still retained; and finally, that in all such Churches in which the "steps to the Altar were not taken down, the said steps should remain as before "they did; that the Communion Table should be set in the said place "where the steps then were, or had formerly stood; and that the Table of Gods "Precepts should be fixed upon the wall over the said Communion Board, Which passage compared with that in the Advertisements, published in the year 1565. (of which more hereafter) make up this construction, that the Communion Table was to stand above the steps, and under the Commandments; and therefore all along the wall, on which the ten Commandments were appointed to be placed, which was directly where the Altar had stood before. Some other Innovations and disorders had been obtruded on the Church at the same time also by those of the *Genevian* faction; for the suppressing whereof, before they should prescribe to any Antiquity, the like course was taken. But what those Innovations and disorders were, will easily be seen by the perusal of the *Orders* themselves, which were then published in Print by the Queens command; as a judicious Apothecary is able to conjecture by the Doctors *Recept* at the distemper of the Patient, and the true quality of the disease.

An. Reg. Eliz. 3. 1561.

Nothing else memorable in this year of a publick nature, but the foundation of the *Marchant-Taylors* School in *London*, first founded by the Master, Warden and Assistants of the Company of *Marchant-Taylors*, whence it had the name, and by them founded for a seminary to St. *Johns* in *Oxon*, built and endowed at the sole costs and charges of one of their Livery. The School kept in a fair large house in the Parish of St. *Laurence Pountney*, heretofore called the Manor of *Roose*, belonging to the Dukes of *Buckingham*; towards the purchase and accommodating whereof to the present use, five hundred pounds was given by one *Richard Hills*, who had been once Master of the Company, and still lives in the charity of so good a work. The day of the foundation is affirmed by *Stow* to have been the 21 of *March*, and so may either fall in the year 1560. or 1561. according to the several computations which are now in use; but howsoever within the compass of this third year of the Queen. And it is probable, that it may be fixed by him upon that day, either because the purchase of the House doth bear date upon it, or because it was then first opened for a Grammar School. And of this kind, but of a far more private nature, was the foundation of another Grammar School in the Town of *Sandwich*, built at the charge of Sir *Roger Manwood*, and indowed with 40*l. per annum*, which was a very large allowance as the times then were.

An.

An. Reg. Eliz. 4. 1561.

Ann. Reg. Eliz. 4. *A. D.* 1561, 1562.

GReat preparations had been made in the former year in order to the holding and continuance of the Council of *Trent*, many *Italian* Bishops (which were to be maintained at the Popes charge) being sent before, and the Popes Legats hasting after, to be there in readiness when the Ambassadors and Prelates of forein Nations should give attendance on the same; After long expectation it begins at the last on the 18th. of *January*, the Legats having first obtained in a private Session, that nothing should be discussed in the Council but what should be first proposed by them; which in effect was to subvert the whole hopes of that Reformation, which was desired by many pious men amongst them. Which day being come, a Procession was made of the whole Clergy of the City, of the Divines & Prelates, (who besides the Cardinals were 112 that did were *Miters*) accompanied by their families, and by many country people armed, going from St. *Peters* Church to the Cathedral, where the Cardinal of *Mantua* sung the Mass of the holy Ghost, and *Gasparo del Fosso* Archbishop of *Rheggio* made the Sermon; his subject was the Authority of the Church, Primacy of the Pope, and Power of Councils; He said, That the Church had as much authority as the Word of God, that the Church hath changed the Sabbath ordained by God, into Sunday, and taken away Circumcision, formerly commanded by Divine Majesty, and that these precepts are changed, not by the preaching of Christ, but by the authority of the Church. Turning himself unto the Fathers, he exhorted them to labour constantly against the Protestants, being assured, that as the Holy Ghost could not erre, so neither could they be deceived. And having sung the *Hymn* of *Come holy Ghost*, the Secretary, who was Bishop of *Tilesie*, read the Bull of the Convocation, and the foresaid Archbishop propounded the Decree for opening the Council, saying, *Fathers, doth it please you that the general Council of* Trent *should be celebrated from this day, all suspension whatsoever being removed, to handle with due order that which shall seem fit to the Synod, the Legats and Presidents propasing, to remove the controversies of Religion, correct Manners, and reconcile the Peace of the Church?* To which they answered *Placet* with so full a vote, that there were found no more then four Bishops, and those four all *Spaniards*, who stumbled at the clause about discussing nothing in the time of that Council, but what the Legats should propose; so servile were the rest, in prostituting the Authority of the Council to the lust of the Pope.

In the first opening of the Council it was propounded by the Legates amongst other things, *Whether a safe conduct should be given unto those who were fallen into heresie, with a large promise of great and singular clemency, so that they would repent, and acknowledge the power of the Catholick Church.* In the discussing of which point, the Cardinal of *Mantua* was for the affirmative, being that it was a remedy used by all Princes, in Seditions or Rebellions, to pardon those whom they could not overcome, because by that means, those which were least faulty did retire, and the other did remain more weak. But as for the safe conduct, after it had been considered of and resolved at *Rome*, it was again disputed in the Council on the third of *March*, whether it was to be given by name to the *French*, *English*, and *Scots*, and some spake of the *Greeks* and other Nations of the East. It was presently seen, that these poor men, afflicted in servitude, could not without danger and assistance of mony think of counsels; and some said, that there being a division of the Protestants, it was good to let them alone, and not to name them, alleging the danger of moving ill humors in a body which was then quiet. To give a safe conduct to the English-men, which neither they nor any of them did require, would be a great indignity; they were content it should be given to the *Scots*, because their Queen would demand it, but so, as that the demand should first be made.

For

For *France* there was a doubt made, whether the Kings Council would take it ill or not, because it would be thought to be a declaration that that King had Rebels. Of *Germany* none would doubt, because it had been formerly granted unto them; and if it were granted to that Nation alone, it would seem that the others were abandoned. But at the last, all difficulties were resolved into this conclusion, that the safe conduct should be given unto those of *Germany* in the same words wherein it formerly had passed, *An.* 1552. & that the like conduct in the self-same words wherein it was given to the *Germans*, should be given to all of every Nation, Province, City and Place, where any thing was preached taught, and believed contrary to that which was believed in the Church of *Rome*. *An. Reg. Eliz.* 4. 1560.

But the Legats might have spared themselves the trouble of these considerations, the Protestant Bishops of *England* not being so forward to venture themselves into that Council on such weak assurance, considering how ill the safe conduct had been formerly kept to *John Hus* and *Ierom* of *Prague* at the Council of *Constance*; And as for those of the Papal party, though they might have a good will to be gadding thither, yet the Queen keep them safe enough from going abroad. So that there was no hopes for any English Bishops of either party to attend that service; The Queen had absolutely refused to admit the *Nuncio*, when he was sent on purpose to invite them to it. And some of the most learned of that sacred order had shown sufficient reasons in their printed *Manifest*, why no such service or attendance could be looked for from them. One *Scipio* a Gentleman of *Venice*, who formerly had some acquaintance with Bishop *Iewel* when he was a student in *Padua*, had heard of *Martiningo's* ill success in his Negotiation, which notwithstanding, he resolved to spend some eloquence in labouring to obtain that point by his private Letters, which the *Nuncio* could not gain as a publick Minister; And to this end he writes his Letters of expostulation to his old friend Mr. *Iewel*, preferred not long before to the See of *Salisbury*, in which he seemed to admire exceedingly that *England* should send no Ambassador, nor Message, or Letter, to excuse their Nations absence from the general Appearance of Christianity in that *Sacred Council*; In the next place, he highly extolled the antiquity and use of *General Councils*, as the onely means to decide controversies in Religion, and compose the distractions in the Church, concluding it a superlative sin for any to decline the authority of it: But this Letter did not long remain unanswered, that learned Prelate was not so unstudied in the nature of *Councils*, as not to know how little of a *General Council* could be found at *Trent*. And therefore he returns an Answer to the Proposition, so eloquently penned, and so elaborately digested that neither *Scipio* himself, nor any other of that party, durst reply upon him; the Answer to be found at large in the end of the history of this Council, translated into English by Sir *Nathaniel Brent*, late Warden of *Merton* College in *Oxon* &c. which though it were no other than the Answer of one single Prelate, and writ on a particular occasion to a private friend, yet since it speaks the sense of all the rest of the Bishops, and to justifie the result of the Council-Table on the debate about accepting or refusing the Popes invitation, it will not be amiss to present the sum and substance of it in a short Epitome.

In the first place he signifies to the said *Scipio*, that a great part of the world professing the name of Christ (as *Greeks*, *Armenians*, *Abissines*, &c. with all the Eastern Church) were neither sent to nor summoned to this Council. Secondly, That *England's* absence was not so great a wonder, seeing many other Kingdoms and Free states (as *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Scotland*, Princes of *Germany* add *Hanse-Towns*) were not represented in this Council by any of their Ambassadors. Thirdly, That this pretended Council was not called according to the antient custom of the Church, by the *Imperial Authority*, but by the *Papal Usurpation*. Fourthly, That *Trent* was a pretty place, not of sufficient receit for such multitudes as necessarily should repair to a *General Council*. Fifthly, That Pope *Pius* the 4th, by whose command the Council

was

An. Reg. Eliz. 4. 1561.

was re-assembled, purchased his place by the unjust practices of Simonie and Briberie, and managed it with murder and cruelty. Sixthly, That repairing to Councils was a free act, and none ought to be condemned of *Contumacy*, if it stood more with their conveniency to stay at home. Seventhly, That antiently it was accepted as a reasonable excuse of *holy Bishops*, absenting or withdrawing themselves from any Council, if they vehemently suspected ought would be acted therein prejudicial to the truth, lest their (though not *actual*) *included concurrence* might be interpreted a countenancing thereof. Eighthly, That our Bishops were imployed in feeding their Flocks, and governing their Churches, and could not be spared from their charge without prejudice to their consciences. Ninthly, That the Members of that Council of *Trent*, both Bishops and Abbots, were by Oath pregaged to the Pope, *To defend and maintain his authority against all the world.* And lastly, He desired to know in what capacity the English Clergy should appear in this Council, not as free persons to debate matters therein, in regard they had been pre-condemned as Hereticks by Pope *Julius* the 3d. nor as *offenders* to receive the sentence of condemnation, to which they had no reason to submit themselves.

Of these refusals and the reasons of them, neither the Pope at *Rome*, nor the Cardinal Legats in the Council could pretend to be ignorant, yet still the expectation of the coming of some English Bishops must be kept on foot, partly for the encouragement of such as were there already, and partly for the drawing on of others who came slowly forwards, and sometimes also it was used for an artifice to divert the Prelates when any business was in agitation which seemed dangerous to them. For so it hapned, that some of the Prelates being earnest in the point of Residence, none of the Legats could devise a better expedient to put off that Question, than to propose that some means should be used to set at liberty the English Bishops which were imprisoned by their Queen, that comming to the Council it might be said, that that noble Nation was present also, and not wholly alienated from the Church. This pleased all, but the common opinion was, that it might sooner be desired than hoped for: They concluded, That the Queen having refused to receive a *Nuncio* expresly sent from the Pope, it could not be hoped that she would hearken to the Council; therefore all they could do was, to perswade the Catholick Princes to mediate for them: And mediate though they did, as before was said, both for the admitting of the *Nuncio*, and the restoring of those Bishops to their former liberty, they were not able to prevail, especially as to the licensing of any of them to attend the Council; which if the Queen had yielded to, she must have armed so many of her enemies to disturb her peace, who questionless would have practised with the Ambassadors of all Princes, and with the Prelates of all Nations whom they found there present to work some notable alteration in the Government and affairs of *England*. Of all the Bishops which were left in *England* at the end of the Parliament, I find none but *Pates* of *Worcester* and *Goldnel* of St. *Asaph* who forsook the Kingdom, though possibly many of the rest might have done so also, if they had not either been well watched, or trusted upon their *Parol* to be forth coming (as the phrase is) upon all occasions. And though I find the name of *Pates* subscribed to some of the former Sessions, yet it is not to be found to this, the man being of a moderate and gentle spirit, and possibly not willing to engage himself in any Counsels which might prove detrimental to his native country; And as for *Goldnel*, though his zeal to poverty was strong enough to carry him beyond the Seas, yet it did not carry him so far as *Trent*, there being so many retiring places nearer home in which he might repose himself with more contentment.

But leaving the Fathers in *Trent* to expect the comming of the Holy Ghost in a cloak-bag from *Rome* according to the common scorn which was put upon them, we must prepare our selves for *England*, first taking in our way the affairs of *France*, which now began to take up a great part of the thoughts

thoughts of the Queen and her Councill. The Reformed Religion had made some entrance in that Kingdome, during the Reing of King *Francis* the first; exceedingly dispersed and propogated in most parts thereof, notwithstanding the frequent Martyrdoms of particular persons, the great and terrible Massacres of whole Townships, Commonalties, and Churches, even by hundreds and thousands in divers places of the Realm. To which encrease, the fickle nature of the *French*, the diligence of their Preachers, and the near neighbourhood of *Geneva*, were of great advantage; all which advantages were much improved by the authority of and reputation which *Calvin* carried in those Churches, and the contentment which the people took in a form of Government, wherein they were to have a share by the rules of their Discipline, and thereby draw the managery of affairs unto themselves. Being grown numerous in the City of *Tours*, and not permitted to enjoy the liberty of assembling within the walls, they held their meetings, at a village not far off, for their publick Devotions; the way to which leading through the gate of St. *Hugo* is thought to have occasioned the name of *Hugonots*, which others think to have been given them by reason of their frequent nightly meetings, resembled by the *French* to the walking of a Night-spirit which they called St. *Hugh*; but from what ground soever it came it grew in short time to be generally given as a by-name to those which professed the Reformed Religion, (whether in *France* or else-where) after *Calvins* platform. Their numbers not diminished by so many butcheries, gave them the reputation of a party both stout and active, which rendred them the subject of some jealousie to the *Roman Catholicks*, and specially to those of the House of *Guise*, who laboured nothing more than their extirpation. But this severity sorted to no other effect than to confirm them in their Doctrines, and attract many others to them, who disdained to see poor people drawn every day to the Stake to be burned, guilty of nothing but of zeal to worship God, and to save their own souls: To whom were joyned many others, who thinking the *Guisiards* to be the cause of all the disorders in the Kingdome, judged in a Heroick Act to deliver it from oppression, by taking the publick Administration out of their hands.

An. Reg. Eliz. 4. 1562.

But nothing more encreased their party than the accession of almost all the Princes of the Blood of the House of *Burbon*, the Chiefs whereof were the Duke of *Vendosme*, (who called himself King of *Navarr* in right of his Wife) the Princes of *Conde*, the Duke of *Mountpensier*, who finding themselves neglected by the Queen-Mother, and oppressed by the *Guisiards*, retired in no small discontentments from the Court, and being otherwise unable to make good their quarrels, offered themselves as Leaders of the *Hugonot-faction*, who very cheerfully submitted to their Rule and Conduct. The better to confirm their minds, they caused the Principal Lawyers of *Germany* and *France*, and the most famous Protestant Divines to publish in writing, that without violating the Majesty of the King, and the dignity of the Lawful Magistrate, they might oppose with Arms the violent Domination of the House of *Guise*, who did not only labour to suppresse the true Religion, and obstruct the free passage of Justice, but seemed to keep the King in prison. Having thus formed their Party in the minority of King *Francis* the second, their first design was, that a great multitude should appear before the King without Arms, to demand that the severity of the judgments might be mittigated, and liberty of conscience granted; intending that they should be followed by Gentlemen, who should make supplication against the Government of the *Guisiards*. But the purpose being made known to the Court, the King was removed from *Bloys* an open Town, to the strong Castle of *Amboise*, as if he could not otherwise be safe from some present Treason: After which followed a strict inquiry after all those who had a hand in the design, the punishment of some, and the flight of others, with the conclusion taken up by the *Guisian* faction, to settle the *Spanish Inquisition* in the Realm of *France*. pacifie the present troubles, an Edict is published by the King on the 18th. of *March* 1560. (in the *French*

An. Reg. Eliz. 4. 1562.

account) for the pardoning of all, who ſimply moved with the zeal of Religion, had ingaged in the ſuppoſed conſpiracy, upon condition that they diſarmed within 24 hours; and after that another Edict, by which a general pardon was indulged to all *Reformatiſts*, but ſo, that all aſſemblies under the colour of Religion were prohibited by it, and a charge laid upon the Biſhops to take unto themſelves the cogniſance of all cauſes of Hereſie in their ſeverall Dioceſſes. But this ſo little edified with thoſe of that party, that greater tumults were occaſioned by it, in *Provense*, *Languedock*, and *Poictou*. To which places the Miniſters of *Geneva* were called, who moſt willingly came. By whoſe ſermons the number of Proteſtants ſo increaſed in thoſe Provinces, and by their Agents in moſt others, that in this year 1562. they were diſtributed into two thouſand one hundred and fifty Churches, as apppeared upon a juſt computation of them.

But in the midſt of theſe improvements, the power and reputation of the ſide was ſhrewdly weakned by the falling off of *Anthony* Duke of *Vendoſme*, and King of *Navarr*, who did not only openly forſake the party, but afterwards joyned himſelf in counſel and deſign againſt it with the Duke of *Guiſe*. The foundring of ſo great a pillar, threatned a quick ruine to the Fabrick, if ſome other buttreſs were not found to ſupport the ſame. The warre was carried on from one place to another, but ſeemed to aim moſt at the reduction of *Normandy*, where the *Hugonots* had poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome Towns and Caſtles, by which they might be able to diſtreſſe the City of *Paris*, and thereby make a great impreſſion on the reſt of the Kingdom. It was thereupon adviſed by *Lewis* Prince of *Conde*, the Cardinal *Chaſtilion*, and other of the principal Leaders, that they ſhould put themſelves under the protection of the Queen of *England*, who had not long before ſo ſeaſonably relieved the *Scots* in the like diſtreſs. No better counſell being offered, nor any hope of ſuccour to be had elſewhere, the *Vidame* of *Chartreſſe*, Governour at that time of the Port of *Newhaven*, together with the Bayliff of *Rowen*, the Seneſhal of *Diep*, and others, made their addreſs unto the Queen in the name of the Prince of *Conde*, and of all the reſt of the Confederates, who profeſſed the Goſpell in that Kingdome; they profered to her the ſaid Towns whereof they had charge, if it would pleaſe her Majeſty to further their proceedings in defence of the Goſpel (as they called it.) And ſeemed to juſtifie their offer by a publick acknowledgement, that her Majeſty was not onely true inheritour to thoſe Towns, but alſo to the whole Kingdome of *France*. But neither their coming, nor their meſſage was unknown unto her, who had been ſecretly advertiſed of all paſſages there by Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, a viligant and dexterous man, who being her Majeſties Reſident in that Kingdom, had driven the bargain before hand, and made all things in readineſs againſt their coming. Nor was the Queen hard to be intreated to appear in that cauſe which ſeemed ſo much to her advantage. She was not ignorant of the pretenſions of the Queen of *Scots*, and the practices of her Uncles of the Houſe of *Guiſe* to advance her intereſs. Who if they ſhould poſſeſſe themſelves of all the ſtrengths in the Dukedome of *Normandy*, might from thence find an eaſie paſſage into *England*, when ſhe leaſt looked for them.

On theſe and other conſiderations of the like importance, it was agreed upon between them, that the Queen ſhould ſupply the Prince of *Conde* and his aſſociates, with a ſufficient quantity of money, corn, and ammunition, for the ſervice of the French King, againſt the plots and practices of the Houſe of *Guiſe*; that ſhe ſhould aid them with her forces both by Land and Sea, for the taking in of ſuch Caſtles, Towns and Ports, as were poſſeſſed by the faction of the ſaid Duke; that the ſaid Prince of *Conde* and his aſſociates ſhould not come to any terms of peace with the oppoſite party, without the privity and approbation of the Queen; and that as well for ſecuring the payment of all ſuch monies, as for the ſafe going in and out of all ſuch forces as her Majeſty ſhould ſupply them with, the Town and Port of *Newhaven* ſhould be put into her

her Majesties hands, to be garrison'd by English souldiers, and commanded by any person of quality, whom her Majesty should authorise to keep and defend the same. Immediately on which accord, a Manifest was published in the name of the Queen; in which it was declared, how much she had preferred the peace of Christendom before her own particular interests; that in pursuance of that general affection to the publick peace, she had relinquished her claime to the Town of *Calais* for the term of eight years, when as in all other Princes were restored by that Treaty to their lost estates; that for the same reasons she had undertaken to preserve the *Scots* from being made vassals to the *French*, without retaining any part of that Kingdom in her own possession after the service was performed; that with the like bowels of commiseration, she had observed how much the Queen-Mother of *France* was awed, and the young King himself inthralled by the *Guisian* faction, who in their names, and under pretence of their authority, endeavoured to root out the professors of the Reformed Religion; that in pursuance of that purpose, they had caused such terrible massacres to be made at *Vassey*, *Paris*, *Sens*, *Tholouse*, *Bloys*, *Tours*, *Angiers*, and other places, that there were thought to be butchered no fewer than one hundred thousand of the natural *French*, between the first of *March* and the 20th of *August* then last past; that with like violence and injustice, they had treated such of her Majesties subjects as traded in the Ports of *Bretagne*, whom they caused to be apprehended, spoiled, and miserably imprisoned, such as endeavoured to preserve themselves to be cruelly killed, their goods and merchandise to be seized, without charging any other crime upon them, but that they were *Hugonots*; and finally, that in consideration of the Premises, her Majesty could do no less than use her best endeavours for rescuing the *French* King and his Mother, out of the power of that dangerous faction, for aiding such of the *French* subjects as preferred the service of their King, and the good of their Country, before all other respects whatsoever, for preserving the Reformed Religion from an universal destruction, and the maintaining of her own subjects and Dominions in peace and safety. *An. Reg. Eliz. 4. 1562.*

Nor did she only publish the aforesaid Manifest, the better to satisfie all those whom it might concern in the reasons of her taking arms upon this occasion, but she gives a more particular account of it to the King of *Spain*, whom she considered as the chief Patron of the *Guisian* League. And knowing how unsafe it was for her to appear alone in a cause of that nature and importance, she deals by *Knollis* and other of her Agents, with the Princess of *Germany* to give their timely assistance to the Prince of *Conde*, in maintenance of that Religion which themselves professed. But howsoever, not expecting the success of those counsels, she proceeds to the supplying of the said Prince and his party, with all things necessary for the war, and sends over a sufficient strength of ships, arms, and men, as well to scour the seas, as secure the land. The men amounting to 6000. were divided into two equal parts, of which the one was destined to the defence of *Rowen* and *Diepe*, then being in the hands of the Confederates; the other to take possession of the town of *Newhaven*, which by the Townesmen and Inhabitants was joyfully surrender'd into the hands of the *English*. The Town commodiously seated at the mouth of the *Seine*, and having the command of a spacious Bay, in former times not much observed or esteemed. But being more carefully considered of by King *Francis* the first, he caused the Bay to be inlarged, the passages into it cleared, and the entrances of it to be strongly fortified; which falling into the hands of any enemy, might have destroyed the trade of *Rowen* and *Paris*, being both built upon the River. Called for this reason *Franciscopolis*, by our Latine Writers, *Newhaven* by the English Merchant, and *Haver d' Grace* (by reason of the beauty of it) amongst the *French*, it hath been looked on ever since as a place of consequence. For her Commander in Chief, she sends over the Lord *Ambrose Dudley*, the eldest son then living of the late Duke of *Northumberland*, whom on the 26th. of *December*, she had created Lord *Lisle*, and Earl of *Warwick*. And he

An. Reg. Eliz. 4. 1562.

accordingly preparing for his passage over, took shipping at *Portsmouth* on the 17th. of *October*, but was so hindered by cross winds, that he could not reach the Town till the 29th. where he was solemnly received with a peal of Ordnance. On the morrow after he received into the Town a Troop of Light-horse-men, all *Scots*, and of the Regiment of Count *Montgomery*, which were sent to him from the Port of *Diep* and the next day he took the Oath of his principal Officers, on whose fidelity and courage the safety of the place seemed most to depend. On the 4th. of *November*, a Bark belonging to the Town, brought in four Merchants Ships of *Bretagne* fraughted for the most part with *Gascoin* Wines; as afterwards two more with the like commodity, which proved a great refreshment to the souldiers in it. And on the 6th. the *Reingrave* shewed himself upon the top of the hills with two thousand foot betwixt whom and the garison souldiers of *Hareflew* on the one side, and those of *Newhaven* on the other, the remainder of the year was taken up in continual skirmishes.

Cross we next over into *Scotland*, that we may see in what condition our affairs stood there. The death of the late *French* King had made that Kingdom so uncomfortable to the Queen of *Scots*, that she desired to hasten back into her own. And thereunto she was much animated by the Heads of either faction, but on different ends. Her presence earnestly solicited by the Popish party, in hope by her authority to suppress their opposites, and by the Protestants, on some strong presumptions, that they could deal better with her when they had her there, than when she was protected by the power of *France*, and governed by the counsels of the *Guisian* faction. Before her leaving of that Kingdom, she had been pressed by *Throgmorton* the English Resident, to ratifie the Pacification made at *Edenborough*, to which she would be no means yield, till she had advised with the nobility, and other of her subjects of the Realme of *Scotland*. This makes the Queen of *England* doubtful that she should be deserted by the Scots of the Congregation, to whom she had done so many good offices in the time of their troubles. But having dealt with some of the chief amongst them, she found a resolution in them, for adhering to her, which so assured her on that side, that she feared but little danger from the Queen and her party, whensoever she came. Which notwithstanding, it was held to be the safer course to intercept her if they could in her passage thither. And to that end a squadron of ships was sent to sea, but under colour of suppressing some Pirates, by whom the trade of merchandise was given out to be hindered. But the taking of one of the *Scottish* ships, with the Earl of *Eglington*, and other passengers of that Nation were making homewards, declared sufficiently that they looked for a far richer prize. But for the Queen of *Scots* her self, by reason of a thick fog which hung over the seas, she past by the *English* unperceived, and landed at the Port of *Leeth* on the 20th. of *August*, *Anno* 1561. From thence she sends *Lethington* the younger, with Letters to the Queen of *England*, tending especially to express that great love and kindness which she bare to her, as to her dearest friend and sister, and the desire she had to continue in true and sincere friendship with her. At what time she received letters also to the same effect from some of the Nobility of that Kingdom. In which they signified withall, *That the surest way to continue amity and friendship betwixt them two, were to declare the Queen of Scots to be her next and lawful heir to the Kingdom of* England.

But this demand, as it was unlooked for, so was it of too high a nature to be hastily answered. So that the Laird of *Lethington* could prevail no further at that time, than to gain a promise from the Queen, that she would do nothing to the prejudice of the Title of her Cosen of *Scotland*. The rest was left to be considered of in a personal conference, appointed to be held at *York* in the end of *June*. Which motion first proceeded from the Queen of *Scots*, who was thought to have been earnest and real in it, partly for making a firm peace with her sister of *England*, and partly to make her self known to the principal subjects

of

of that Country. Neither was the meeting disliked of the better sort, as thinking it would serve, besides the preservation of the common peace, to bring her to a liking of the Reformed Religion. But they who were popishly set, fearing greatly the conference, spake openly against it, saying, that of such interviews, there was never seen any good effect; and that it would not be safe for the Queen of *Scots* to put her self into the power of her, to whose Kingdome she had made a claim. But notwithstanding these unprofitable deliberations, the interview was agreed upon, and the numbers on either side determined, and all things provided for the journey, when suddenly the Queen of *England* by her Letters excused her self, desiring that it might be respited till the year next following. Which the *Scots* Queen was not sorry to hear upon further thoughts, considering how much the *French* King and her Uncles of the House of *Guise*, might have been dissatisfied on the newes of that Inter-Parleance. Neither did Queen *Elizabeth* want her reasons to decline the meeting, which some believe was never really intended by her; but that she hoped the fail would have been on the other side, which would have given her the same cause of quarrel against the daughter, which King *Henry* took against the father, on the like disappointment. Others conceived, that she might fear a growing less by it in the eyes of her people, the Queen of *Scots* having so many advantages above her both in youth and beauty. But it was generally concluded to be against all reason of State, to give her Rival opportunity of growing gracious with the Nobility and Gentry of *England*, and laying the foundation of a faction in the Court it self. *An. Reg. Eliz. 4. 1562.*

But the Queen had deeper matters to take up her thoughts than any such feminine jealousies and emulations, though these perhaps might also have their place amongst them. A spirit of sedition had begun to shew it self in the year last past, upon the bare noise of the coming of the *Nuncio* hither. Not much diminished (if it were not much increased) by the sitting of the Council of *Trent*, in which it was believed that some proceedings would be had against her. Which seeds being sowen, began first to shew themselves in a petit rebellion, in *Merton* College in *Oxon*; sufficiently discovered by those small beginnings, that some design of greater consequence was in agitation. The Wardenship of that house being void by the death of *Gervase*, one *Man* is chosen to the place. But his election being questioned, and his admission thereupon opposed by a contrary faction, the government of the College devolved of course upon one *Hall* a Senior Fellow, sufficiently known to be of Popish inclinations, though for the saving of his place he had conformed as others did, to the present time. No sooner was he in this power, but he retrives some old superstitious hymns, which formerly had been sung on several Festivals in the times of Popery, prohibiting the use of such as had been introduced by *Gervase* the late Warden there. This gave incouragement and opportunity to the Popish party, to insult over the rest, especially over all those of the younger sort, who had not been trained up in their *Popish* principles; so that it seemed a penal matter to be thought a Protestant. Notice whereof being given to Archbishop *Parker*, (the Ordinary Visitour of that College in the Right of his See) he summoneth *Hall* on the 20th. of *May* to appear before him, and caused the Citation to be fastned to the Gate of the College. But his authority in that case was so little regarded, that the seal of the Citation was torn off by some of that party. Hereupon followed a solemn visitation of the College by the said Archbishop. The result whereof was briefly this, that all were generally examined; *Man* confirmed Warden, *Hall* justly expell ed, his party publickly admonished; the young scholars relieved, the Papists curbed and suppressed, and Protestants countenanced and incouraged in the whole University.

But this was only the Essay of those greater commotions which were to have insued upon it; though withall it proved a prognostick of their ill successe, which constantly attended the designes of the Romish faction. For presently

on

An. Reg. Eliz. 4. 1562.

on the neck of this a far more dangerous conſpiracy declared it ſelf in ſome chief Leaders of that party; The preſent ſitting of the Council, the practices of ſome forein Miniſters, and the Queens countenancing the *French Hugonots*, then being in Arms againſt their King, might ſerve both as encouragements and exaſperations to put that party upon dangerous and deſtructive projects: And it is poſſible enough that ſomewhat might be aimed at by them, in favour of the Title of the Queen of *Scots*, or of ſome other of the Race of King *Henry* the 7th. by *Margaret* his eldeſt daughter, married to *Iames* the 4th. of *Scotland*; which may the rather be ſuppoſed, becauſe I find the Lady *Margaret* Counteſs of *Lenox*, daughter of the ſaid Queen *Margaret* by her ſecond husband, and mother of *Henry* Lord *Darnley* (who was after married to Queen *Mary* of *Scotland*) to have been confined unto her Houſe with the Earl her husband, upon ſuſpition of ſome practice againſt the Queen. Certain it is, that many ſtrange whiſpers were abroad, and no ſmall hopes conceived by thoſe of the Popiſh faction for ſuppreſſing the Proteſtants in all parts of the Kingdome, and ſetting up their own Religion as in former times; a matter neither to be entertained without ſtrong temptations, nor compaſſed without ſtronger forces, than they could raiſe amongſt themſelves, but by intelligence and ſupply from ſome forein Princes. On which account, amongſt ſome others which were found to be of the Plot, *Arthur Pole*, grandchild of *Margaret* Counteſs of *Salisbury* by *Geofry* her third ſon, the younger brother unto *Reginald Pole* the late Cardinal Legat, was apprehended and arraigned, together with his brother *Geofry*, *Forteſcue* who had married his ſiſter, and divers others: The ſubſtance of their Charge (as it is generally in all Treaſons) was, a deſign of levying a war againſt the Queen, and otherwiſe entertaining many dangerous counſels againſt the peace and ſafety of her Dominions, with a particular intention of advancing the Queen of *Scots* to the Crown of *England*, and *Pole* himſelf unto the Title of Duke of *Clarence*. All which they confeſſed upon the Indictment, and did all receive the ſentence of death; but were all afterwards pardoned by the Queens great clemency, out of that great reſpect which ſhe carried to their Royal extraction.

And yet it may be poſſible that there was ſomething in it of State-craft as well as clemency, which might induce the Queen to ſpare them from the ſtroke of the Ax which was, to keep them for a ballance to the Houſe of *Suffolk*, of whom ſhe now began to conceive ſome jealouſies. The Lady *Katharine Gray* one of the younger daughters of *Henry* Duke of *Suffolk*, and ſiſter to the late Queen *Iane*, had been married to the Lord *Henry Herbert*, ſon and heir to the Earl of *Pembrook*, at ſuch time as the ſaid Queen *Iane* was married to the Lord *Guilford Dudley* at *Durham*-houſe. But the old Earl ſeaſonably apprehending how unſafe it was to marry into that Family which had given ſo much trouble to the Queen, took the advantage of the time, and found ſome means to procure a ſentence of Divorce, almoſt upon the very inſtant of the Conſummation. And knowing how well Queen *Mary* ſtood affected to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, he preſently clapt up a marriage for his ſon with another *Katherine*, one of the daughters of that Earl, who dying about the beginning of the Reign of this Queen, he married him as ſpeedily to *Mary Sidney* the daughter of Sir *Henry Sidney* and of *Mary* his wife, one of the daughters of *John Dudley* the late Duke of *Northumberland*; in which laſt marriage he as much endeavoured to ingratiate himſelf with Sir *Robert Dudley*, who at that time began to grow Lord Paramount in all Court-favours, as by the firſt Match to inſinuate into old Duke *Dudley*, who did then predominate. In the mean time the Lady *Katherine Gray* languiſheth long under the diſgrace of this rejection, none daring to make any particular addreſſes to her, for fear of being involved in the like calamities as had befallen her father and the reſt of that Family. But at the laſt the young Earl of *Hertford* contracts himſelf privately unto her, and having conſummated the marriage with her, gets leave to travail into *France*; But long he had not left the Kingdom when the Lady was found

to

to be with child, and being impriſoned in the Tower ſhe makes known her marriage, till then kept ſecret by agreement; the Earl is thereupon called home, and ſtanding honeſtly to the Marriage, for which he could produce no ſufficient witneſſe, is committed priſoner alſo. The Queen exceeding jealous of all Competitors, refers the cogniſance of the cauſe to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſome other Delegates, by whom a certain time is ſet for the bringing in of Witneſſes to prove the Marriage, and on default thereof, a ſentence of unlawfull copulation is pronounced againſt them; during which troubles and diſquiets, the Lady is delivered of the Lord *Edward Seimor* her eldeſt Son in the Tower of *London*, and conceived after of another by ſome ſtoln meetings which ſhe had with the Earl her husband, their Keepers on both ſides being corrupted to give way unto it. Which practice ſo incenſed the Queen, that hurried on with jealouſie, and tranſported with paſſion, ſhe cauſed a fine of five thouſand pounds to be ſet upon him in the Star-Chamber, and kept him cloſe priſoner for the ſpace of nine years, at the end whereof he was reſtored to liberty by the death of the Lady, who dyed a Priſoner in the Tower. And though the Lady *Francis* Dutcheſſe of *Suffolk* might hope to have preſerved her ſelf from the like Court-thunder-claps by her obſcure marriage with *Adrian Stokes*, who had been Gentleman of the Horſe to the Duke her husband, yet neither could that ſave her from abiding a great part of the tempeſt, which fell ſo heavily upon her and all that family, that *William* the Nephew of this Earl by *Edward* Viſcount *Beauchamp* his eldeſt ſon, was prudently adviſed by ſome of his friends, to procure a confirmation of his Grand-fathers honours from the hand of King *James*, which without much difficulty was obtained and granted by his Majeſties Letters Patents, bearing date the 14th. of *May* in the 6th. year of his Reign. But ſuch was the fortune of this Houſe, that as this Earl, being newly reſtored to the Title of *Hertford*, by the great goodneſſe of the Queen, incurred her high diſpleaſure, and was thereupon committed priſoner for his marriage with the Lady *Katharine* Gray, the only heir then living of *Mary* the youngeſt daughter of King *Henry* the 7th. ſo *William* above mentioned being confirmed in the expectancy of his Grand-fathers honors by the like goodneſs of King *James*, was committed priſoner by that King for marrying with the Lady *Arabella*, daughter and heir of *Charls* Earl of *Lennox*, deſcended from the eldeſt daughter of the ſaid King *Henry*.

An. Reg. Eliz. 4. 1562.

Such were the principall occurrances of this preſent year, relating to the joynt concernments of Church and State; In reference to the Church alone, nothing appears more memorable than the publiſhing of an elegant and accute Diſcourſe, Entituled, *The Apology of the Church of England*, firſt writ in Latin by the right reverend Biſhop *Iewel*, tranſlated preſently into *Engliſh*, *French*, *Italian*, *Dutch*, and at laſt alſo into *Greek*, highly approved of by all pious and judicious men, ſtomached by none excepting our own *Engliſh* fugitives, and yet not undertook by any of them but by *Harding* only, who had his hands full enough before in beating out an anſwer to the Biſhops challenge: By him we are informed (if we may believe him) that two Tractats or Diſcourſes had been writ againſt it, the one by an *Italian* in the Tongue of that Country, the other in Latine by a *Spaniſh* Biſhop of the Realm of *Naples*; both finiſhed, and both ſtopped as they went to the Preſs, out of a due regard, forſooth, to the Church of *England*, whoſe honour had been deeply touched, by being thought to have approved ſuch a lying, unreaſonable, ſlanderous, and ungodly Pamphlets, which were it true, the Church was more beholden to the modeſty of thoſe *Spaniards* and *Italians*, than to our own natural Engliſh. But whether it were true or not, or rather how untrue it is in all particulars, the exchange of writings on both ſides doth moſt plainly manifeſt. In general it was objected, "That the *Apology* was publiſhed in the name of the Church of "*England*, before any mean part of the Church were privy to it, as if the Au-"thor either were aſhamed of it, or afraid to ſtand to it; that the Inſcription "of it neither was directed to the Pope nor Emperor, nor to any Prince, nor to

"the

An. Reg. Eliz. 4. 1562.

"the Church, nor to the General Council then in being, as it should have been; "that there was no mans name set to it; that it was printed without the privi- "ledge of the Prince, contrary to the Law in that behalf; that it was allowed "neither by Parliament nor Proclamation, nor agreed upon by the Clergy in a "publick and lawful Synod, and therefore that the Book was to be accounted a *famous Libel, and a scandalous Writing.*

To which it was answered in like Generals by that learned Prelate, "That "the profession of the Doctrine contained in it was offered unto the whole "Church of God, and so unto the Pope and Council too, as if they were "any part or member of the Church; that if names be so necessary, he had the "names of the whole Clergy of *England* to confirm that Doctrine, and *Har-* "*ding*'s too amongst the rest in the time of King *Edward*; that for not having "the Princes priviledge, it might easily be disproved by the Printer; that it "was not conceived in such a dark corner as was objected, being afterwards "imprinted at *Paris* in Latine, and having been since translated into the "*French*, *Italian*, *Dutch*, and *Spanish* Toungs; that being sent afterwards into "*France*, *Flanders*, *Germany*, *Spain*, *Poland*, *Hungary*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Scot-* "*land*, *Italy*, *Naples* and *Rome* it self, it was tendered to the judgement of the "whole Church of God; that it was read and seriously considered of in the "convent of *Trent*, and great threats made that it should be answered, and the "matter taken in hand by two notable learned Bishops, the one a *Spaniard*, "and the other an *Italian*, though in fine neither of them did any thing in it; "and finally, that certain of the English Papists had been nibling at it, but "such as cared neither what they writ, nor was cared by others. And so much may suffice in general for this excellent Piece, to the publishing whereof, that learned Prelate was most encouraged by *Peter Martyr*, (as appears by *Martyr*'s Letter of the 24th. of *August*) with whom he had spent the greatest part of his time when he lived in Exile: And happy had it been for the Church of *England* if he had never done worse Offices to it, than by dealing with that reverend Bishop to so good a purpose. But *Martyr* only lived to see the Book which he so much longed for, dying at *Zurick* on the 12th. day of *November* following, and laid into his grave by the Magistrates and People of that Town with a solemn Funeral,

Nothing remains for the concluding of this year, but to declare how the three vacant Bishopricks were disposed of, if those may say to be disposed of which were still kept vacant; *Gloucester* was only filled this year by the preferment of Mr. *Richard Cheny* Archdeacon of *Hereford*, and one of the Prebendaries of the Collegiat Church of St. *Peter* in *Westminster*, who received his Episcopal consecration on the 19th. of *April*. Together with the See of *Gloucester*, he held that of *Bristol* in commendam, as did also *Bullingham* his Successor, that is to say, the Jurisdiction with the Profits and Fees thereof, to be exercised and enjoyed by them, but the temporal Revenue of it to continue in the hands of some hungry Courtiers, who gnawed it to the very bone; in which condition it remained under the two Bishops, till the year 1589. when the Queen was pleased to bestow the remainders of it, together with the title of Bishop, on Doctor *Richard Fletcher* Dean of *Peterborough*, whom afterwards she preferred to the See of *London*. And as for *Oxon*, it was kept vacant from the death of *King*, the first Bishop of it, who dyed on the 4th. of *December* 1557. till the 14th. of *October* 1567. at which time it was conferred on Dr. *Hugh Curwyn* Archbishop of *Dublin* and Chancellor of the Realm of *Ireland*, who having held it but a year, it was again kept vacant twenty years together, and then bestowed on Dr. *John Underhill*, who was consecrated Bishop thereof in *December* 1589. but hedying also shortly after, *viz. Anno* 1592. it was once more kept void till the year 1603. and then took up by Dr. *John Bridges* Dean of *Salisbury*, rather to satisfie the desires of others than his own ambition. So that upon the point, this Church was filled but little more than three years in forty six, the Jurisdiction of it was in the mean time managed by some Offi-

cers

ficers thereunto authoriſed by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Patrimony and Revenues of it remaining in the hands of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and after his deceaſe of the Earl of *Eſſex*, by whom the Lands thereof were ſo ſpoiled and waſted, that they left nothing to the laſt Biſhops but Impropriations; by means of which havock and deſtruction, all the five Biſhopricks erected by King *Henry* the 8th. were ſo impoveriſhed and deſtroyed, that the new Biſhops were neceſſitated to require the benevolence of their Clergy at their firſt coming to them, to furniſh their Epiſcopal Houſes, and to enable them to maintain ſome tolerable degree of Hoſpitality in their ſeveral Dioceſſes, of which we ſhall hear more hereafter from the pen of an Adverſary. *An. Reg. Eliz.* 5. 1562, 1563

Anno Reg. Eliz. 5. *A. D.* 1562, 1563.

THe laſt year practices of the Papiſts, and the dangers thereby threatning both the Queen and State, occaſioned her to call a Parliament on the 12th. of *January*, in which firſt paſſed an Act, *For aſſurance of the Queens Royal power over all Eſtates and Subjects within her Dominions.* In the body whereof it was provided, "That no man living or reſiding in the Queens Dominions, under "the pains and penalties therein appointed, ſhould from thenceforth, either "by word or writing, or any other open deed, willingly and adviſedly endea-"vour to maintain the Power and Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Rome*, hereto-"fore claimed and uſurped within this Realm. And for the better diſcovery of all ſuch perſons as might be popiſhly affected, it was enacted, "That none "ſhould be admitted unto holy Orders, or to any degree in either of the Uni-"verſities, or to be Barreſter or Bencher in any of the Inns of Court, &c. "or to practiſe as an Atturney; or otherwiſe to bear any Office in any of the "Courts at *Weſtminſter* Hall, or any other Court whatſoever, till he or they "ſhould firſt take the Oath of Supremacy on the holy Evangeliſts; With a "Power given to every Archbiſhop and Biſhop within this Realm and the Do-"minions of the ſame, to tender or miniſter the Oath aforeſaid, to all and eve-"ry ſpiritual perſon in their proper Dioceſſes, as well in places exempt as elſe-"where. Of which laſt clauſe the Reader is to take eſpecial notice, becauſe of the great controverſie which enſued upon it, of which, more hereafter. And becauſe many of the Popiſh party had lately buſied themſelves by Conjurations, and other Diabolical Arts, to enquire into the length or ſhortneſs of her Majeſties life, and thereupon had cauſed ſome dark and doubtful Prophecies to be ſpread abroad; There paſſed two other Statutes for ſuppreſſing the like dangerous practices, by which her Majeſties perſon might be endangered, the people ſtirred to rebellion, or the peace otherwiſe diſturbed. For which conſult the Acts of Parliament, 5 *Eliz.* *c.* 15, 16. By which three Acts, and one more for the better executing of the Writ *de Excommunicato capiendo*, the Queen provided very well for her own ſecurity, but more provoked the Pope and his adherents to conſpire againſt her in the time to come; againſt whoſe machinations, back'd by the power and counſels of forein Princes, nothing was more conducible than her ſtrength at Sea, for the encreaſe whereof, and the continual breeding of a Seminary of expert Mariners, an Act was made for adding *Wedneſday* to the number of the weekly Faſt, which from thenceforth was called *Jejunium Cecilianum*, as being one of the divices of Sir *William Cecil*.

In reference to Religion, and the advancement of the ſervice and Worſhip of God, it had been declared by the Biſhops and Clergy aſſembled at the ſame time in their Convocation, *To be a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the cuſtom of the Primitive Church, to have publick prayer in the Church, or to miniſter the Sacraments in a Toung not underſtood by the people.* To comply with which pious declaration, and take off all retortion which poſſibly might be made by thoſe of *Rome*, when they were charged with the adminiſtration of the Service and Sacraments in an unknown Toung, it was enacted, "That the "Biſhops of *Hereford*, *St. Davids*, *Bangor*, *Landaff*, and *St. Aſaph*, ſhould

An. Reg. Eliz. 5. 1562, 1563

"take care amongſt them for tranſlating the whole Bible with the Common-"Prayer-Book into the *Welch* or *Britiſh* Toung, on pain of forfeiting 40 l. a "piece in default thereof. And to encourage them thereunto it was ordered, "That one Book of either ſort being ſo tranſlated and imprinted, ſhould be pro-"vided and bought of every Cathedral, or Pariſh Church, as alſo for all Pariſh "Churches and Chappels of Eaſe where the ſaid Toung is commonly uſed; the "Miniſters to pay one half of the price, and the Pariſhioners the other. The like care was alſo taken for tranſlating the Books of *Homilies*; but whether it were done by any new order from the Queen, or the piety of the four Welch Biſhops, or that they were conſidered as a neceſſary part of the publick Liturgy, by reaſon of the Rubrick at the end of the *Nicene* Creed, I have no where found.

As for the Convocation which accompanied the preſent Parliament, it began on the 13th. day of *January* in the Cathedral of St. *Paul*, the Latine Sermon Preached by Mr. *William Day*, then Provoſt of *Eaton* Colledge, afterwards Dean of *Windſor* alſo, and Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; which being finiſhed, the Biſhop of *London* preſents a liſt of the ſeveral Biſhops, Deans, and Chapters, which had been cited to appear; the catalogue of the Biſhops ending with *Gabriel Goodman* Dean of *Weſtminſter*, that of the Deans beginning on another file with *Alexander Novel* Dean of St. *Pauls*, elected by the Clergy for their Prolocutor. The Convocation after this is adjourned to *Weſtminſter* for the conveniency of the Prelates, by reaſon of their attendance on affairs of Parliament. *Goodman* the Dean of *Weſtminſter* had made his Proteſtation in the Church of St. *Paul*, that by appearing as a Member of the Convocation by vertue of the Arch-biſhops Mandat, he ſubjected not himſelf nor the Church of *Weſtminſter* to the authority or juriſdiction of the See of *Canterbury*. And now on the Archbiſhops perſonal coming to the Church of *Weſtminſter*, he delivers the like Proteſtation in writing for preſerving the Liberties of the Church, in which it was declared, according to the priviledge and juſt rights thereof, that no Archbiſhop or Biſhop could exerciſe any Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction in it, without leave of the Dean for the time then being; and therefore that he could not conſent to the holding of a Convocation in that place, without ſome declaration to be made by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, that their holding the Convocation in the ſame ſhould not be taking or intended for any violation of the rights and priviledges that belong'd unto it, which was accordingly perform'd.

It was on the 19th. day of *January* that theſe formalities were tranſacted, at what time the Archbiſhops and Biſhops having firſt had ſome ſecret communication amongſt themſelves about the Articles of Religion eſtabliſhed in King *Edward*'s time, required the Prolocutor and ſix others of the Lower Houſe of Convocation, to repair unto them; By whom it was ſignified unto their Lordſhips, that ſome of the Clergy had prepared certain Bills containing a ſpecification of ſuch matters as were conceived to be amiſs in the ſtate of the Church, and that the Articles of Religion agreed upon in the Reign of King *Edward* the 6th. had been delivered unto others to be conſidered of, corrected, and accommodated as they found it neceſſary. Being encouraged in the laſt, and furthered by the diligence of ſome of the Biſhops who were employed in the ſame work; the Articles were agreed upon, publickly read before the Biſhops in the Chapter-houſe of Saint *Paul*, on the 29th. of the ſame month, and by all of them ſubſcribed with great unanimity. The Prelates had obſerved ſome deviation from the doctrine of King *Edward*'s Reign, which had been made by the *Calvinian* or *Zuinglian* Goſpellers, in the Articles of *Predeſtination*, *Grace*, *Free-will*, and *final perſeverance*: Nor could they but take notice with how little reverence the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was adminiſtred, and the authority of the Church deſpiſed by too many of the ſame party alſo; which they were willing to impute to the want of ſome known rule amongſt them, by which they were to regulate their judgements, and conform their actions: To which end it was thought expedient, that the Book of Articles

ticles agreed upon in Convocation, *Anno* 1552. ſhould be reviſed and accommodated to the uſe of the Church, the Queens leave being firſt obtained for their warrant in it. In the managing of which great buſineſs, I know not whether I ſhould more admire their moderation, or their wiſdom. Their wiſdom eminent, in not ſuffering any Outlandiſh Divine who might drive on a different intereſt from that of the Church, either to vote amongſt them, or carry any ſtroke in their conſultations. Their moderation no leſs viſible, in declining all unneceſſary determinations, which rather tended to the multiplying of controverſies, and ingendring ſtrifes, than either unto edification or increaſe of piety. So that they ſeemed to have proceeded by thoſe very Rules which King *Iames* ſo much approved of in the conference at *Hampton* Court. Firſt in not ſeparating further from the Church of *Rome* in points of diſcipline or Doctrine, than that Church had ſeparated from what ſhe was in her pureſt times; Secondly, in not ſtuffing the Book of Articles with all Concluſions Theological, in which a latitude of judgement was to be allowed, as far as it might be conſiſtent with peace and charity; and Thirdly, in not thruſting into it every opinion or *Poſition negative*, which might have made it ſomewhat like Mr. *Craiges* Confeſſion in the Kirk of *Scotland*, who with his *I renounce, and I abhor, his deteſtations and abrenunciations*, did ſo amaze the ſimple people (as the King obſerveth) that not being able to conceive or underſtand all thoſe points, utterly gave over all, and fell back to Popery, or elſe remained in their former ignorance. Upon which grounds, as they omitted many whole Articles; and qualified the expreſſions of ſome others in King *Edward*'s Book; ſo were they generally very ſparing in defining any thing which was meerly matter of modality, or *de modo* only: As namely, touching the manner of Chriſts preſence in the Holy Euchariſt, the manner of effecting grace by the bleſſed Sacraments, or of the operation of Gods grace in a mans converſion. Which rules being carefully obſerved by all the Biſhops, on whoſe authority and conſent, the greateſt part of the whole Work did ſeem to reſt, and all particulars agreed upon amongſt themſelves, it was no wonder if they paſſed their Votes without contradiction.

An. Reg. Eliz. 5. 1562, 1563

But in taking the ſubſcriptions of the lower houſe, there appeared more difficulty. For though they all teſtified their conſent unto them, on the ſaid 29th. of *Ianuary*, either by words expreſs, or by ſaying nothing to the contrary, which came all to one; yet when ſubſcription was required, many of the *Calvinians*, or *Zuinglian* Goſpellers, poſſibly ſome alſo which enclined rather to their old Religion, and who found themſelves unſatisfied in ſome particulars, had demurred upon it. With this demur their Lordſhips are acquainted by the Prolocutor, on the 5th. of *February*. By whom the Lordſhips were deſired in the name of that Houſe, that ſuch who had hitherto ſubſcribed the Articles, might be ordered to ſubſcribe in their own proper houſe, or in the preſence of their Lordſhips. Which requeſt being eaſily granted, drew on the ſubſcription of ſome others, but ſo, that many ſtill remained in their firſt unwillingneſs. An Order thereupon is made by their Lordſhips, on the 10th. then following, that the Prolocutor ſhould return the names of all ſuch perſons who refuſed ſubſcription, to the end that ſuch further courſe might be taken with them, as to their Lordſhips ſhould ſeem moſt fit. After which we hear no news of the like complaints and informations; which makes it probable (if not concluded) that they all ſubſcribed. And being thus ſubſcribed by all, they were ſoon after publiſhed both in *Engliſh* and *Latine*, with this following Title, that is to ſay, *Articles agreed upon by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, in the Convocation holden at* London *in the year* 1562. *for the avoiding of diverſities of opinions, and eſtabliſhing conſent touching true Religion.* But what they were, and wherein they agreed or differed with or from thoſe eſtabliſhed by King *Edward* the 6th. ſhall be referred (for the avoiding of all interruptions in the courſe of this Hiſtory) to a place more proper. Nothing elſe brought to a concluſion by them,

An. Reg. Eliz. 5. 1562, 1563

but the Bill of Subsidy, which having past that House, was confirmed in Parliament.

Nothing else brought into conclusion, though many things were had in deliberation. On *Friday* the 5th, of *February*, the Bishops of *Salisbury*, *Exon*, St. *David's* and *Lichfield*, were appointed by the rest of the Prelates, to examine a Catechism which it seems was presented to them. But being by them remitted to the consideration of the lower house, they were advertised by *Day* and *Sampson* on the 3d. of *March*, that the said house unanimously had approved thereof. And there it rested for that time, and for ever after; nothing being done in confirmation of it, as a publick Doctrine, (by whomsoever it was written) nor any further speech made of it in the time succeeding. Which fortune also hapned to a Book of *Discipline* projected amongst some of the Clergy, and tender'd to the Bishops by the Prolocutor, and ten others of that House, on the 26th. of *February*. To which some additionals being made by the first contrivers, it was a second time tender'd to them by the Prolocutor, in the name of the Lower House of Convocation, by whom it had been generally and unanimously recommended to them. But the Bishops let this sleep also as they did the other. More was it to the profit of the Clergy generally, to make inquiry into certain Articles, which by the Archbishop, with the consent of all the rest of the Prelates, were delivered in writing. The Tenour of which Articles was, 1. "Whether if the Writ of *Melius inquirendum* be sent forth, there be any "likelyhood that it will return to the Queens profit? 2. Whether some Bene-"fices ratably be not less than they be already valued? 3. That they enquire of "the manner of dilapidations, and other spoliations that they can remember "to have passed upon their Livings, and by whom. 4. To signifie how they have "been used for the levying of the arrerages of tenths and Subsidies, and for how "many years past. 5. As also how many Benefices they find that are charged "with pensions newly imposed to discharge the pensions of Religious persons. "6. And lastly, to certifie how many Benefices are vacant in every Dioces. But what return was made upon these enquiries, I find as little in the Acts of this Convocation, as either in allowance of the *Catechism*, or the Book of *Discipline*.

Religion and the State being thus fortified and secured in *England*, it will not be amiss to see what they do in *Scotland*; where the young Queen was graciously enclined to forget all injuries, and grant more liberty to her subjects, in the free exercising and enjoying of their own perswasions, than she could gain unto her self. For in a Parliament held in *May*, within few months after the end of that in *England*, the Act for oblivion, formerly condescended to in the Treaty at *Edenbourough*, was confirmed and ratified; but without reference to that Treaty, the results whereof, the Queen by no means would acknowledge to be good and valid. And thereupon it was advised that the Lords should supplicate on their knees in the House of Parliament for the passing of it, which was accordingly performed by them, and vouchsafed by her. There also past some other Acts of great advantage to the Church, as affairs then stood; that is to say, one Act for the repairing and upholding of Parish Churches, and the Church-yards of the same, for burial of the dead. Another against letting Personages, Glebes, or Houses, into long Leases or Fee. But this came somewhat of the latest, a great part of the Tythes, Houses, and possessions which belonged to the Church, having been formerly alienated or demised for a very long term by the Popish Clergy, when they perceived they were not likely to enjoy them longer for themselves. But on the other side, no safety or protection could be found for her own Religion; no, not so much as in the Chapel-Royal, or the Regal City. In contempt whereof, a force was violently committed in the month of *August*, in the Chapel of the Palace of *Holy Rood House*, (the *Whitehall* of *Edenborough*) where certain of the Queens servants were assembled for their own devotions, the dores broke open, some of the company haled to the next prison, and the rest dispersed, the Priest escaping with

An. Reg. Eliz. 5. 1563.

with much difficulty by a private paſſage. The Queen was then abſent in the *North*, but queſtioned *Knox* at her return, as the cauſe of the uproar. By which expoſtulation ſhe got nothing from that fiery ſpirit, but neglect and ſcorn.

Return we back again to *France*, where we find ſome alternations of affairs between the *French* King and the *Reingrave* on the one ſide, the *Engliſh* and confederate Princes on the other, but ſo, that fortune ſeemed moſt favourable to the Engliſh party. The Church of *Hattivil* (a neighbouring Village to *Newhaven*) taken and garriſon'd by the *Reingrave*, but preſently abandoned and repoſſeſſed by the Engliſh. The Caſtle of *Tankervile* cunningly taken by the Engliſh, and ſoon after regained by the *Reingrave*. The City and Caſtle of *Cane* held with a ſtrong Gariſon by the Marquiſs d'*Elbeuffe*, and beſieged by the confederate forces, both *French* and *Engliſh*, and finally ſurrender'd to the Admiral *Chaſtilion* to the uſe of the Princes, *March* the 2d. After which followed the ſurrendry of *Bayeulx*, *Faleiſe*, Saint *Lods*, and divers other Towns and Caſtles. The Town of *Hareflew* on the *Seine* gallantly taken by the help of the Engliſh of *Newhaven*, on the 10th. and garriſon'd by ſuch ſouldiers and inhabitants as was ſent from thence. Which fortunate ſucceſſes ſo amazed the heads of the *Guiſian* faction, that they agreed unto an Edict of pacification, by which the French Princes were reſtored to the Kings favor, the *Hugonots* to the free exerciſe of their own Religion, and all things ſetled for the preſent to their full contentment. But they muſt buy this happineſs by betraying the Engliſh whom they had brought into the Country, and join their forces with the reſt, to drive them out of *Newhaven*, if they would not yield it on demand. Of this the Queen had ſecret notice, and offereth by *Throgmorton*, to deliver up *Newhaven* in exchange for *Callis*. The French reſolve to hold the one, and recover the other; ſo that new forces are ſent over to make good the Town. The French draw toward it in great numbers, under the conduct of the Marſhals of *Briſſack* and *Mont Morency*; followed not long after by the Conſtable himſelf, with many other French Lords of the higheſt quality. The ſiege growes cloſe, and the ſervice very hot on both ſides: but the Engliſh had a fiercer enemy within the Town, than any whom they found without. The peſtilence had got in amongſt them, and raged ſo terribly for the time, that the living were ſcarce able to bury the dead. And to compleat the miſeries of the beſieged, the Prince of *Conde*, and the Duke of *Montpenſier*, ſhewed themſelves openly amongſt the reſt in the Camp of the enemies, that the laſt act of the Tragedy might be plaid in their preſence. All things conſpiring thus againſt them, the Engliſh are neceſſitated to a capitulation, by which they left the Town behind them on the 29th. of *July*, but carried the plague with them into *England*. Which might by ſome be looked on as an argument of Gods diſpleaſure on this Nation, for giving aid unto the Rebels of a Chriſtian Prince, though masked with the vizard of Religion.

Paſſe we on further towards *Trent*, where we find the Fathers in high diſpleaſure againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, exaſperated by her aiding the French *Hugonots* againſt their King. But more for paſſing the Statute above mentioned, for puniſhing all thoſe which countenanced and maintained the Popes authority within her dominions. The Pope hereby ſo much incenſed, that he diſpatched a Commiſſion to the Fathers of *Trent*, to proceed to an excommunication of the Queen of *England*. The Emperour had his aims upon her, being at that time ſolicitous for effecting a mariage betwixt her and *Charles* of *Inſpruch*, his ſecond ſon; of which his Miniſters entertained him with no doubtful hopes. In contemplation of which mariage, on the firſt notice which was given him of this ſecret purpoſe, he writ Letters both to the Pope and to the Legates, in which he ſignified unto them, that if the Council would not yield that fruit which was deſired, that they might ſee an union of all Catholicks to reform the Church; at leaſt they ſhould not give occaſion to the Hereticks to unite themſelves more, which certainly they would do, in caſe they

An. Reg. Eliz. 5. 1563.

they proceeded so against the Queen of *England*; by means whereof they would undoubtedly make a league against the Catholicks, which must needs bring forth many great inconveniences. Nor did this *Admonition* coming from a person of so great authority, and built on such prudential reasons, want its good effect: Insomuch that both the Pope desisted at *Rome*, and revoked the Commission sent before to the Legates in *Trent*.

But the Ministers of the King of *Spain* would not so give over, the Archbishop of *Otrante* in the Realm of *Naples*, keeping the game on foot when the rest had left it. And because he thought the proposition would not take, if it were made only in relation to the Queen of *England*, he proposed a general anathematizing of the Hereticks, as well dead as living, *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, and the rest; which he affirmed to be the practice of all Councils, in the Primitive times, and that otherwise it might be said that the Council had laboured all this while in vain. To which it was replyed by one of the Legates, that divers times required different Counsels; that the differences about religion in those elder times, were between the Bishops and the Priests; that the people were but as an *accessory*; that the *Grandees* either did not meddle, or if they did adhere to any Heresie, they did not make themselves Heads and Leaders. But now all was quite contrary, for now the Hereticks, Ministers and Preachers could not be said to be Heads of the Sects, but the Princes rather, to whose interest their Ministers and Preachers did accommodate themselves; that he that would name the true Heads of Hereticks, must name the Queens of *England* and *Navarr*, the Prince of *Conde*, the Elector *Palatine* of the *Reine*, the Elector of *Saxonie*, and many other Dukes and Princes of *Germany*; that this would make them unite, and shew they were sensible of it; and that the condemnation of *Luther* and *Zuinglius* only, would so provoke them, that some great confusion would certainly arise; and therefore they must not do what they would, but what they could, seeing that the more moderate resolution was the better. After which grave and prudent Answer, it was not long before the conclusion of the Council (which ended on the 3d. of *December*) had put an end to all those practices or designs, which otherwise might have much distracted the peace of Christendom, and more particularly the tranquillity of the Realm of *England*. And so I take my leave of the Council of *Trent*, without making any other character or censure of it, than that which is given by the *Historian*, that is to say, "That being desired and procured by Godly men to "reunite the Church which then began to be divided, it so established the "schism, and made the party so obstinate, that the discords are become irre-"concilable; that being managed by Princes for the Reformation of Ecclesia-"stical Discipline, it caused the greatest deformation that ever was since Christia-"nity began; that being hoped for by the Bishops to regain the Episcopal au-"thority, usurped for the most part by the Pope, it made them lose it altoge-"ther, and brought them into a greater servitude; and on the contrary, that be-"ing feared and avoided by the See of *Rome*, as a potent means to moderate the "exorbitant power of the Pope, mounted from small beginnings, by divers de-"grees unto an unlimited excess, it hath so established and confirmed the same "over that part which remaineth subject to it, that it never was so great, nor so "soundly rooted.

Anno Reg. Eliz. 6. *A. D.* 1563, 1564.

HAving dispatched our business in *France* and *Trent*, we shall confine our selves for so much of our Story as is to come to the Isles of *Britaine*. In the south part thereof, the plague brought out of *France* by the Garison souldiers of *Newhaven*, had so dispersed it self, and made such desolation in many parts of the Realm, that it swept away above 20000 in the City of *London*. Which though it seemed lesse than some great plagues which have hapned since, yet

yet was it the greatest at that time, which any man living could remember. In which regard as *Michaelmas* Term was not kept at all, so *Candlemas* Term then following was kept at *Hartford*, the houses in *London* being not well cleansed, nor the air sufficiently corrected for so great a concourse. Under pretence whereof, the Council of the King of *Spain* residing in *Brussels*, commanded Proclamation to be made in *Antwerp* and other places, that no English ship with Cloths, should come into any parts of the Low Countries. Besides which, they alledged some other causes, as namely, the raising of Impost upon goods, as well inwards as outwards, as well upon English men as upon strangers, *&c.* But the true reason of it was, because a Statute had been passed in the first year of the Queen, by which divers Wares and Commodities were forbidden to be brought into this Realm out of *Flanders*, and other places, (being the Manufactures of those Countries) to the end that our own people might be set on work; as also that no English or stranger might ship out any white cloths undrest, being of price above 4. l. without special licence. But at the earnest sute of the Merchant Adventures, the Queen prohibited the transporting of Wool unwrought, and the Cloth-Fleet was sent to *Embden*, the principal City in East *Friezland*, about Easter following, where it was joyfully received, and where the English kept their Factory for some years after. And though the *Hanse Towns* made such friends in the Court of the Emperour, that the English Trade was interdicted under the pretence of being a Monopoly, yet by the constancy of the Queen, the courage of the Merchants, and the dexterity of their Agents, they prevailed at last, and carried on the Trade themselves, without any Competitors.

An. Reg. Eliz. 6. 1563.

The apprehension of this dealing from the Council of *Spain*, induced the Queen to hearken the more willingly to a peace with *France*. Which she concluded upon terms of as good advantage as the times would bear, the demand for *Calais* being waved till the eight years end, at which it was to be restored unto her by the Treaty of *Cambray*. Which peace was first Proclaimed before her Majesty in the Castle of *Windsor*, the *French* Ambassador being present; and afterwards at *London* on the 13th. of *April*. And for creating the greater confidence and amity between both Princes, it was not long before she sent the Lord *Henry Hunsdon*, accompanied with the Lord *Strange*, and divers Knights and Gentlemen, to the Court of *France*, to present that King with the Collar and Habit of the Garter, into which Noble Order he had been elected at a General Chapter. *Garter* the King at Arms was also sent along with them to invest him in it, with all the Ceremonies and Solemnities thereunto belonging, to make it the more acceptable in the sight of that people. But notwithstanding these courses on the one side, and the indignities put upon her by the *Hugonot* Princes on the other, Reason of State prevailed with her not to lay aside the care of their safety and affairs. For well she knew, that if the *Hugonots* were not incouraged under hand, and the *Guisian* faction kept in breath by their frequent stirrings, they would be either hammering some design against her in her own Dominions, or animate the Queen of *Scots* to stand to her Title and pretensions for the Crown of *England*. Upon which general ground of self-preservation, as she first aided those of *Scotland* for the expelling of the *French*, and the *French* Protestants from being ruined and oppressed by the House of *Guise*, so on the same she afterwards undertook the Patronage of the *Belgick Netherlands*, against the tyranny and ambition of the Duke of *Alva*, who otherwise might have brought the war to her own doors, and hazarded the peace and safety of her whole Estate.

Having secured her self by this peace with *France*, and being at no open enmity with the King of *Spain*, she resolves to give her self some pleasure, and thereupon prepareth for her Summers progress. In the course whereof she bestowed a visit upon *Cambridge* on the 5th. of *August*, where she was honorably received by Mr. Secretary *Cecil*, being then Chancellor of that University; together with all the Heads of Houses, and other Students attired in their

An. Reg. Eliz. 6. 1564.

their Academical Habits, according to their several and distinct degrees. Her lodging was provided in *Kings Colledge*, the days of her abode there, spent in Scholastical exercises of Philosophy, Physick, and Divinity; the nights in Comedies and Tragedies, and other pleasing entertainments. On *Wednesday* the 7th. of the same month, she rode through the Town, and took a view of all the Colledges and Halls; the goodly Monuments of the piety of her predecessors, and of so many men and women famous in their generations. Which done, she took her leave of *Cambridge* in a Latine Oration, in which she gave them great encouragement to persue their studies, not without giving them some hopes, that if God spared her life and opportunity, she would erect some Monument amongst them of her love to Learning, which should not be inferiour unto any of her Royal Ancestors. In which diversion she received such high contentment, that nothing could have seemed to be equal to it but the like at *Oxon*, where she was entertained about two years after for seven days together, with the same variety of Speeches, Enterludes, Disputations, and other Academical expressions of a publick joy. In one point, that of *Oxford* seemed to have the preheminence, all things being there both given and taken with so even an hand, that there could be no ground for any emulation, strife, or discord to ensue upon it. But in the midst of those contentments which she had at *Cambridge*, were sown the seeds of those divisions and combustions, with which the Church hath been continually distracted to this very day: For so it hapned, that Mr. *Thomas Preston* of *Kings Colledge*, and Mr. *Thomas Cartwright* of *Trinity Colledge*, were appointed for two of the Opponents in a Disputation; In which the first, by reason of his comely gesture, pleasing pronunciation, and graceful personage, was both liked and rewarded by her, the other receiving neither reward or commendation; Which so incensed the proud man, too much opinionated of himself and his own abilities, that he retired unto *Geneva*, where having throughly informed himself in all particulars, both of Doctrine and Discipline, wherein the Churches of that platform differed from the Church of *England*, he returned home with an intent to repair his credit, or rather to get himself a name, (as did *Eraſtratus* in the burning of *Diana*'s Temple) by raising such a fire, such combustions in her, as never were to be extinguished (like the fire of *Taberah*) but by the immediate hand of Heaven.

The *Genevians* had already began to blow the coals, and brought fewel to them, but it was onely for the burning of Caps and Rochets. The Common-Prayer Book was so fortified by Act of Parliament, that there was no assaulting of it without greater danger than they durst draw upon themselves. And as for the Episcopal Government, it was so interwoven and incorporated with the Laws of the Land, so twisted in with the Prerogative of the Crown and the Regal Interest, that they must first be in a capacity of trampling on the Laws and the Crown together, before they could attempt the destruction of it. But Caps and Typpets, Rochets and Lawn sleeves, and Canonical Coats, seemed to be built upon no better foundation than superstitious custom, some old Popish Canon, or at the best some temporary Injunction of the Queens devising, which could not have the power and effect of Law. This *Game* they had in *chase* in King *Edward*'s time, which now they are resolved to follow both with *horn* and *hound*, and *hunt* it to the very last: But as good *Huntsmen* as they were, they came off with loss, they that sped best in it, being torn by the *briers* and *bushes*, through which the fury of their passion carried them in pursute of the sport: Amongst which, none sped worse than *Sampson*, because none had so much to lose in the prosecution; for resting obstinate in refusing to wear that habit which of right belonged unto his place, he was deprived of that place by the High Commissioners, to which the habit did belong. So eminent a Preferment as the Deanry of *Christ-church* deserved a man of a better temper, and of a more exemplary conformity to the rules of the Church; Both which were found in Dr. *Thomas Godwin*, Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, advanced unto this Deanry first, and after to the Bi-

shoprick

ſhoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*; more fortunate in being Father to Dr. *Francis Godwin* a late Biſhop of *Hereford*, never to be forgotten for his Commentaries of the Engliſh Biſhops, digeſted with ſuch infinite pains, and no leſs ingenuity. *An. Reg. Eliz. 6.* 1564.

The obſtinacy of theſe men in matter of Ceremony, prompted the Biſhops to make trial of their Orthodoxie in points of Doctrine. The Articles of Religion lately agreed upon in Convocation, had been ſubſcribed by all the Clergy, who had voted to them, ſubſcribed not onely for themſelves, but in the name of all thoſe in the ſeveral Dioceſſes and Cathedral Churches, whom they repreſented. But the Biſhops not thinking that ſufficient to ſecure the Church, required ſubſcription of the reſt in their ſeveral places, threatning no leſs than deprivation to ſuch as wilfully refuſed, and obſtinately perſiſted in that refuſal. Many there were who bogled at it, as they all did, but did it not ſo perverſely, nor in ſuch great numbers as when their faction was grown ſtrong and improved to multitudes. Some ſtumbled at it in regard of the firſt clauſe added to the 20th. Article, about the authority of the Church, others in reference to the 36th. touching the Conſecration of Archbiſhops and Biſhops; ſome thought they attributed more authority to the Supream Magiſtrate, over all perſons and cauſes both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, than could conſiſt with that Autocratie and Independency which *Calvin* arrogated unto his Presbyteries and other Churches of that platform: And others looked upon the *Homilies* as beggarly rudiments, ſcarce milk for Babes, but by no means to be ſerved in for a ſtronger ſtomach. In general, thought by the *Genevians* and *Zuinglian* Goſpellers to have too much in them of the Pope, or too little of *Calvin*, and therefore not to be ſubſcribed by any who deſired the reputation of keeping a good conſcience with faith unfeigned. Of which number none ſo much remarkable as *Father John Fox* the Martyrologiſt, who had before appeared in the Schiſm at *Franckfort*, and left that Church (when *Cox* had got the better in it) to retire to *Geneva*; being now called on to ſubſcribe, that the opinion which was had of his parts and piety might advance the ſervice, he is ſaid to have appeared before the Biſhop, (but whether before the Archbiſhop or his own Dioceſan is not much material) with the New-Teſtament in *Greek*, "To this (ſaid he) I "will ſubſcribe, and if this will not ſerve, take my Prebend of *Salisbury*, the one-"ly preferment, which I hold in the Church of *England*, and much good may "it do you.

This refractory anſwer (for it was no better) might well have moved the Biſhop to proceed againſt him, as he did againſt ſome others who had ſtood on the ſame refuſal; but kiſſing goes by kindneſs, as the ſaying is, and ſo much kindneſs was ſhewed to him, that he both kept his reſolution and his place together; which whether it might not do more hurt to the Church, than that preferment in the Church did advantage him, I think no wiſe man will make a queſtion; for commonly the exemption or indemnity of ſome few particulars, confirms the obſtinacy of the reſt, in hope of being priviledged with the like indemnity. And therefore it was well obſerved by Biſhop *Bancroft*, when King *James* propoſed the writing of a Letter to the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, for reſpiting ſome Miniſters of his Dioceſs from a preſent conformity, That if this purpoſe ſhould proceed, the copy of thoſe Letters would fly over the Kingdom, and then others would make the ſame requeſt for ſome friends of theirs, and ſo no fruit would follow of the preſent *Conference*, but that all things would be worſe than before they were. But Queen *Elizabeth* was not drawn ſo eaſily to the like indulgencies, for which ſhe received her own juſt praiſes from the Pen of an Adverſary, *Harding* by name, in his Epiſtle Dedicatory prefixed before his Anſwer to the Biſhops *Apology*, commends *her earneſt zeal and travail, in bringing thoſe diſordered Miniſters into ſome order of decent apparel, which yet ſome of them wanted reaſon to apply themſelves to.* And *Sanders* (who ſeldom ſpeaks well of her) firſt informs his Reader, "What bickerings "there were in *England* about the Rochet, and other Veſtments of the Cler-

An. Reg. Eliz. 6. 1564.

"gy; that many of the oppoſite party regarded not the Queens judgement in "it, but ſent for counſel and advice to *Germany France*, *Savoy*, and *Switzerland*, "but ſpecially to *Theodore Beza* and *Peter Martyr*; but finally that notwith- "ſtanding the advice of the one, and the addreſſes of the other, the Queen pro- "ceeded vigorouſly to the deprivation of all ſuch perſons as wilfully oppoſed "her order made in that behalf.

It ſeems by this that our *Genevians*, for the greater countenancing of their inconformity, had ſtirred up the moſt eminent Divines of the *Gallick* and *Helvetian* Churches to declare in favour of their doings; And it appears alſo, by remembrances in ſome Authors, that *Calvin* apprehending ſome neglect from Mr. Secretary *Cecil*, in making either no return, or a return which ſignified nothing, to his firſt addreſſes, had laid aſide his care of the Church of *England*, for which he could expect no thanks from the Biſhops, or had received ſo little from the great men of the Court, But *Peter Martyr* while he lived, conceived himſelf to have ſome intereſt in this Church, in which he had enjoyed ſuch a good preferment, but more in ſome particular perſons and members of it, who ſeemed to depend upon his judgement, and to ask counſel of him as their ſureſt Oracle: In which, how much he countenanced that faction in King *Edward's* time both by his practice and his pen, and what encouragement he gave them in this preſent Reign, hath been ſhewn before; how much out-gone by *Theodore Beza*, who next uſurped a ſuper-intendency over all the Churches of this Iſland, may be ſeen hereafter: All that ſhall now be ſaid of either of them, or of all together, ſhall be briefly this, that this poor Church might better have counted their beſt helps in points of Doctrine, than have been troubled with their intermedlings in matter of Diſcipline. More modeſtly then ſo dealt *Bullinger* and *Gualter*, two Divines of *Switzerland*, as eminent in all points of learning as the beſt amongſt them; who being ſollicited by ſome zealous brethren to ſignifie their judgement in the preſent controverſie, about the Apparel of the Clergy, return an approbation of it, but ſend the ſame incloſed in ſeveral Letters to *Sandys*, *Horn*, and *Gryndal*, that they might ſee that neither of them would engage in the affairs of this Church, without the privity of the Governors and Rulers of it.

To bring this quarrel to an end, or otherwiſe to render all opponents the more inexcuſable, the Queen thought fit to make a further ſignification of her Royal pleaſure, not grounded onely on the Soveraign Power and Prerogative Royal, by which ſhe publiſhed her *Injunctions* in the firſt year of her Reign, but legally declared by her Commiſſioners for cauſes Eccleſiaſtical according to the Acts and Statutes made in that behalf; for then it was to be preſumed, that ſuch as had denyed obedience to her ſole commands, would at leaſt give it to the Laws. The Archbiſhop is thereupon required to conſult together with ſuch Biſhops and Commiſſioners as were next at hand, upon the making of ſuch Rules and Orders as they thought neceſſary for the peace of the Church, with reference to the preſent condition and eſtate thereof: Which being accordingly performed, preſented to the Queen, and by her approved, the ſaid Rules and Orders were ſet forth and publiſhed in a certain book, entituled, *Advertiſement, partly for due order in the publick Adminiſtration of the Common-Prayers, and uſing the holy Sacraments; and partly for the Apparel of all perſons Eccleſiaſtical, by the vertue of the Queens Majeſties Letters commanding the ſame, the* 15th. *day of* January, &c. And that they might be known to have the ſtamp of Royal Authority, a Preface was prefixed before them, in which it was expreſſed, "That the Queen had called to her remembrance how "neceſſary it was for the advancement of God's glory, *&c.* for all her loving "ſubjects of the ſtate Eccleſiaſtical, not onely to be knit together in the "bonds of Uniformity touching the miniſtration of Gods Word and Sacra- "ments, but alſo to be of one decent behaviour of outward apparel, that by "their diſtinct habits they might be known to be of that holy vocation, "whereby the greater reverence might be given unto them in their ſeveral "Offices,

"Offices, that thereupon she had required the Metropolitan, by her special Let- *An. Reg. Eliz. 6.* 1564.
"ters, that upon conference had with such other Bishops as were authorised by
"her Commission for causes Ecclesiastical, some order might be took, whereby
"all diversities and varieties in the premises might be taken away; And finally,
"that in obedience unto her commands, the said Metropolitan and the rest
"there named had agreed upon the Rules and Orders ensuing, which were by
"her thought meet to be used and followed.

Now in these Articles or Advertisements, it was particularly enjoyned amongst other things, "That all Archbishops and Bishops should continue their "accustomed Apparel; that all the Deans of Cathedral Churches, Masters of "Colledges, all Archdeacons, and other dignitaries in Cathedral Churches, Do-"ctors, Batchelors of Divinity, and Law, having any Ecclesiastical Living, "should wear in their common apparel abroad a side Gown with sleeves streight "at the hand, without any cut in the same, and that also without any falling "cape, and to wear tippets of sarsnet, as was lawful for them by Act of Parlia-"ment, 24 *Hen.* 8. That all Doctors of Physick or any other faculty, having any "Living Ecclesiastical, or any other that may dispend by the Church 100 Marks, "he to be esteemed by the fruits or tenths of their Promotions; or all Preben-"daries, whose promotions are vallued at 20 l. and upward, to wear the like "habit; that they, or all Ecclesiastical persons, or other having any Ecclesiasti-"cal Living, do wear the cap appointed by the Injunctions, and no hats, but in "their journeyings; that they in their journeys do wear the cloaks with sleeves "put on, and like in fashion to their Gowns, without gards, welts, or cuts; "that in their private houses or studies they use their own liberty of comely ap-"parel; that all inferiour Ecclesiastical persons shall wear long gowns of the "fashion aforesaid, and caps as before is described; that all poor Parsons, Vicars, "and Curats, do endeavour themselves to conform their apparel in like sort, so "soon and as conveniently as their abilities will serve for the same; provided, "that their ability be judged by the Bishop of the Dioces; and if their ability "will not suffer them to buy them long gowns, of the form aforesaid prescri-"bed, that then they shall wear their short gowns, as before expressed; that all "such persons as have been, or be Ecclesiastical, and serve not the Ministry, or "have not accepted, or shall refuse to accept, the Oath of obedience to the "Queens Majesty, do from henceforth wear none of the said apparel, but to go "as meer lay-men, till they be reconciled to obedience; and who shal obstinately "refuse to do the same, be presented by the Ordinary to the Commissioners "for causes Ecclesiastical, and by them to be reformed accordingly. But this belongs more properly to the year next following.

To return therefore where we left, the next considerable action which followed on the Queens reception at *Cambridge*, but more considerable in the consequents than in the act it self, was the preferring of Sir *Robert Dudley*, the second son then living to the Duke of *Northumberland*, to the Titles of Lord *Denbigh* and Earl of *Leicester*, which honour she conferred on him on *Michaelmas* day, with all the Pomps and ceremonies thereunto accustomed; She had before elected him into the Order of the Garter, made him the Master of her Horse, and Chancellor of the University of *Oxon*, suffered him to carry a great sway in all affairs both of Court and Council, and given unto him the fair Mannor of *Denbigh*, being conceived to be one of the goodliest Territories in *England*, as having more Gentlemen of quality which owes sute and service thereunto, than any other whatsoever in the hands of a subject. And now she adds unto these honors the goodly Castle and Mannor of *Kenilworth*, part of the patrimony and possession of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*. Advanced unto which heighth, he ingrossed unto himself the disposing of all Offices in Court and State, and of all preferments in the Church, proving in fine so unappeasable in his malice, and unsatiable in his lusts, so sacrilegious in his rapines, so false in promises, and trecherous in point of trust, and finally so

An. Reg. Eliz. 6. 1564.

destructive of the rights and properties of particular persons, that his *little finger* lay far *heavier* on the English subjects, than the *loins* of all the Favorites of the two last Kings. And that this monstrous vices (most insupportable in any other than himself) might either be connived at, or not complained of, he cloaks them with a seeming zeal to the true Religion, and made himself the head of the *Puritan* faction, who spared no pains in setting forth his praises upon all occasions, making themselves the *Tromparts* to this *Bragadocio*; Nor was he wanting to caresse them after such a manner, as he found most agreeable to those holy hypocrites, using no other language in his speech and letters than pure scripture-phrase, in which he was become as dextrous, as if he had received the same inspirations with the sacred Pen-men. Of whom I had not spoke so much, but that he seemed to have been born for the destruction of the Church of *England*, as may appear further in the prosecution of the *Presbyterian* or *Puritan* History, whensoever any able Pen shall be exercised in it.

But leaving this *Court-Meteor* to be gazed on by unknowing men, let us attend the Obsequies of the Emperor *Ferdinand*, who died on the of in the year now being, leaving the Empire and the rest of his Dominions to *Maximilian* his eldest son, whom he had before made King of the *Romans*. A Prince he was who had deserved exceeding well of the Queen of *England*, and she resolved not to be wanting to the due acknowledgement of so great a merit; the afternoon of the second day of *October*, and the forenoon of the third, are set apart by her command, for this great solemnity, for which there was erected in the upper part of the Quire of the said Church a goodly Herse, richly garnished and set forth, all the Quire being hanged with black cloth, adorned with rich Scutcheons of his Arms of sundry sorts: At the solemnization of which Funeral there were twelve Mourners, and one that presented the Queens person, which was the Marquis of *Winchester* Lord Treasurer of *England*, the other twelve being two Earls, six Lords, and four Knights; the sacred part thereof performed by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, assisted by the Bishops of *London* and *Rochester*, the Funeral Sermon being preached by the Bishop of *London*, which tended much unto the praise and commendation of that famous Emperor. By which solemnity, as she did no small honor to the dead, so she gave great contentment to the living also, the people being generally much delighted with such glorious pomps, and the Church of *England* thereby held in estimation with all forein Princes.

Nothing else memorable in this year but the coming out of certain Books, and the death of *Calvin*. *Dorman* an English fugitive, first publisheth a Book for proof of certain of the Articles denyed in Bishop *Jewel*'s challenge; encountred first by *Alexander Nowel* Dean of the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*, who first appeared in print against those of *Louvain*, and is replyed upon by *Dorman*, in a Book, entituled, *A Discovery of Mr.* Nowel's *untruths*, not published till the year next following. But of more consequence to this Church was the death of *Calvin*, by whose authority so much disorder and confusion was to be brought upon it in the times succeeding; a name much reverenced, not onely by those of his own party and perswasions, but by many grave and moderate men, who did not look at first into the dangers which ensued upon it. His platform at *Geneva* made the onely pattern, by which all reformed Churches were to frame their Government; his Writings made the onely rule, by which all Students in Divinity were to square their Judgement. What *Peter Lombart* was esteemed to be in the Schools of *Rome*, the same was *Calvin* reckoned in all those Churches, which were reformed according to the *Zuinglian* doctrine in the point of the Sacrament. But, *Hic Magister non tenetur*, as the saying was, he was not so esteemed in *England*, nor was there any reason why it should be so; for though some zealous brethren of the *Presbyterian* or *Puritan* faction appeared exceeding ambitious to wear his Livery, and thought no name so honorable as that of *Calvinist*; yet the founder members of

of the Church, the Royal and Prelatical Divines, as the others called them, conceived otherwise of him: And the right learned *Adrian Saraia*, though by birth a *Dutch-man*, yet being once preferred in the Church of *England*, he stomached nothing more than to be called *Calvinian*. *An. Reg. Eliz.* 7. 1564.

Anno Reg. Eliz. 7. *A. D.* 1564, 1565.

WE shall begin this year with the concernments of the Kirk of *Scotland*, where Queen *Elizabeth* kept a Stock still going, the Returns whereof redounded more to her own security, than to the profit and advantage of the Church of *England*. The Queen of *Scots* was young, possessed of that Kingdom, and next Heir to this; first married the to Daulphin of *France*, and sued to after his decease in behalf of *Charls*, the younger son of the Emperor *Maximilian*, as also of the Prince of *Conde*, and the Duke of *Bavaria*. But Queen *Elizabeth* had found so much trouble and danger from her first Alliance with the French, that she was against all Marriage which might breed the like, or any way advance the power of that Competitor: But on the contrary, she commended to her the Earl of *Leicester*, whom she pretended to have raised to those eminent honors, to make him in some sort capable of a Queens affection. Which proposition prove agreeable to neither party, the Queen of *Scots* disdaining that unequal offer, and *Leicester* dealing underhand with *Randolph* the English Resident, to keep her still in that averseness. He had foolishly given himself some hopes of marrying with *Elizabeth* his own dread Mistress, interpreting all her favours to him to proceed from affection, and was not willing that any Proposition for that purpose with the Queen of *Scots* should be entertained. During these various thoughts on both sides, the English began to be divided in opinion concerning the next Heir to the Crown Imperial of this Realm; One *Hales* had writ a discourse in favour of the House of *Suffolk*, but more particularly in defence of the late marriage between the Earl of *Hertford*, and the Lady *Katherine*, for which he was apprehended and committed prisoner. The Romish party were at the same time sub-divided, some standing for the Queen of *Scots* as the next Heir apparent, though an alien born; others for *Henry* Lord *Darnlie*, eldest son to the Earl of *Lenox*, born in the Realm, and lineally descended from the eldest daughter of King *Henry* the 7th. from whom the Queen of *Scots* also did derive her claim.

The Queen of *Scots* also at the same time, grown jealous of the practices of the Lord *James* her bastard-brother, whom she had not long before made Earl of *Murrey*; and being over-powered by those of the Congregation, was at some loss within her self for finding a fit person, upon whose integrity she might depend in point of counsel, and on whose power she might rely in point of safety: After a long deliberation, nothing seemed more conducible to her ends and purposes than the recalling of *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* to his native Country, from whence he had been forced by the *Hamiltonians* in the time of King *Henry*. Being of great power in the West of *Scotland*, from the Kings whereof he was extracted, *Henry* conceived that some good use might be made of him for advancing the so much desired marriage between his onely son Prince *Edward* and the Infant-Queen: The more to gain him to his side, he bestowes upon him in Marriage the Lady *Margaret Dowglas*, daughter of Queen *Margaret* his eldest sister, by *Archibald Dowglas* Earl of *Angus* her second Husband; of which marriage were born *Henry* Lord *Darnly* (of whom more anone) and *Charls* the second son (whom King *James* created Earl of *Lenox*) Father of *Arabella*, before remembred. And that they might support themselves in the nobler equipage, he bestowes upon him also the Mannor of *Setrington*, with other good Lands adjoyning, in the County of *York*, passing since by the name of *Lenox* his Lands in the style of the people. In *England* he remained above twenty years, but kept himself constant in all changes to the

An. Reg. Eliz. 7. 1564. the Church of *Rome*, which made him the more estimable both with his own Queen, and the English Papists. Being returned into his Country, he found that Queen so gracious to him, and such a handsome correspondence with the chief Nobility, that he sends for his two sons to come thither to him, but leaves his wife behind in the Court of *England*, lest otherwise Queen *Elizabeth* might take some umbrage or displeasure at it, if they should all remove at once.

1564 1565 It was about the middle of *February* that the Lord *Darnly* came to the Court of *Scotland*. Who being not full twenty years old, of lovely person, sweet behaviour, and a most ingenuous disposition, exceedingly prevailed in short time on the Queens affections. She had now met with such a man as might please her fancy, and more secure her title to the Crown of *England*, than any of the great Kings in *Europe*. What then should hinder her from making up a mariage so agreeable to her, so acceptable to the Catholick party in both Kingdoms; and which she thought withall of so safe a condition, as could create no new jealousies in the breast of *Elizabeth*? But those of the *Leicestrian* faction conceived otherwise of it, and had drawn most of the Court and Council to conceive so to. For what could more secure the interest of the Queen of *Scots*, than to corroborate her own Title with that of *Darnly*? from which two, what children soever should proceed, they would draw to them many hearts in the Realm of *England*, who now stood fair and faithful to their natural Queen. In this great fear (but made much greater of set purpose to create some trouble) it was advised that the Queen should earnestly be intreated to think of mariage, to the end, that the succession might be setled in her own posterity; that all Popish Justices (whereof there were many at that time) might be put out of Commission, and none admitted to that office, but such as were sincerely affected to the Reformed Religion; that the old deprived Bishops, which for the most part lived at liberty, might be brought to a more close restraint, for fear of hardning some in their errours, and corrupting others with whom they had the freedom of conversation; that a greater power might be conferred upon the English Bishops, in the free exercise of their jurisdiction, for suppressing all such Popish Books as were sent into *England*, deprived the English Fugitives of all those Benefices in this Kingdom, which hitherto they had retained: and all this to be done without incurring the danger of a *Premunire*, with which they were so often threatned by the common Lawyers. It was advised also, that for a counterpoise unto the Title of the Queen of *Scots*, some countenance should be given to the House of *Suffolk*, by shewing favour to the Earl of *Hartford* and the Lady *Katherine*; and that to keep the ballance even with the Romish Catholicks, some moderation should be used to such Protestant Ministers, (you may be sure the Earl of *Leicester* had a hand in this) as hitherto had been opposite in external matters, to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, here by Law established.

Nor was this mariage very pleasing to the *Scots* themselves; the chief Lords of the Romish party, who faithfully had adher'd to their natural Queen in all her former troubles, conceived that some of them might be as capable of the Queens affections, as a young Gentleman born in *England*, and one that never had done any service which might enoble and prefer him before all the rest. The Ministers exclaimed against it in their common preaching, as if it were designed of purpose to destroy Religion, and bring them under their old vassalage to the Church of *Rome*. The Noble men and others of the Congregation, who had sold themselves to Queen *Elizabeth*, were governed wholly by her Counsels, and put themselves into a posture of Arms to disturb the Match, the *Edenburgers* do the like, but are quickly scatter'd, and forced to submit themselves to their Queens good pleasure, who was so bent upon her mariage with this young Nobleman, that neither threatnings nor perswasions could divert her from it. And that he might appear in some capacity fit for the

the mariage of a Queen, ſhe firſt confers upon him the Order of Knighthood, and afterwards creates him Baron of *Ardamanack*, Earl of *Roſſe*, and Duke of *Rothſay*, which are the ordinary Titles of the eldeſt and ſecond ſons of *Scotland*. In *May* ſhe had convented the Eſtates of *Scotland*, to whom ſhe communicated her intention, with the reaſons of it. Which by the greateſt part of the Aſſembly ſeemed to be allowed of, none but the Lord *Ochiltrie* oppoſing what the reſt approved. About the middle of *July*, the mariage Rites were celebrated in the Royal Chapel by the Dean of *Reſtalrig*, and the next day the new Duke was proclaimed King by ſound of Trumpet, and declared to be aſſociated with the Queen in the publick government. The news whereof being brought unto Queen *Elizabeth*, ſhe ſeemed more offended than indeed ſhe was. For well ſhe knew, that both the new King, and the Earl his Father, were men of plain and open natures, not apt to entertain any dangerous counſels to the diſturbance of her quiet; that as long as ſhe retained the Counteſſe with her (who was the Mother of the one, and the Wife of the other) they ſeemed to ſtand bound to their good behaviour, and durſt act nothing to the prejudice of ſo dear a pledge; but by the precipitation of this mariage, the Queen of *Scots* had neither fortified her ſelf in the love of her people, nor in Alliances abroad; and that it could not otherwiſe be, but ſome new troubles muſt break out in *Scotland* upon this occaſion, by which it would be made unco nfortable and inglorious to her. And ſo it proved in the event, for never was mariage more calamitous to the parties themſelves, or more diſhonourable to that Nation, or finally more ſcandalous to both Religions; in nothing fortunate but in the birth of *Iames* the 6th. born in the Palace of *Edenborough* on the 19th. of *July*, *Anno* 1566. ſolemnly Crowned King of the *Scots* on the ſame day of the Month, *Anno* 1567. and joyfully received to the Crown of *England*, on the 14th. of *March*, *Anno* 1602.

An. Reg. Eliz. 7. 1565.

In greater glory and felicity reigned the Queen of *England*. Whoſe praiſe reſounding in all Kingdoms of the *North* and *Weſt*, invited *Cæcille*, ſiſter to the King of *Sweden*, and wife of *Chriſtopher*, Marquiſſe of *Baden*, to undertake a tedious journey both by Land and Sea, from the furtheſt places of the North, to ſee the ſplendor of her Court, and obſerve the prudence of her Government. Landing at *Dover* in the beginning of *September*, they were there received by the Lord *Cobham*, with a goodly train of Knights and Gentlemen; at *Canterbury* by the Lady *Cobham*, with the like honourable train of Ladies and Gentlewomen; at *Graveſend* by the Lord *Hunſdon*, with the band of Penſioners; at *London* on the 11th. of *September* by the Earl of *Suſſex* and his Counteſſe, who waited on them to the Lodging appointed for them. Scarce had ſhe reſted there four days, when ſhe fell into a new travel, of which ſhe was happily delivered by the birth of a ſon; whom the Queen Chriſtned in her own perſon, by the name of *Edwardus Fortunatus*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Duke of *Norfolk* being *Sureties* with her at the Font. She called him *Edward*, with relation to the King her brother, whoſe memory ſhe dearly loved; and *Fortunatus* in regard that he came ſo luckily into the world, when his Mother after a moſt painful pilgrimage, was ſafely come to pay her *Devotions* at that *Shrine* which ſhe ſo much honoured. Having remained here till the *April* following, they were diſmiſt with many rich Preſents, and an annual penſion from the Queen; conducted honourably by the Lord *Aburgavenny* to the Port of *Dover*, and there ſhipped for *Calais*; filling all places in the way betwixt that and *Baden*, with the report of the magnificence of their entertainment in the Court of *England*. And that the Glories of their entertainment might appear the greater, it hapned that *Rambouillet* a French Ambaſſador came hither at that time upon two ſolemnities; that is to ſay, to be inſtalled Knight of the *Garter* in the place and perſon of that King, and to preſent the Order of St. *Michael*, (the principal Order of that Kingdom) to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Leiceſter*. The one performed with the accuſtomed Pomps and Ceremonies in the Chapel of S. *George* at *Windſor*, the other with

An. Reg. Eliz. 7. 1565.

with like State and ſplendour, in the Royal Chapel at *Whitehall*. Such a well tempered piety did at that time appear in the Devotions of the Church of *England*, that generally the Engliſh Papiſts, and the Ambaſſadors of foreign Princes ſtill reſorted to them.

But true it is, that at that time ſome zealots of the Church of *Rome* had begun to ſlacken their attendance, not out of any new diſlike which they took at the ſervice, but in regard of a Decree ſet forth in the Council of *Trent*, prohibiting all reſort to the Churches of Hereticks. Which notwithſtanding the far greater part continued in their firſt obedience, till the coming over of that Roaring Bull from Pope *Pius* the 5th. by which the Queen was excommunicated, the ſubjects diſcharged from their obedience to the Laws, and the going or not going to the Church, made a *ſign diſtinctive* to difference a *Roman Catholick* from an *Engliſh Proteſtant*. And it is poſſible enough that they might have ſtood much longer to their firſt conformity, if the diſcords brought into the Church by the *Zuinglian* faction, together with their many innovations both in Doctrine and Diſcipline, had not afforded them ſome further ground for the deſertion. For in this year it was that the *Zuinglian* or *Calvinian* faction began to be firſt known by the name of *Puritans*, if *Genebrard*, *Gualter*, and *Spondanus* (being all of them right good Chronologers) be not miſtaken in the time. Which name hath ever ſince been appropriate to them, becauſe of their pretending to a greater *Purity* in the ſervice of God, than was *held forth* unto them (as they gave it out) in the Common Prayer Book; and to a greater oppoſition to the Rites and Uſages of the Church of *Rome*, than was agreeable to the conſtitution of the Church of *England*. But this *Purity* was accompanied with ſuch irreverence, this oppoſition drew along with it ſo much licenciouſneſſe, as gave great ſcandal and offence to all ſober men; ſo that it was high time for thoſe which had the care of the Church, to look narrowly unto them, to give a check to thoſe diſorders and confuſions, which by their practices and their preachings they had brought into it, and thereby laid the ground of that woful ſchiſm which ſoon after followed. And for a check to thoſe diſorders, they publiſhed the Advertiſement before remembred, ſubſcribed by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Ely*, *Lincoln*, *Rocheſter*, and other of her Majeſties Commiſſioners for Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, according to the Statute made in that behalf.

This was the onely preſent remedy which could then be thought of. And to prevent the like confuſions for the time to come, a *Proteſtation* was deviſed to be taken by all Parſons, Vicars and Curates in their ſeveral ſtations, by which they were required to declare and promiſe, "That they would not "preach, nor publickly interpret, but only read that which is appointed by "publick authority, without ſpecial Licence of the Biſhop under his Seal; "that they would read the Service plainly, diſtinctly, and audibly, that all "the people might hear and underſtand; that they would keep the Regiſter "book according to the Queens Majeſties Injunctions; that they would uſe "ſobriety in apparel, and eſpecially in the Church at Common Prayers, ac"cording to Order appointed; that they would move the Pariſhioners to quiet "and concord, and not give them cauſe of offence, and help to reconcile them "that be at variance, to their utmoſt power; that they would read dayly at "the leaſt one Chapter of the Old Teſtament, and another of the New, with "good adviſement, to the increaſe of their knowledge; that they would in "their own perſons, uſe and exerciſe their Office and Place, to the honour of "God, and the quiet of the Queens ſubjects within their charge, in truth, con"cord and unity; as alſo obſerve, keep and maintain ſuch Order and Uniformity in all external Policy, Rites and ceremonies of the Church, as by the "Lawes, good uſages and Orders, are already well provided and eſtabliſhed; "and finally, that they would not openly meddle with any Artificers occupations, as covetouſly to ſeek a gain thereby, having in Eccleſiaſtical Livings

pvings, twenty Nobles or above by the year. Which protestation, if it either had been generally pressed upon all the Clergy (as perhaps it was not) or better kept by them that took it, the Church might questionless have been saved from those distractions, which by the *Puritan* Innovators were occasioned in it. *An. Reg. Eliz.* 8 1569.

Anno Reg. Eliz. 8. *A. D.* 1565, 1566

THus have we seen the publick Liturgy confirmed in Parliament, with divers penalties on all those who either did reproach it, or neglect to use it, o. wilfully withdrew their attendance from it; the Doctrine of the Church declared in the Book of Articles, agreed upon in Convocation, and ratified, in due form of Law, by the Queens authority; external matters in officiating Gods publick service, and the apparel of the Clergy, regulated and reduced to their first condition, by the Books of *Orders* and *Advertisements*. Nothing remaineth, but that we settle the Episcopal Government, and then it will be time to conclude this History. And for the setling of this Government by as good authority as could be given unto it by the Lawes of the Land, we are beholden to the obstinacy of Dr, *Edmond Bonner*, the late great slaughter-man of *London*. By a Statute made in the last Parliament, for keeping her Majesties Subjects in their due obedience, a power was given unto the Bishops to tender and receive the oath of *Supremacy*, of all manner of persons, dwelling and residing in their several *Dioceses*. *Bonner* was then prisoner in the *Clink* or *Marshalsea*, which being in the Burrough of *Southwark*, brought him within the Jurisdiction of *Horn* Bishop of *Winchester*, by whose Chancellor the Oath was tender'd to him. On the refusal of which Oath, he is endicted at the Kings Bench upon the Statute, to which he appeared in some Term of the year foregoing, and desires that counsel be assigned to plead his cause, according to the course of the Court. The Court assigns him no worse men than *Christopher Wray* afterwards chief Justice of the Common Pleas, that famous Lawyer *Edmond Ployden*, whose Learned Commentaries do sufficiently set forth his great abilities in that Profession; and one Mr. *Lovelace*, of whom we find nothiug but the name.

By them and their Advice, the whole pleading chiefly is reduced to these two heads, to omit the nicities and punctilioes of lesser moment) the first whereof was this, That *Bonner* was not at all named in the indictment, by the stile and tirle of Bishop of *London*, but onely by the name Dr. *Edmond Bonner* Clerk, Dr. of the Lawes, whereas at that time he was legally and actually Bishop of *London*, and therefore the Writ to be *abated*, (as our Lawyers phrase it) and the cause to be dismissed out of the Court. But *Ployden* found here that *the Case was altered*. and that this Plea could neither be allowed by *Catiline*, who was then Chief Justice, nor by any other of the Bench, and therefore it is noted by Chief Justice *Dyer* who reports the Case, with a *Non allocatur*. The second principle Plea was this, That *Horn* at the time when the Oath was tendered, was not Bishop of *Winchester*, and therefore not impowred by the said Statute, to make tender of it by himself or his Chancellor. And for the proof of this, that he was no Bishop, it was alleged that the form of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, which had been ratified by Parliament in the time of King *Edward*, had been repealed in the first year of Queen *Mary*, and so remained at *Horn's* pretended consecration. The Cause being put off from Term to Term, comes at the last to be debated amongst the Judges at *Serjeants Inn*. By whom the cause was finally put upon the issue, and the tryal of that issue Ordered to be committed to a Jury of the County of *Surry*. But then withal it was advised, that the decision of the Point should rather be referred to the following Parliament, for fear that such a weighty matter might miscarry by a contrary Jury, of whose either partiality, insufficiency,

An. Reg. *Eliz.* 8 1566.

ciency, there had been some proof made before, touching the grants made by King *Edward*'s Bishops; of which a great many were made under his pretence, that the Granters were not actually Bishops, nor legally possessed of their several Sees.

According to this sound advice, the business comes under consideration in the following Parliament, which began on the 30th. of *September*, where all particulars being fully and considerately discoursed upon, it was first declared, "That their not restoring of that Book to the former power in terms signi-"ficant and express, was but *Casus Omissus*; and Secondly, That by the Statute "5th. and 6th. *Edward* 6th. it had been added to the Book of Common Prayer "and administration of the Sacraments, as a member of it, or at least an ap-"pendant to it; and therefore by 1. *Eliz.* was restored again, together "with the said Book of Common Prayer, intentionally at the least, if not "in *terminis*. But being the words in the said Statute were not cleer enough "to remove all doubts, they did therefore revive it now; and did accor-"dingly Enact, that all persons that had been, or should be made, Ordered, "or Consecrate Archbishops Bishops Priests, Ministers of Gods Holy "Word and Sacraments, or Deacons after the form and order prescribed in "the said Book, be in very deed, and also by authority hereof, declared and "enacted to be, and shall be, Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Ministers and "Deacons, rightly made, Consecrate, and Ordered, Any Satute, Law, "Canon, or any thing to the contrary notwithstanding. Nothing else done in this Parliament which concerned the Church, nor any thing at all in the Convocation, by which it was of course accompanied, more than the granting of a Subsidy of six shillings in the pound out of all their Benefices and promotions. And as for *Bonner*, who was the other party to the cause in question, it was determined, that neither he, nor any other person or persons, should be impeached or molested in regard of any refusal of the said Oath heretofore made, and hereafter to be made before the end of that Parliament. Which favour was indulged unto them of the Laity, in hope of gaining them by fair means to a sence of their duty; to *Bonner* and the rest of the Bishops, as men that had sufficiently suffered upon that account, by the loss of their Bishopricks.

By this last Act the Church is strongly setled on her natural Pillars of Doctrine, Government and Worship, not otherwise to have been shaken, than by the *Blind zeal* of all such furious *Sampsons* as were resolved to pull it on their own heads, rather than suffer it to stand in so much Glory. And here it will be time to conclude this History, having taken a brief view of the State of the Church, with all the abberrations from its first constitution as it stood at this time, when the Puritan Faction had began to disturb her Order, and that it may be done with a greater certainty, I shall speak it in the words of one, who lived, and writ his knowledge of it at this time, I mean *Iohn Rastel*, in his answer to the Bishops challenge. Who though he were a Papist, and a fugitive Priest, yet I conceive that he hath faithfully delivered to many sad truths in these particulars. Three books he writ within the compass of three years now last past against Bishop *Iewel*, in one of which he makes this address unto him, viz. *And though you* Mr. Jewel *(as I have heard say) do take the bread into your hands when you celebrate solemnly, yet thousands there are of your inferiour Ministers, whose death it is to be bound to any such external fashion, and your Order of celebrating the Communion is so unadvisedly conceived, that every man is left unto his private Rule or Canon, whether he will take the bread into his hands, or let it stand at the end of the Table, the Bread and Wine being laid upon the Table, where it pleases the Sexton or Parish-Clerk to set them* p. 18.

In the Primitive Church Altars were allowed amongst Christians, upon which they offered the unbloody sacrifice of Christs body; yet your company, to declare what followers they are of Antiquity, do account it, even among one of the kinds of Idolatry,

Idolatry, if one keep an Altar standing? And indeed you follow a certain Antiquity, not of the Catholicks, but of desperate Heretieks. Optatus *writing of the Donatists, that they did break, raze, and remove the Altars of God upon which they offered.* p. 34. *and* 165. *An. Reg. Eliz. 8. 1566.*

Where singing is used, what shall we say to the case of the people, that kneel in the body of the Church? yea, let them hearken at the Chancel door it self, they shall not be much wiser. Besides, how will you provide for great Parishes where a thousand people are &c? p. 59.

Then to come to the Apostles, where did you ever read that in their external behaviour, they did wear Frocks or Gowns, or four cornered Caps? or that a company of Lay men-servants did follow them all in one Livery? or that at their Prayers they sate in sides, or lay on the ground, or fell prostrate, or sung Te Deum, *or looked toward the South? or did wear Copes of Tissue or Velvet? with a thousand more such questions.* p. 446.

Whereas the Church of God so well ordered with excellent men of Learning and godliness, is constrained to suffer Coblers, Weavers, Tinkers, Tanners, Cardmakers, Tapsters, Fidlers, Goalers, and other of like profession, not only to enter into disputing with her, but also to climb up into Pulpits, and to keep the place of Priests, and Ministers, &c. p. 2. *Or that any Bagpipers, Horsecoursers, Jaylers, or Ale basters, were admitted then into the Clergy, without good and long tryal of their Conversation?* p. 162.

Or that any Bishop then did swear by his honour, when in his visitation abroad in the Countrey, he would warrant his promise to some poor Prisoner Priest under him; or not satisfyed with the prisoning of his adversary, did cry out, and call upon the Prince, not disposed that way, to put them to most cruel deaths; or refused to weare a white Rochet, or to be distinguished from the Laity by some honest Priests apparel, p. 162, *or gathered a Benevolence of his Clergy to set him up in his household?* p. 163.

Or that the Communion Table (if any then were) was removeable up and down, hither and thither, and brought at any time to the lower parts of the Church, there to execute the Lords Supper --- or that any Communion was said on Good Friday, or that the Sacrament was ministred then sometimes in Loaf Bread, sometimes in Wafers, and those rather without the name of Jesus or the sign of the Cross, than with it; or that at the Communion time the Minister should wear a Cope, and at all other Service a Surplice only; or as at some places it is used, nothing at all besides his common apparel, or that they used a common and prophane cup at the Communion, and not a consecrated and hallowed vessel? p. 162, 163.

Or that a solemn curse should be used on Ash Wednesday; or that a Procession about the fields was used in the Rogation week, rather thereby to know the bounds and borders of every Parish, than to move God to mercy, and shew mens hearts to devotion; or that the man should put the Wedding Ring upon the fourth finger of the left hand of the Women, and not on the right, as hath been many hundred years contined? p. 163.

Or that the residue of the Sacrament unreceived, was taken of the Priest, or of the Parish Clerk, to spread their young childrens butter thereupon, or to serve their own tooth with it at their homely table; or that it was lawful then to have but one Communion in one Church in one day. p. 164. *or that the Lent or Friday was to be fasted for civil policy, not for any devotion.* p. 165. *or that the lay people communicating, did take the cup at one anothers hands, and not at the Priests?* p. 166.

Or that any Bishop then, threw down the Images of Christ and his Saints, and set up their own, their wives, and their childrens pictures in their Chambers and Parlours, p. 164. *or that being a Virgin at the taking of his Office, did afterwards yet commendably take a wife unto him.* p. 165. *or that was married on Ash Wednesday; or that preached it to be all one to pray on a dunghil and in a Church; or that any Fryer of 60 years, obtaining afterwards the room of a Bishop, married a young woman of nineteen years, &c?* p. 166.

An. Reg. Eliz. 8. 1566.

Thus have we seen the Church eſtabliſhed on a ſure foundation, the Doctrine built upon the Prophets and Apoſtles, according to the explication of the ancient Fathers; the Government truly Apoſtolical, and (in all eſſential parts thereof) of Divine inſtitution; the Liturgy an extract of the Primitive forms; the Ceremonies few, but neceſſary, and ſuch as tended only to the preſervation of decency, and increaſe of piety. And we have ſeen the firſt Eſſays of the *Puritan* faction, beginning low at Caps and Surplices, and Epiſcopal habits; but aiming at the higheſt points; the alteration of the Government both in Church and State, the adulterating of the Doctrine, and the ſubverſion of the Liturgy and form of Worſhip here by Law eſtabliſhed.

AN

APPENDIX

To the former

BOOK:

CONTAINING,

1. The Articles of Religion agreed upon in Convocation Anno 1562. compared with those which had been made and publiſhed in the Reign of King Edward the 6th. Anno 1552.

2. Notes on the former Articles, concerning the particulars in which they differed, and the reaſons of it.

A Preface to the following ARTICLES.

THe Lutherans *having published that famous* Confession *of their faith, which takes name from* Ausberge, *at which City it was tendered to the consideration of* Charles *the 5th. and the Estates of the Empire there assembled,* Anno 1530. *In tract of time, all other Protestant and Reformed Churches followed that example; And this they did, partly to have a constant Rule amongst themselves, by which all private persons were to frame their judgements, and partly to declare that consent and harmony which was betwixt them and the rest of those National Churches, which had made an open seperation from the Popes of* Rome. *Upon which grounds, the Prelates of the Church of* England *having concurred with the godly desires of King* Edward *the sixth, for framing one uniform Order to be used in God's publick worship; and publishing certain pious and profitable Sermons in the English Tongue for the instruction of the people, found a necessity of holding forth some publick Rule, to testifie as well their Orthodoxie in some points of Doctrine, as their abhorrency from the corruptions of the Church of* Rome, *and the extravagancies of the Anabaptists, and other Sectaries. This gave the first occasion to the Articles of Religion published in the Reign of King* Edward *the sixth,* Anno 1552. *as also of the Review thereof by the Bishops and clergy assembled in their convocation under Queen* Elizabeth, Anno 1562. *which being compared with one another will appear most plainly, neither to be altogether the same, nor yet much different, the later being rather an explication of the former, where the former seemed to be obscure, or not expressed in such full and significant tearms as they after were, than differing from them in such points, wherein they dissented from the* Romanists *and some modern Hereticks: But what these differences were, both for weight and number, the Reader may observe by seeing the* Articles *laid before him in their several columns (as hereafter followeth) wherein the variations are presented in a different character, or otherwise marked out by their several figures in the line and margin: which was first done with reference to some Annotations intended once upon the same, for shewing the reason of those Additions, Substractions, and other alterations which were thought necessary to be made to, and in,* King Edwards *Book, by the Bishops and Clergy in their convocation,* Anno 1562. *But that design being laid aside, as not so compatible with the nature of our present History, the Articles shall be laid down plainly as they are in themselves, leaving the further consideration of the differences which occur between them to the Reader's care.*

Articles

Articles *agreed upon by the Biſhops and other learned men* (1) *In the Convocation held at* London, *in the year* 1552. *for the avoiding of Diverſities of Opinions, and ſtabliſhing conſent touching true Religion:*

Publiſhed by the Kings Authority

I.
Of Faith in the holy Trinity.

THere is but one living and true God, everlaſting, without body, parts, or paſſions; of infinite power, wiſdom, and goodneſs; the Maker and Preſerver of all things both viſible and inviſible. And in Unity of this Godhead there are three Perſons, one Subſtance, Power, and Eternity, the Father, the Son, and the *Holy* Ghoſt.

II.
The Word of God made very Man.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, took mans nature in the womb of the bleſſed Virgin, of her ſubſtance: So that two whole and perfect Natures, that is to ſay, the (2) Godhead & Manhood, were joyn'd together in one Perſon, never to be divided, whereof is one Chriſt, very God and very Man, who truly ſuffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a ſacrifice not onely for original guilt, but alſo for actual ſins of men.

III.
Of the going down of Chriſt into Hell.

As Chriſt dyed for us, and was buried, ſo alſo it is to be believed that he went down into well: (3) For *his Body lay in the* Grave *till his Reſurrection, but his* Soul *being ſeperate from his* Body, *remained with the ſpirits which were detained in* priſon, *that is to ſay, in* Hell, *and there preached unto them,* as witneſſeth that place of *Peter.*

Articles *agreed upon by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, in the Convocation holden at* London: *in the year* 1562. *for the avoiding of Diverſities of Opinions, and ſtabliſhing conſent touching true Religion:*

Publiſh'd by the Queens Authority

I.
Of Faith in the holy Trinity.

THere is but one living and true God, Everlaſting, without body, parts, or paſſions; of infinite power, wiſdom, and goodneſs, the Maker and Preſerver of all things both viſible and inviſible. And in Unity of this Godhead there be three Perſons, of one Subſtance, Power, and Eternity, the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghoſt.

II.
Of the Word or Son of God which was made very Man.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, *begotten from everlaſting of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one Subſtance with the* Father: (2) tooke man's nature in the womb of the bleſſed Virgin, &c.

III.
Of the going down of Chriſt into Hell.

As Chriſt dyed for us, and was buried, ſo alſo it is to be believed that he went down into Hell.

IV. *The*

IV.
The Resurrection of Christ.

Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again his Body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith he ascended into Heaven, and there sitteth till he return to judge all men at the last day.

(5)

V
The Doctrine of the Holy Scripture is sufficient to Salvation.

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to Salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, *although sometimes it may be admitted (6) by Gods faithful people as pious, and conducing unto order and decency* yet is not to be required of any man that it should be (7) beleived as an Article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.

IV.
Of the Resurrection of Christ.

Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again his Body, with flesh, bones, &c.

V.
Of the Holy Ghost.

The Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one Substance, Majesty and Glory with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

VI.
Of the sufficiency of the holy Scriptures for salvation.

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an Article of the Faith, or be thought necessary or requisite to salvation.

In the name of the holy Scripture (7) we do understand those Canonical Books of the Old and new Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church; that is to say,

Genesis	Joshua
Exodus	Judges
Leviticus	Ruth
Numbers	1st. of Samuel
Deuteronomy	2d. of Samuel &c.

And the other Books (as Hierom *saith) the Church doth read for example of life; and instruction of manners, but yet doth it not apply them to establish any Doctrine, such are these following,*

The 3d. of *Esdras*	The Book of *Judeth.*
The 4th. of *Esdras*	The rest of the Book of *Hester.*
The book of *Tobias*	The book of *Wisdome, &c.*

All

VI.
The old Teſtament is not to be rejected.

The Old Teſtament is not to be rejected, as if it were contrary to the New, but to be retained. Foraſmuch as in the Old Teſtament as in the New, everlaſting life is offered to Mankind by Chriſt, who is the onely Mediator betwixt God and Man, being both God and Man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, who feign, that the old Fathers did look only for tranſitory Promiſes.

VII.
The three Creeds.

The three Creeds, *Nice* Creed, *Athanaſius* Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apoſtles Creed, ought thoroughly to be received; for they may be proved by moſt certain warrants of the holy Scripture,

VIII.
Original Sin.

Original ſin ſtandeth not in the following of *Adam*, (as the *Pelagians* do vainly talk, *and at this day is affirmed by the Anabaptiſts*) (9) but it is the fault and corruption of every man, that naturally is ingendred of the off-ſpring of *Adam*, whereby Man is very far from God, from Original Righteouſneſs, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, ſo that the fleſh luſteth alwayes contrary to the ſpirit, and therefore in every perſon borne into this world it deſerveth Gods wrath and damnation. And this infection of

All the Books of the New Teſtament, as they are commonly received, we do receive and account them Canonical.

VII.
Of the old Teſtament.

The old Teſtament is not contrary to the New, for both in the old and the new Teſtament Everlaſting life is offered Mankind by Chriſt, &c.

(8)

Although the Law given from God by Moſes, as touching Ceremonies and Rites, do not bind Chriſtian men, nor the Civil Precepts thereof ought of neceſſity to be received in any Commonwealth; yet notwithſtanding no Chriſtian man whatſoever is free from the obedience of the Commandments, which are called Moral.

VIII.
Of the three Creeds.

The three Creeds, *Nice* Creed, *Athanaſius* Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apoſtles Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and *believed*: for they may be proved by moſt certain warrants of holy Scripture.

IX.
Of Original or Birth ſin.

Original ſin ſtandeth not in the following of *Adam* (as the *Pelagians* do vainly talk) but is the fault and the corruption of the nature of every man, &c.

nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated, whereby the luſt of the fleſh, called in Greek φρονημα σαρκος, which ſome do expound the wiſdome, ſome ſenſuality, ſome the affection, ſome the deſire of the fleſh, is not ſubject to the Law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that beleive and are baptized, yet the Apoſtle doth confeſs, that concupiſcence and luſt hath of it ſelf the nature of ſin.

IX.
Of Free-will.

10 We have no power to do good works pleaſant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Chriſt preventing us, that we may have a good will and working with us, when we have that good will.

X.
Of Grace.

The Grace of Chriſt, or the Holy
11 Ghoſt which is given by him, (11) doth take from man the heart of Stone, and giveth him a heart of fleſh. And though it rendreth us willing to doe thoſe good works which before we were unwilling to do, and unwilling to do thoſe evil works which before we did, yet is no violence offered by it to the will of man; ſo that no man when he hath ſinned can excuſe himſelf, as if he had ſinned againſt his will, or upon conſtraint, and therefore that he ought not to be accuſed or condemned upon that account.

XI.
Of the Juſtification of Man. (12)

12 Juſtification by faith onely in Jeſus Chriſt, in that ſenſe wherein it is ſet forth in the Homily of *Juſtification*, is the moſt certain and moſt wholeſome doctrine for a Chriſtian man.

X.
Of Free-will.

The condition of man after the fall of Adam *is ſuch,* (10) *that he cannot turn and prepare himſelf by his own natural ſtrength and good works, to faith and calling upon God.* Wherefore we have no power to do good works pleaſant and acceptable unto God, &c.

XI.
Of the Juſtification of Man.

We are accounted Righteous before God onely for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt by faith, and not for our own works or deſervings. Wherefore that we are juſtified by faith is a moſt wholeſome Doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expreſſed in the Homily of Juſtification

XII.

13

XII.

Works before Iuſtification.

Works done before the grace of Chriſt, and the inſpiration of his Spirit, are not pleaſant to God, for aſmuch as they ſpring not of faith in Jeſus Chriſt; neither do they make men meet to receive Grace, or (as the School-Authors ſay) deſerve Grace of Congruity; yea rather for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of ſin.

XIII.

Works of Supererogation.

Voluntary works beſides, over and above Gods Commandments, which they call works of Supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety; for by them men do declare, that they do not onely render unto God as much as they are bound to doe, but that they do more for his ſake, than of bounden duty is required; Whereas Chriſt ſaith plainly, *When you have done all that are commanded to you, ſay, We are unprofitable ſervants.*

XII.

Of good works.

Albeit the good works which are the fruits of faith, (13) and follow after Juſtification, cannot put away our ſins, and endure the ſeverity of Gods judgement, yet are they pleaſing and acceptable unto God in Chriſt, and do ſpring out neceſſarily of a true and lively faith, inſomuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently knowne, as a tree diſcerned by the fruit.

XIII.

Of works before Iuſtification.

Works done before the Grace of Chriſt, and the inſpiration of his Spirit, are not pleaſant to God, &c.

XIV.

Of Works of Supererogation.

Voluntary works beſides, over and above Gods commandments, which they call works of ſupererogation, &c.

XIV.

None but Christ without Sin.

Christ in the truth of our nature, was made like unto us in all things (sin only except) from which he was clearly void both in his flesh and in his spirit: He came to be a Lamb without spot, who by sacrifice of himself once made, should take away the sins of the world; and sin (as Saint *Iohn* saith) was not in him: But all we the rest (although baptized and born in Christ) yet offend in many things, and if we say we have no sin we deceive our selves, and the truth is not in us.

XV.

Of the sin against the holy Ghost.

Not every deadly sin willingly committed after Baptism, is sin against the holy Ghost, and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of Repentance is not to be denyed to such as fall into sin after Baptism. After we have received the holy Ghost, we may depart from Grace given, and fall into sin, and by the Grace of God (we may) arise again and amend our lives. And therefore they are to be condemned which say, They can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny *the place of Pennance* (14) to such as truly repent.

XVI.

The Blasphemy against the holy Ghost.

The Blasphemy against the holy Ghost is then committed (15) when any man out of malice and hardness of heart, doth wilfully reproach, and persecute in an hostile manner, the truth of Gods Word, manifestly made known unto him. Which sort of men, being made obnoxious to the curse, subject themselves to the most grievous of all wickednesses; from whence this kind of sin is called unpardonable, and so

XV.

Of Christ alone without sin.

Christ in the truth of our nature, was made like unto us in all things, (sin only excepted) &c.

XVI.

Of sin after Baptism.

Not every deadly sin, willingly committed after Baptism, is sin against the holy Ghost, and unpardonable, &c.

And therefore they are to be condemned which say, They can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny the *place of Forgiveness* to such as truly repent.

affirmed

affirmed to be by our Lord and Saviour.

XVII.

Of Predeſtination and Election.

Predeſtination unto life is the everlaſting purpoſe of God, whereby (before the Foundations of the World were laid) he hath conſtantly decreed by his Counſel, ſecret unto us, to deliver from curſe and damnation thoſe (16) whom he hath choſen out of Mankind, and to bring them by Chriſt to everlaſting ſalvation, as veſſels made to honor. Wherefore they which be endued with ſo excellent a benefit of God, be called according to Gods purpoſe, by his Spirit working in due ſeaſon; they through grace obey the calling, they be juſtifyed freely, they are made ſons by Adoption, they are made like the image of the onely begotten Jeſus Chriſt, they walk religiouſly in good works, and at length by Gods mercy they attain to everlaſting felicity.

As the godly conſideration of Predeſtination and Election in Chriſt, is ſtul of ſweet, pleaſant, and unſpeakable comfort to godly perſons, and ſuch as feel in themſelves the working of the Spirit of Chriſt, mortifying the works of the fleſh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things, as well becauſe it doth greatly eſtabliſh and confirm their Faith of eternal ſalvation, to be enjoyed through Chriſt, as becauſe it doth fervently kindle their love towards God: So for curious and carnal perſons, lacking the Spirit of Chriſt, to have continually before their eyes the ſentence of Gods Predeſtination, is a moſt dangerous downfal, whereby the Devil doth thruſt them either into deſperation, or into wretchleſneſs of moſt unclean living, no leſs perilous than deſperation.

XVII.

Of Predeſtination and Election.

Predeſtination unto life is the everlaſting purpoſe of God, whereby (before the Foundations of the World were laid) he hath conſtantly decreed by his Counſel, ſecret unto us, to deliver from curſe and damnation thoſe whom he *hath choſen in Chriſt*, (16) out of Mankind, and to bring them by Chriſt to everlaſting ſalvation.

---they are made the ſons *of God* by Adoption, they be made like the Image of *His* onely begotten Son Jeſus Chriſt, &c.

Fur-

Furthermore, *though the Decrees of*
17 *Predeſtination be unknown to us*, (17) yet muſt we receive Gods promiſes in ſuch wiſe as they be generally ſet forth to us in holy *Scripture*; and in our doings that will of God is to be followed, which we have expreſly declared unto us in the Word of God.

XVIII.

Everlaſting Salvation to be obtained only in the name of Chriſt.

They alſo are to be had accurſed, that preſume to ſay, That every man ſhall be ſaved by the Law or Sect which he profeſſeth, ſo that he be diligent to frame his life according to that Law, and the light of Nature: For holy Scripture doth ſet out unto us only the of Jeſus Chriſt, whereby men muſt be ſaved.

XIX.

All men are bound to keep the Precepts of
18 *the Moral Law.* (18.)

Although the Law given from God by *Moſes* as touching Ceremonies and Rites, do not band Chriſtian men, nor the Civil Precepts thereof ought of neceſſity to be received in any Commonwealth; yet notwithſtanding no Chriſtian man whatſoever is free from the obedience of the Commandments which are called Moral. Wherefore
19 they are not to be heard (19) which teach, that the holy Scriptures were given to none but to the *Weak*, and brag continually of the Spirit by which they do pretend, that all whatſoever they preach is ſuggeſted to them, though manifeſtly contrary to the holy Scripture.

Furthermore, we muſt receive Gods promiſes in ſuch wiſe as they be generally ſet forth to us, &c.

XVIII.

Of obtaining Eternal Salvation by the Name of Chriſt.

They alſo are to be had accurſed, that preſume to ſay, That every man ſhall be ſaved by the Law or Sect which he profeſſeth, &c.

XX. *Of*

XX.

Of the Church.

The visible Church of Christ is a Congregation of faithful men, in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministred, according to Christs Ordinance, in all those things, that of necessity are requisite to the same.

As the Church of *Ierusalem*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch* have erred, so also the Church of *Rome* hath erred, not only in their Livings, and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith.

XXI.

Of the Authority of the Church.

It is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to Gods Word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another; Wherefore although the Church be a witness and keeper of holy Writ, yet as it ought not to decree any thing against the same so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed, for necessity of Salvation.

XXII.

Of the Authority of General Councils.

General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of Princes. And when they be gathered together, (forasmuch as they be an Assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and word of God) they may erre, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining nto God. Wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to Salvation, have neither strength nor authority unless

XIX.

Of the Church.

The visible Church of Christ is a Congregation of faithful men, in which the pure Word of God is preached, &c.

XX.

Of the Authority of the Church.

The Church hath power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith. (20) It is not lawful for the Church, &c.

XXI.

Of the Authority of General Councils

General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of Princes, &c.

it

it may be declared, that they be taken out of holy Scripture.

XXIII.

Of Purgatory.

The Doctrine of the School-men concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping, and Adoration, as well of Images as of Relicts, and also invocation of Saints, is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warrantry of Scripture, but rather *perniciously* repugnant to the Word of God.

XXIV.

No man to minister in the Church except he be called.

It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of publick Preaching, or ministring the Sacraments in the Congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men, who have publick Authority, given unto them in the Congregation, to call and send Ministers into the Lords Vineyard.

XXV.

All things to be done in the Congregation in such a Toung as is understood by the People.

It is most fit, *and most agreeable to the*
21 *Word of God*, (21) that nothing be read or rehearsed in the Congregation, in a Tongue not known unto the People; which *Paul* hath forbidden to be done, unless some be present to interpret.

XXVI.

Of the Sacraments.

Our Lord Iesus Christ gathered his
22 *people into a Society* (22) by Sacra-
23

XXII.

Of Purgatory.

The Doctrine of the School-men concerning Purgatory, &c.

XXIII.

Of ministring in the Congregation.

It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of publick Preaching, &c.

XXIV.

Of speaking in the Congregation in such a Toung, as the people understandeth.

It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the custom of the primitive Church, to have publick prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments in a Tongue not understanded by the people.

XXV.

Of the Sacraments.

Sacraments ordained of Christ (23) be not onely badges and tokens of Chri-

ments

ments very few in number, moſt eaſie to be kept, and of moſt excellent ſignification, that is to ſay, Baptiſm, and the Supper of the Lord.

The Sacraments were not ordained of Chriſt to be gazed upon or to be carried about; but that we ſhould duly uſe them. And in ſuch only as worthily receive the ſame, they have a wholſome effect or opperation, not as ſome ſay, *Ex opere operato.* (24) Which terms as
24 they are ſtrange and utterly unknown
25 to the Holy Scripture, ſo do they yield a ſenſe which ſavoureth of little piety, but of much ſuperſtition: but they that receive them unworthily receive to themſelves damnation.

The Sacraments ordained by the Word of God, be not only badges or tokens of Chriſtian mens profeſſion; but rather they be certain ſure witneſſes, effectual ſigns of grace, and Gods Good, will toward us, by the which he doth work inviſibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but alſo ſtrengthen and confirm our faith in him.

XXVII.

The wickedneſs of the Miniſters takes not away the Efficacy of Divine Inſtitutions.

Although in the viſible Church, the evil be ever mingled with the Good, and ſometimes the Evil have cheif Authority in the Miniſtration of the Word and Sacraments; yet forasmuch as they do not the ſame in their own name, but in Chriſts, and do miniſter by his Commiſſion and Authority, we may uſe their Miniſtry both in hearing the Word of God, and in receiving of the Sacraments; Neither is the effect of Chriſts Ordinance taken away by their wickedneſs, nor the Grace of Gods of Gifts diminiſhed from ſuch as by Faith and chriſtian mens profeſſion, but rather they be certain ſure witneſſes, and effectual ſignes of Grace, and Gods goodwill towards us, by the which he doth work inviſibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but alſo ſtrengthen and confirm our Faith in him.

There are two Sacraments ordained of Chriſt our Lord in the Goſpel, that is to ſay, Baptiſme and the Supper of the Lord.

Thoſe five commonly called Sacraments (25), that is to ſay Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extream Unction, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Goſpel, being ſuch as have grown, partly of the corruyt following of the Apoſtles, partly are ſtates of life allowed in the Scriptures, but yet have not like nature of Sacraments, with Baptiſme and the Lords Supper, for that they have not any viſible Sign or Ceremony ordayned of God.

The Sacraments were not ordained of Chriſt to be gazed on or to be carryed about, but that we ſhould duly uſe them. And in ſuch only as worthyly receive the ſame, they have a wholſome effect or opperation; But they that receive them unworthily purchaſe to themſelves Damnation, as St. *Paul* ſaith,

XXVI.

Of the unworthineſs of the Miniſters, which hinder not the Effect of the Sacraments.

Although in the viſible Church, the Evil be ever mingled, &c.

rightly do receive the Sacraments, miniſtred unto them, which be effectual, becauſe of Chriſts Inſtitution and promiſe, although they be miniſtred by evil men.

Nevertheleſs it appertaineth to the Diſcipline of the Church, that inquiry be made after them, and that they be accuſed by thoſe, that have knowledge of their offences; and finally being found guilty by juſt judgement be depoſed.

XXVIII.

Of Baptiſm.

Baptiſm is not only a ſign of Profeſſion, and mark of Difference whereby Chriſtian men are diſcerned from others, that be not Chriſtned; but it is alſo a ſign of Regeneration, or new birth, whereby, as by an Inſtrument, they that receive Baptiſm Rightly, are grafted into the Church; the promiſes of forgiveneſs of ſin, and of our Adoption to be the ſons of God, by the holy Ghoſt are viſibly ſigned and ſealed; Faith is confirmed, and Grace increaſed by vertue of Prayer unto God. The 26 cuſtome of the Church (26) for Baptiſing young Children is both to be commended, and by all means to be retai- 27 ned in the Church,

XXIX.

Of the Lords Supper.

The Supper of the Lord is not only a ſign of the Love that Chriſtians ought to have amongſt themſelves one to another; but rather it is a Sacrament of our Redemption by Chriſts death. Inſomuch that to ſuch as Rightly, Worthily, and with Faith receive the ſame, the Bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Chriſt, and likewiſe the Cup of bleſſing is a partaking of the Blood of Chriſt.

Tranſubſtantiation (or the change of the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine) in the Supper of the Lord cannot be proved by Holy Writ; but it is repug-

------that inquiry be made after *Evil Miniſters*, &c.

XXVII.

Of Baptiſm.

Baptiſm is not only a ſign of Profeſſion, and mark of Difference, &c.

-------*The Baptiſme of young Children is in any wiſe to be retained in the Church, as moſt agreeable to the Inſtitution of Chriſt.* (27)

XXVIII.

Of the Lords Supper.

The Supper of the Lord is not only a ſign of the Love, &c.

---------but is repugnant to the plain

nant

nant to the plain words of Scripture, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.

Since the very being of humane nature doth require, (29) that the body of one and the same man cannot be at one and the same time in many places, but of necessity must be in some certain and determinate place; therefore the body of Christ cannot be present in many different places at the same time. And since, as the holy Scriptures testifie, Christ hath been taken up into Heaven, and there is to abide till the end of the world; it becometh not any of the faithful to beleive or profess, that there is a Real or corporal presence (as they phrase it) of the Body and blood of Christ in the holy Eucharist.

The sacrament of the Lords Supper, was not by Christs Ordinance, reserved, carried about, lifted up or Worshiped.

words of Scripture, *overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament* (28), and hath given occasion to many Superstitions.

The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner (30) And the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is Faith.

The sacrament of the Lords supper was not by Christs Ordinance, &c.

XXIX.

Of the Wicked which eat not the body of Christ in the Lord's Supper. (31)

The wicked and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visably press with their teeth (as *St. Augustine* saith) the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ; yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ, but rather to their condemnation, do eat and drink the sign or Sacrament of so great a thing.

XXX.

Of both Kinds. (32.)

The Cup of the Lord is not to be denyed to the Lay People; For both the parts of the Lords Sacrament, by Christs Ordinance and Commandment, ought to be ministred to all Christian People alike.

XXX.

Of the one Oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross.

The Offering of Christ once made, is the perfect Redemption, Propitiation, and Satisfaction for all the sins of the whole World, both Original and Actual, and there is none other Satisfaction for sin, but that alone; Wherefore the Sacrifices of Masses, in which it it was commonly said, that the Priests did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were Fables and dangerous deceits.

XXXI.

A single Life is imposed on none by the Word of God.

Bishops, Priests, and Deacons are not commanded by God's Law, either to vow the estate of a single life, or to abstain from Marriage.

XXXII.

Excommunicated Persons are to be avoided.

That person which by open denunciation of the Church, is rightly cut off from the unity of the Church, and Excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful as an Heathen, and Publican, until he be openly reconciled by Penance, and received into the Church by a Judge which hath authority thereunto,

XXXI.

Of the one Oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross.

The offering of Christ once made is the perfect Redemption, &c.

-----were *blasphemous fables* and (33) dangerous deceits.

XXXII.

Of the Marriage of Priests.

Bishops, Priests, and Deacons are not commanded by Gods Law, &c.

Therefore it is lawful also for them, (34) *as for all Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.*

XXXIII.

Of Excommunicated Persons, how they are to be avoided.

That person which by open Denunciation of the Church, &c.

XXXIII. *Of*

XXXIV.

Of the Traditions of the Church.

It is not neceſſary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one, and utterly like; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diverſities of Countries, Times, and mens Manners, ſo that nothing be ordained againſt Gods word. Whoſoever through his private judgement willingly and purpoſely doth openly break the Traditions and Ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved by common Authority, ought to be rebuked openly, (that others may fear to do the like) as he that offendeth againſt the common order of the Church, and hurteth the Authority of the Magiſtrate, and woundeth the Conſciences of the weak Brethren.

35

XXXIV.

Of the Traditions of the Church.

It is not neceſſary that Traditions and Ceremonies, &c.

Every particular or National Church (35) hath Authority to ordain, change, or aboliſh Ceremonies or Rites of the Church, ordained only by man's Authority, ſo that all things be done to edifying.

XXXIV.

Of the Homilies.

The *Homilies lately delivered* (36) and commended to the Church of *England* by the Kings *Injunctions*, do contain a godly and wholeſome Doctrine, and fit to be embraced by all men; and for that cauſe they are diligently, plainly and diſtinctly to be read to the People.

36

XXXV.

Of Homilies.

The Second Book of Homilies, the ſeveral Titles whereof we have joyned under this Article, doth contain a godly and wholeſome doctrine, and neceſſary for the times; as doth the former Book of Homilies, which were ſet forth in the time of *Edward* the ſixth: and therefore we judge them to be read in Churches, by the Miniſters diligently and diſtinctly, that they may be underſtood of the People.

The names of the Homilies.

Of the Right uſe of the Church.
Of Repairing Churches.
Againſt the Peril of Idolatry.
Of Good Works, &c.

XXXV. *Of*

XXXV.

Of the book of Common Prayer, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England.

The Book lately delivered to the Church of *England*, by *the Authority of*
37 *the King and Parliament* (37), containing the manner and form of publick Prayer, and the miniſtration of the Sacraments, in the ſaid Church of *England*; as alſo the Book publiſhed by the
38 ſame Authority, for Ordering Miniſters in the Church, are both of them very pious, as to truth of Doctrine, in nothing contrary, but agreeable to the wholſome Doctrine of the Goſpel, which they do very much promote and illuſtrate. And for that cauſe they are by all faithful Members of the Church of *England*, but chiefly of the Miniſters of the Word, with all thankfulneſs and readineſs of mind, to be received, approved, and commended to the people of God.

XXXVI.

Of the Civil Magiſtrates.

The King of England is after Chriſt
39 (39) the Supream Head on earth of the Church of *England* and *Ireland*.

The Biſhop of *Rome* hath no Juriſdiction in this Realm of *England*.

The Civil Magiſtrate is ordained and approved by God, and therefore are to be obeyed, not only for fear of wrath, but for conſcience ſake.

40

XXXVI.

Of Conſecration of Biſhops and Miniſters.

The Book of Conſecration of (38) Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and ordering of Prieſts and Deacons, lately ſet forth in the time of King *Edward* the ſixth, and confirmed at the ſame time by Authority of Parliament, doth contain all things neceſſary to ſuch conſecration and Ordering. Neither hath it any thing that of it ſelf is ſuperſtitious and ungodly; And therefore whoſoever are conſecrated or ordered according to the Rites of that Book, ſince the ſecond year of the aforenamed King *Edward*, unto this time, or hereafter ſhall be conſecrated or ordered, according to the ſame Rites, we decree all ſuch to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully conſecrated and Ordered.

XXXVII.

Of the Civil Magiſtrates.

The Queens Majeſty hath the cheif Power in this Realm of *England*, and other her Dominions, unto whom the chief Government of all eſtates of this Realm, whether they be eccleſiaſtical or Civil, in all caſes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be ſubject to any Foreign Juriſdiction.

Where we attribute to the Queens Majeſty the cheif Government (40), by which Titles we underſtand the minds of ſome ſlanderous folks to be offended: We give not to our Princeſs the Miniſtry, either of Gods Word, or of the Sacraments, the which thing the Injunctions lately ſet forth by *Elizabeth* our Queen, do moſt plainly teſtifie: but that only Prerogative, which we ſee to have been given alwaies to all

Civil or temporal Laws may punish Christian men with death, for heinous and grievous offences.

It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandement of the Magistrate, to wear Weapons, and serve in the Wars.

XXXVII.

The goods of Christians are not common.

The Riches and goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right title and possession of the same, as certain *Anabaptists* do falsly boast. Notwithstanding every man ought, of such things as he possesseth, liberally to give Alms to the poor, according to his ability.

XXXVIII.

It is lawful for a Christian to take an Oath.

As we confess that vain and rash swearing is forbidden Christian men, by our Lord Jesus Christ, and *Iames* his Apostle; so we judge that Christian Religion doth not prohibit, but that a man may swear when the Magistrate requireth, in a cause of Faith and Charity, so it be done according to the Prophets teaching, in Justice, Judgement, and Truth.

all godly Princes, in holy Scriptures by God himself that is, that they should rule all Estates committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the civil Sword the stubborn and evil doers.

The Bishop of *Rome* hath no Jurisdiction in this Realm of *England*.

The Laws *of this Realm* may punish Christian men with death, &c.

XXXVIII.

Of Christian mens Goods which are not Common.

The Riches and Goods of Christian men are not common, &c.

XXXIX.

Of a Christian man's Oath.

As we confess that vain and rash swearing is forbidden Christian men, &c.

XXXIX.

41 *The Resurrection of the dead is not past already.* (41)

The Resurrection of the dead is not past already, as if it belonged only to the Soul, which by the Grace of Christ is raised from the death of sin, but is to be expected by all men in the last Day: for at that time, as the scripture doth most apparently testify, the dead shall be restored to their own bodies, flesh and bones, to the end that the wicked man, according as either righteously or wickedly he hath passed this life, may, according to his works, receive rewards or punishments.

XL. *The*

XL.

42 *The Souls of men deceaſed do neither periſh with their bodies.* (42)

They who maintain, that the Souls of men deceaſed do either ſleep without any manner of ſence to the day of Judgement; or affirm that they dye together with the body, and ſhall be raiſed therewith at the laſt Day, do wholly differ from the Right Faith and Orthodox Beleif, which is delivered to us in the Holy Scriptures.

XLI.

43 *Of the Millenarians.* (43)

They who endeavour to revive the Fable of the *Millenarians*, are therein contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and caſt themſelves down headlong into Jewiſh Dotages.

XLII.

44 *All men not to be ſaved at laſt.* (44)

They alſo deſerve to be condemned, who endeavour to reſtore that pernicious Opinion, that all men, though never ſo ungodly, ſhall at laſt be ſaved; when for a certain time, appointed by the Divine Juſtice, that they have endured puniſhment for their ſins committed.

FINIS.

A TABLE OF The Principal Matters IN *ECCLESIA RESTAURATA.*

A

Abbot.

THe Abbots of Redding, Colchester *and* Glassenbury *Executed for denying the Kings Supremacy, and their Abbies were seized upon.* page 10.

Abingdon.

Christ's *Hospital in* Abingdon *was founded by King* Edward *the sixt.* 141,142

Absolution.

A Petition in the name of the Kingdom for departing from the Apostolick See and to be absolved for the same. 2 part. 42.

The Kingdom was absolved by Cardinal Pole, *in what manner, when, and in what words the same was done.* 2. pt. 42.

Adrian Saravia, *hated to be called a* Calvinian. 2. pt. 169.

Alasco John.

He was a Polonian, *he and his Congregation of* Germains *and Strangers were protected in the time of* Edward *the Sixth, and had a Church assigned to him for the exercise of Religious Duties.* p. 89.

He and his Congregation were made a Corporation by Letters Patents, consisting of superintendent, and four Ministers, with power to fill vacant places by a new succession. 89.

The toleration of the Exercise of his Religion being different from what was by Law established, proved a great disturbance to the Reformation, and was in effect the setting up of one Altar against another, and the erecting of a Common-wealth in the midst of a Kingdom. 90.

He was a great stickler for the Zwinglians *or* Calvinists, *and maintained sitting at the holy Communion.* 92.

He leaveth the Kingdom. 2. pt. 26.

Altars and Lords-Table.

Why Candles are and were set on Altars. 35.

Taken down by Authority upon the preaching of Hooper, *and what that was.* 95.

The wealth of them induced the Courtiers to take them down, to the intent that they might enjoy the same. 95.

The Table.

An enquiry made after the Jewels, Cresses, &c. of Altars, and the concealment of them. 95

A Letter sent to Bishop Ridley *to take Altars down, and the reason why.* ibid.

In what year Altars were taken down. 97.

When the Altar-wall in St. Paul's *Church* London, *was taken down.* ib.

The great irreverence that came to the Sacrament upon the taking down of Altars, and setting up of Tables. 106.

The taking of Altars down caused a commission to issue forth for the seizing of Hangings Altar-cloaths, Copes, &c. in Quires, Churches, &c. 132

Pulled down by some Zealots in Queen Elizabeths *time without Authority. But the same was after prohibited by her.* 2. pt. 104.

How, and where Altars and the Table stood at the beginning of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth; *how, and by whom the Crucifix was broken from off it, and what adoration was then made towards it.* 2. pt. 111, 123

Altar against Altar, when there is a toleration of a Religion different from what is by Law established. 90.

The form of a right Table appointed by Bishop Ridley, to be used instead of the Altar. 97.

No universal change of Altars into Tables was made until the first Lyturgy was repealed. ib.

The Priest was to stand in the midst of the Altar by the first Lyturgy, and on the North side by the second Lyturgy. ib.

The Table was to be set in the place where the Altar stood, and not to be removed, but when the Sacrament was to be administred, and who hath the power to remove it. 2. pt. 111, 117.

The Table was ordered to be set by certain orders of the Arch-Bishop above the Steps of the Altar, and under the Commandements. 2. pt. 145.

America.

By whom the discovery of the North-West passage to it and to Florida *was first attempted and who first perished in that attempt.* 137

Anabaptists, convented and punished, in the Reign of King Edward *the sixth.* 73.

Saint Andrew's-*day, Decreed to be received in* England *for a majus duplex, and the cause why.* 2. pt. 42

Apparel.

For all Ecclesiastical persons appointed by Queen Elizabeth *upon the opposition of the Puritans.* 2. pt. 166.

Gualter, *his judgement of the Apparel of the* English *Clergy.* 2. pt. 160.

Articles of Advertisement for Apparel of Ecclesiastical persons. 2. pt. 166

Arianism.

George Paris *was burned for Arianism in the Reign of King* Edw. *the sixth.* 89.

Army.

The Protectors Army in Edw. *sixth. marcheth into* Scotland. *Its number, Officers, Marches and Victory.* 43.

The Protectors Army in Edw. 6*th. quartered in* Scotland. 47

Articles.

Devised by King Henry *the Eight, wherein are mentioned three Sacraments.* 6.

The cause why the six Articles passed in Parliament, 10.

The severity of the six Articles moderated by Hen. 8*th.* 11.

Articles of Religion first composed in England *in the Reign of* Ed. 6*th.* Cranmer *had a hand in the composing of them, but who were the Composers of them is not known. They were allowed by the Convocation in* Edw. 6*th.* 106, 121.

Articles of Visitation sent into every Diocess in the first year of Queen Mary, *what they were.* 2. pt. 35

The Articles of Visitation now used by the Arch-Bishops and Bishops are the same that Cardinal Pole *made:* 2. pt. 69.

The Calvinians and Puritans made some alteration in the Articles of Predestination, free-will and final perseverance, from the Doctrine in Edw. *the* 6*th. his time.* 2. pt. 156.

Articles of Religion agreed and subscribed at the Convocation in 50. Eliz. *The great moderation of the Composers thereof, what*

what alteration is therein from those in Ed. *the 6th. time, who demurred to subscribe them.* 2. pt. 159

Articles of Religion ought not to be stuffed with all Theological Conclusions or Opinions Negative, as Craiges *confession in* Scotland *is, which made the people return to Popery.* 2. pt. 159

Subscription to the Articles, required to be done by all the Clergy; Who refused, and why. 2. pt. 165

Articles of Advertisement for due order in Administration of Common Prayer and holy Sacrament, and for Apparel of Ecclesiastical persons, who should wear them, and who not. 2. pt. 166

Arundel.

Arundel *was head of a Comotion in* Devon *in* Edw. *6th.* 75

Arundel-house *formerly belonging to the Bishop of* Bath *and* Wells *was taken into the hands and possession of* Thomas *Lord* Seymore, *in the Raign of* Edw. *6.* 71

Assemblies.

For Hereticks to practice their Religion were forbidden by Constantine, *who decreed that the houses where such should meet should be pulled down.* 2. pt. 143

Augmentation Court.

When that Court was first set up, and when taken down. 135

Authority.

Opposition to Authority suppresst, makes the Prince more absolute. 78

B

BArnabas-day, *when it was first kept a Holy-day.* 9

Baron. Who is the first Baron of England. 2. pt. 2, 21

Eliz. Barton *the holy Maid of* Kent *was attainted by Act of Parliament for Treason.* 2. pt. 8

Barwick. *The Garrison there was removed in* 1. Jac. 2. pt. 139

Bells.

Jesus-Bells *in* London, *were the best Ring of Bells, and were won at a Cast by Sr.* Miles Partridge, *who melted them down.* 2. pt. 117

The Bells of Bangor *were sold by the Bishop, and sent beyond the Seas, and thereupon the Bishop was struck blind.* 2. pt. 55.

Bible.

When the Bible was first placed in every Parish-Church. 26

Tindals *Bible was suppresst, and the reading of it interdicted by advice of the Bishops and other learned men, but the same (being purged of offensive prologues and marginal Notes, and faithfully translated) was afterwards allowed again, and placed in every Parish Church, and called* Mathews *Bible, but was only* Tindal's *corrected.* 10

Grafton's *Bible Printed at his charge and allowed.* 9

When, and by whom the Geneva *Bible was set forth.* 2. pt. 64

Bishops and Bishopricks.

An Act made in Edw. *6th. concerning the Election of Bishops, whereby it was endeavoured by some Courtiers to take away Episcopal Jurisdiction, and that all Proces should be in the Kings name and under his Seal, and that Bishops should be made by the Kings Letters Patents, and that they should not confer orders without the Kings Licence.* 51

The Nomination of all Bishops was anciently solely in the King, and so was it in the Empire and in all Kingdoms. 52

Who to keep their Bishopricks granted and leased to Courtiers, several Mannors and Lands belonging to their Bishopricks. 100, 101. 2. pt. 58.

Of Landaffe, *formerly endowed with the greatest Revenue, of any Bishoprick in these parts of Christendom, but now so poor that it is not able to keep the Pot boyling for a Parsons dinner.* 160

Who were elected in the first year of Ed. *6th.* 53

Of Gloucester *was anciently part of the Diocess of* Worcester, *but* Worcester *was*

was made by Ed. 6. *parcel of the Bishoprick of* Glouceſter. 101.

That refuſed to conferm in the Reign of Edw. 6. *what became of them; and their Biſhopricks.* 100, 101.

That were depoſed by Edw. 6. *and reſtored by Queen* Mary. ib.

That were committed in Queen Maries *daies, and that then went beyond the Seas, and who they were.* 2. pt. 24, 25

That were depoſed, and that were preferred in the 2d. *year of Queen* Mary. 2. pt. 40

Of Aſaph *and* Bangor *were much impoveriſhed by the Biſhops thereof in Queen* Maries *daies.* 2. pt. 54

That were made and tranſlated in the fourth year of Queen Mary, *and to what places they were preferred.* 2. pt. 73

That were deprived in the firſt year of Queen Elizabeth *for not conformity, and the favourable uſage of them.* 2. pt. 114

Mathew Parker, *elected to the See of* Canterbury 2. Eliz. *when the ſame place was refuſed by Dr.* Nicholas Wotton *a Papiſt, and by* Whitehead *a Preſbyterian.* 2. pt. 120

Why Queen Elizabeth *did not Elect any to be Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury *until the* 2d. *year of her Reign.* 2. pt. ib.

Pretended to be conſecrated at the Nags Head *Tavern in* Cheap-ſide, *the ſame pretence was raiſed by the Papiſts to overthrow the Lawful ſucceſſion of Biſhops, and of all orders in the Church of* England, *which they knew to be a ſtrong ſupporter of that Church.* 2. pt. 122

Deprived, may perform Epiſcopal Offices for that their Epiſcopal Character remaineth. 2. pt. ib.

What Suffragans or Chorepiſcopi were. 2. pt. ib.

Who were made and elected Biſhops in the ſecond year of Queen Elizabeth. 2. pt. 138

Who were conſecrated and removed in the third year of Queen Elizabeth. 2. pt. 138

That made deſtruction of their Churches, houſes, and lands belonging to them. 2. pt. 129, 138

Filled in 4. Eliz. 2. pt. 156

Of Briſtol, *held in* Comendham *with the profits and fees thereof, but the revenue thereof in the hands of hungry Courtiers:* 2. pt. 155

Of Oxford *filled but* 3. *years in* 46. *years and the Lands thereof kept in the mean time in the hands of* Leiſter *and others, who waſted it ſo much that the Biſhops there was forced to crave a benevolence of the Clergy.* 2. pt. 157

Erected by Hen. 8. *ſo much impoveriſhed that all the Biſhops there were forced to pray a benevolence of their Clergy.* 2. pt. 157

Biſhop Ridley *his great parts and learning.* 153

The Biſhops of London *are Deans of the Epiſcopal Colledge.* 54

What Biſhops were conſecrated and removed in the 4th. *year of* Edw. 6. 98

Barlow *Biſhop of* Bath *and* Wells *gave* 18. *or* 19. *Mannors of that Biſhoprick to the Protector.* 54

Barlow *Biſhop of* Bath *and* Wells *deſigned to remove his Epiſcopal See of St.* Davies *to* Caermarthen *and ſeveral other his Good Acts.* ib.

The Biſhops that were depoſed in 2. Eliz. *were well diſpoſed of and accommodated with all things neceſſary.* 2. pt. 114

Who was firſt conſecrated Biſhop by the Engliſh *Ordinal, and who was firſt made by the Kings Letters Patents.* 98

Biſhops reſtrained from making any grants or Leaſes, &c. for above 21. *years, or* 3 *Lives, except to the Queen, her Heirs, and Succeſſors, and what was the deſign therein.* 2. pt. 121

Bonner Biſhop.

He received the Kings Injunctions with proteſtation that he would obſerve them, if they were not contrary to the Word of God, and afterwards he revoked his proteſtation. 41

His forwardneſs and actings in reſtoring Popery, in repairing the Roods, and ſetting up the Image of our Saviour, and his manner of doing it. 2. pt. 30

His Tryal, and what was done on it. 2. pt. 173

He is commanded to Preach at Paul's *Croſs, to ſhew the unlawfulneſs of taking up of Arms for Religion, he not doing of it, is deprived of his Biſhoprick in* 3. E. 6. 78

He was not permitted to kiſſe Queen Elizabeths *hand when ſhe was met by all the Biſhops in her going to* London. 2. pt. 102

He furthered the Reformation in E. 6. *his Reign, and he was as forward therein as*

any

any, during the life of Cromwel, *who preferred and countenanced him.* 2. pt. 25.
Bonticrage, *Taken by ſtorm by the* Scots. 81

Books.

The Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man, *was printed* Anno. 1537. 9, 19
Certain Popiſh Books were called in: 78, 2. pt. 79
A Book wrote by Goodman *and* Knox, *and printed at* Geneva; *wherein,* Wyatt's *Inſurrection was maintained.* 2. pt. 35
Altare Damaſcenum: *The falſhood therein.* 92
A Book of Orders ſet forth by the Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury, *occaſioned by the practices of the Puritans, in* 3. Eliz. 2. p. 144

Bucer Martin.

Sent to, and when he came into England. 65, 79
His opinion of the Lyturgy; he wrote to Calvin *about it; he was Chairman at* Cambridge. 79
Declares againſt thoſe that would ſit at the Lords Table. 92
He dyed; the manner of his burial. 79, 98
His body was taken out of his grave, and burnt in Queen Maries *daies; Afterwards in Queen* Elizabeth's *time a ſolemn Commemoration was made of him.* 2. part 71

Bullinger.

He was a Scholer of great note and fame in Ed. 6. *his daies.* 90
His judgement concerning the apparel of the Clergy, returned in a Letter, and to whom. 2. part. 160

Bulloign.

Beſieged by the French. 80
Sold to the French *for* 400000. *Crowns of the Sunn, and the Garriſon there diſbanded, and the Governour, Officers and Souldiers paid, advanced and rewarded.* 88

Burial.

The Burial of Fancis *the firſt King of* France, *ſolemnized in* London *by* Ed. 6. 40

C

Cæſars.

WHy ſo called, eſteemed fortunate. 7

Calais.

Taken by the French *from the* Engliſh *who neglected to regain it having an opportunity.* 2. pt. 83

Calvin John.

He writes to Martin Bucer *in* England *to take heed of his old fault.* 79
He writes to the Protector to have him reform without regard of peace at home, or correſpondence abroad, which is to be had in Civil, but not in matters of the Church, and that nothing be eſtabliſhed but what is commanded in the word, and expreſſeth his diſlike of ſeveral things. 80
His Letter to the Protector about Biſhop Hooper. 91
His great ſtir to bring the reformation in England *to his moddel, his great do therein, and his Letters thereabouts to* Cranmer. 8, 107
His death and eſteem with ſome, and not with others. 2. pt. 168.
Adrian Saravia, *hated to be called a* Calvinian. 2. pt. 169
He offered his aſſiſtance to Cranmer *in the Reformation, but* Cranmer *refuſed him, well knowing the man.* 65
He writes to Bucer *in* England *to take heed of his old fault.* 79
He thought nothing well done, but what was done by him or his direction. 80
He proved the occaſion of much trouble in the Church. ib.
He called Queen Mary, Procerpina. 2. pt. 35
His practices: Vide *Preface to the Reader.* 3. pt. 79, 80
Campneys, *an Anabaptiſt, puniſhed; he after Recants, and enters into Orders, and writes a diſcourſe in a Letter againſt the Goſpellers, the which was anſwered by a Predeſtinarian ſcurrulouſly and reproachfully according to their uſage.* 73

Candles. *Why used and set upon Altars.* 39

Canons.

What Canons do remain now in force in England. 19, 83

Thirty two persons appointed to review the Canons, the whole work was finished, but never confirmed; who were the Composers thereof. 83

Cardanus. *Who he was, what Books he Writ, his conference with King* Edw. *the 6th. and his judgement of the said King.* 131

Carew *Sir* Nicholas *executed for Treason against King* Henry *the Eight.* 8, 10

Carthwright Tho. *The cause of his turning Puritan, and opposing the settlement of the Church.* 2. pt. 164

Catechism.

The Catechism in the Common-Prayer-Book came forth in 1553. *By what Authority it came out, and who composed it.* 121

A Catechism composed and presented to the Convocation in 5. Eliz. *and approved by them, but not confirmed.* 2. pt. 160

Cecill.

He was a Secretary in the Reign of Ed. 6. 74

He was an instrument for Dudley *against the Protector in* Ed. 6. *daies.* 151

He drew the Instrument by which Ed. 6. *gave the Kingdom to Queen* Jane. ibid.

He possessed himself of the best Mannors of the Bishoprick of Peterborough. 2. pt. 138

Ceremonies.

Calvin *writes to the Protector, that the Papists would grow insolenter, if the controversies about Ceremonies were not setled, but not by reducing the Opponents, but by incouragement of them, which caused greater differences about them.* 80

Ceremonies in state and pomp are good supporters of Religion. 2. pt. 168

Ceremonies used in the beginning of Q. Elizabeth; *as of due reverence at the entring into the Church, kneeling at the Communion, Confession, and publick Prayers, standing at the Creed, Gospel,* Gloria Patri, *boning at the name of* Jesus, *Musick in Churches, were either established by Law, Injunction, or retained by some ancient usage, not prohibited.* 2. part. 124

Chappel *of St.* Steven's Westm. *By whom founded, Its Revenue what? Altered to a house of Commons.* 60

Lord Chancelor. Rich *removed from being Lord* Chancelor, *and Bishop* Goodwin *made Lord* Chancelor. 119

Church and Churches.

In what sad manner the Lands and profits of the Church were by the Courtiers and others in Ed. 6. *his time, taken from the Church and converted to other uses.* 61

Filled with illiterate men in Ed. 6. *his time, with the cause thereof.* 94

Particular and National Churches may reform themselves. 123

The penalties of fighting or striking in a Church or Church-yard. 126

Church-Lands confirmed on the possessors, by Cardinal Pole, *and a Petition from the Convocation for that purpose.* 2. part. 43, 44

The Pope refuseth to let the Layity have Church Lands. 2. pt. 45

Queen Mary *endeavoureth to have Church Lands restored to the Church, but could not perswade the Nobles to do it, what she did therein.* 2. pt. 53, 64, 65

An Act made 1. Eliz. *but not printed, enabling her to take into her hands as many Mannors, Lands,* &c. *belonging to Bishopricks as she pleased, she giving to them as much annual Rent out of Impropriations, Tythes,* &c. *with a clause that Bishops make not any Grants,* &c. *for above* 21. *years, or three Lives, except to the Queeen, her Heirs and Successors.* 2. pt. 120

How the Church of England *was first (by Queen* Elizabeth) *setled, for Doctrine, Worship, Government, Rites, Ceremonies, and other things.* 2. pt. 123

Whosoever Preached against the Government, Rites, Ceremonies, or other things in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth, *was by her censured. She reproved Dean* Nowel *in his Sermon, for preaching irreverently of the sign of the Cross, and commended another for preaching of the Real-Presence.* 2. pt. 124

Peculiar Churches of exempt Jurisdiction were prohibited to Marry any which were not

not of their jurisdiction without License. 2. part. 144

Church-Lands and revenues much abated in their value, by reason of long Leases, &c. *made by the popish Clergy.* 2. pt. 54, 160

The Church of England *was in the daies of Queen* Elizabeth *held in esteem with all forreign Princes, by reason of Queen* Elizabeth's *upholding of all Ecclesiastical things in state and pomp.* 2. pt. 164

The ill effects in the Church, in the beginning of the Reformation, by means of Calvin's *Interposings, and by* Peter Martyr's, John Alasco, *and* Hooper's *opposition, and the sad consequents therenpon.* 93

A Commission issued in Ed. 6. *to enquire after Church goods,* &c. 133

What became of the Church goods, Altar-cloaths, &c. *and how they were imbezeled and abused, like as* Belshazzar *did.* 134

Filled in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth *with illiterate men and Puritans; occasioned by reason of the want of able men.* 2. pt. 115

The endeavour of Queen Mary *to have a restitution of Abbey-Lands, and to re-edifie the old Religious houses.* 2. pt. 68

The Pope by his Bull threatned Excommunication to all persons that kept any Church-Lands. 2. pt. 68

King Philip's *endeavour to have Church Lands restored.* 2. pt. 68

Clergy-men.

Clergy-men in Ed. *the 6th. time forced to serve in Gentlemens houses in several Offices to get a maintenance.* 61

What vestments and attyre Bishops and Priests formerly performed Divine Service in, when they first left off their Copes and Vestments, and what came in the room of it. 126

The Clergy in a Convocation impose a Subsidy on the rest of the Clergy without any Act of Parliament. 2 pt. 78

Several things were by the Clergy in Queen Maries *Reign proposed unto her.* 2. pt. ib.

What Clergy-men, and how many were deprived in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, *for not conformity.* 2. pt. 115

The great want of Clergy-men in the beginning of Queen Eliz. 2. pt. ib.

The Clergy-men formerly appeared not abroad but in their Priests-Coats, and square Caps. 93

The strange Habit that some Clergymen would in the beginning of the Reformation wear, with their answers why they did so. 93

Clergy-men under the degrees of Doctors were formerly called Surs. ib.

The Clergy-men that were ordained in Ed. 6. *his Reign were re-ordained by Qu.* Maries *Bishops.* 2. pt. 36, *to* 41

Colledges, Free Chappels and Chanteries.

How many of them were given to King Ed. 6. 50

Cranmer *would have had the gift of Colledges, Free-Chappels and Chanteries to the King, to have been deferred until the King were of age.* 51

Of what Chanteries consisted. ib.

Dr. Cromer *recanted for preaching against* Colledges, *Free-Chappels and Chanteries, and that Masses for the souls departed did no good to them.* ib.

The Courtiers differ amongst themselves for not having an equal divident of Colledges, &c. 81

Several Colledges that were Founded by several persons named. Several Famous men that were of them. 2. pt. 84

Commission.

A Commission issued forth in Ed. 6. *for the selling of the Lands and goods of Churches,* &c. *But it was intentionally to seize upon all Hangings, Altar-cloaths, Copes,* &c. *in Quires and Churches; how the same was executed.* 132, 133, 134

A Commission was granted by Queen Mary, *to enquire after Heresie-Books,* &c. 2. pt. 79

Images were taken down in Edw. 6. *by authority of the Kings Commission only, and at a time when the Parliament was sitting.* 42

High Commission-Court, when it was first founded. 2. pt. 110

Compline. *What it was.* 39

Commotions.

Several Commotions that were made about Inclosures and Religion.

A great one in Devon, *who besieged*

Exon 40. *daies and at laſt are beaten, and moſt of them executed by Martial Law, and the Vicer of St.* Thomas *hanged on the top of his own Tower, in his Popiſh weeds, with his Beads at his girdle.* 76

At Martin *Colledge in* Oxon *and other places raiſed by Papiſts, and one* Arthur Pole. 2. part. 154

Communion. *Who were the firſt Compoſers of the Order for Adminiſtration of the holy Communion in the* Engliſh *tongue, where, and when it was done.* 57

Conſecration.

A form preſcribed for Conſecrating of Biſhops and Prieſts in Ed. 6. *his Reign; who were the Compoſers of it, and when, and by what Acts eſtabliſhed.* 82

The pretended Conſecration of Biſhops at the Nags-Head *Tavern in* Cheap-ſide, *diſproved; the original ground of that report was made by ſome Popiſh Authours, and why.* 2. pt. 121

Of Arch-Biſhops. 122

Controverſie. *About Caps, Surpliſes, Garments,* &c. *much upheld by the Authority of* Hooper, John Alaſco, *and* Peter Martyr, *and ſeveral that thereupon refuſed conformity, though things indifferent in themſelves.* 92, 93

Convocation.

Summoned in the firſt year of Queen Mary, *who in the Writs was called Supream head,* &c. *What were the diſputes then, who were Prolocutors in both Houſes, and how many Proteſtants were there.* 2. pt. 29

Summoned by Writ in the Name of King Philip *and Queen* Mary. 2. pt. 53

And what was done at that Convocation. 2. pt. 54

Summoned in the firſt year of Queen Elizabeth, *and held under* Bonner, *what was then done.* 2. pt. 113

Summoned in 5. Eliz. *what was then and there done.* 2. pt. 158, 160

Coronation. *In what caſes at Coronations the peoples conſent was uſually asked.* 32

Who were abſent at the Coronation of Ed. 6. 33

Councels.

The difficulty and impoſſibility to have had a general Councel at the time of the Reformation, and alſo now. 124

How a general Councel may be rightly ſtated with Rules for the calling of them. 124

Where Laymen have been Preſidents in Councels. 2. pt. 113

That National and Provincial Councels have ſuppreſt more Hereſies than general Councels. 123

Cornwall.

The Dukedome thereof was entailed on the Kings eldeſt Son by King Ed. 3. 8

Courts.

Of Augmentation and Surveyours, when firſt erected, and when firſt ſuppreſt. 135

Eccleſiaſtical, and one Morrice *impriſoned for offering a Bill in Parliament for retrenching of Eccleſiaſtical Courts. Reader.* 9

Courtney, *The firſt Earl of* Devon *of that Family dyeth in his Travels.* 2. pt. 40

Cox *Dr. He was an eminent perſon in the Reformation by Queen* Elizabeth, *and upheld the Religion eſtabliſhed by* Ed. 6. *in the parts beyond Seas.* 2. pt. 105

Cranmer Arch-Biſhop.

Would have had the gift of Colledges, Free-Chappels and Chanteries, to King Ed. 6. *to have been deferred untill the King were at age.* 51

The deſigns againſt him by Queen Mary, Bonner, Gardiner, & alii, *to put him to death.* 2. pt. 25

The Reports raiſed of him, his manifeſt, his impriſonment and attainder. 2. pt. 25

The proceedings againſt him by the Pope, his Citation and Sentence and the falſneſs of it. 2. pt. 55

His appeal to a general Councel. 2. pt. ib.

He was prevailed with to ſubſcribe a certain writing prepared for him. 2. part. ib.

His Martyrdom, his burning of his hand

hand that subscribed, his heart found whole in the Cinders after his body was burnt. 2. pt. 56

His martyrdom was deferred, and the reason why, 2. pt. 57

He is made Arch-Bishop of Canterbury *unwillingly, partly because he was married, and partly because of the Oath to the Pope.* 2. part. 7

He takes an Oath to the Pope, with a Protestation as not to be bound otherwise than as should be agreeable to the Word of God and Laws of the Kingdom. 2. pt. ib.

He propounds two questions in the Convocation-house. 2. pt. ib.

Crediton *In* Devon *was anciently the seat of the Bishops of* Exon, *but now severed from that See.* 2. pt. 56

Crosts Eliz. *Or the spirit in the Wall, she was a Puritan Zealot, set up by the* Zwinglian *Gospellers, she was detected and punished.* 2. pt. 37

Cromel Tho. *advanced to Vicar General and other honours.* 6

At last he was beheaded. 11

His courses for taking away the Popes Supremacy. 2. pt. 90

Crown.

Transferred by the Kings Letters Patents to the Lady Jane, *who subscribed to it, and who not.* 153

The succession to the Crown entailed on the Issue of Ann Bollen *by Act of Parliament.* 2. pt. 9

Crucifix.

A Crucifix did stand on the Altar in the Queens Chappel, in the beginning of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. *By whom it was broke off thence.* 2. pt. 124

D

DArcy *Sr.* Thomas, *created Lord* Darcy *of* Chich. 113

Day George, *Bishop of* Chichester.

He was deposed in E. 6. p. 101

He preached the Funeral Sermon for King Ed. *the 6th.* 140

He is restored by Queen Mary *to his Bishoprick and preached her Coronation Sermon.* 2. pt. 20

His death. 2. pt. 73

He had a hand in the composing of an uniform order for administring the Communion in the English *Tongue.* 57

He refused to subscribe to the Lyturgy. 65

He was left out in composing the form of Consecrating Bishops, &c. 83

Day William Provost of Eaton, &c.

He preached at the Convocation in 5. Eliz. 2. pt. 158

Dayes holy Festival and Fasting.

Appointed by King Ed. 6. *by Act, the number and names of them and the duties to be performed on them, who might labour and ride on them, and whether Sunday be within the Act.* 125

Wednesday *made a fasting day, when and by whom so made, why called* Jejunium Cecilianum. 2. pt. 157

Abstinence from flesh on fasting daies, with the reasons why. 69

The Statute for the ordaining of them repealed 1. Mary, *and not revived until* Jac. *and yet those daies were more religiously observed, all the Reign of Queen* Eliz. *then after.* 126

The Fasts of Ember *weeks,* Lent, *and* Rogation *were kept in the beginning of Queen* Eliz. *not as appointed by Statute, but as appointed by the Church in her Calendar.* 2. pt. 124

Whether labouring on Sunday in the time of Harvest be lawful by the Act. 38

The number of Holy-days were diminished. 6

Deans and Chapters.

Were intended to have been made useless. 52

Who was the first Dean of Canterbury. 40

Discovery.

Who first attempted the discovery of the North-West passage to America *and* Florida, *and who first perished in it.* 137

Of a passage to the Bay of St. Nicholas *to trade with the* Muscovites. 137

Diſorder.

Diſorders in the Church by the means of Calvin, Hooper, *and* John Alaſco, *about veſtures and habits of Church-men, and by ſetting up Tables in the Rooms of Altars.* 106

Diſpenſation and Tolleration.

The diſpenſing with ſome for not obeying and performing the Laws, bringeth great hurt in the Church. 2. pt. 165

Diſcipline.

A Book of Diſcipline was preſented to the Convocation in 5. Eliz. *but nothing was done therein.* 2. pt. 160

Diſputation.

In Oxon *in* 3. Ed. 6. *between* Peter Martyr *and others, by occaſion of ſome Doctrine by him delivered in his Lectures, which gave offence to* Cranmer *and the Biſhops; He is by the Moderators adjudged to have the upper hand, but it was not acknowledged by the Opponents.* 79

At Cambridge *by* Bucer *in* 3. Ed. 6. ib.

Diſſolution.

Several Monaſteries, &c. were diſſolved in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth 2. pt. 108

Dolphins. *Six of them were taken in the* Thames *as big as horſes.* 110

Dudley John.

He is created Earl of Warwick. 31. 2. pt. 19

He is created Duke of Northumberland. 113

His Nature and Deſigns, his Plot, Treaſon, and Waies whereby he laboured to bring his Deſigns about. 136, 149

And who he drew to his ſide. 81

The Kings ſaying to him, that he aimed better when he ſhot off the head of his Unkle Somerſet. 150

He diſbands his forces, a Purſuvant being ſent to him for that purpoſe, he proclaimeth the Queen, and threw up his Hat thereat; Is ſtayed by ſome Penſioners, committed Priſoner to the Tower with divers, he is arraigned, condemned and executed, he confeſſing the Indictment. 2. pt. 16, 17, 18

He takes a Commiſſion limited to go againſt the Queen Mary, *he marcheth with his forces, and the people preſſe to ſee him, but none bid God-ſpeed him.* 161

He cometh to Cambridge *being Chancelor of the Univerſity, and High-Steward of the City, being incompatible in themſelves, and never united in one perſon before.* ib.

His demeanor at his Tryal, and his two queſtions. Firſt, *Whether any acting under the great Seal were Treaſon.* Secondly, *Whether thoſe that acted with him might be his Judges; His Requeſt, and Speech at his death.* 2. pt. 18

His birth and breeding; His Father was Executed in the buſineſs of Empſon *and* Dudley, *by his Judgement and Valor he gained on the affections of his Prince, he was created Viſcount* Liſle, *Inſtauled Knight of the Garter, and made Admiral of* England. 2. pt. 19

He was employed againſt the Scots, *and was alwayes victorious, but periſhed in his attempts as well as* Nevel *Earl of* Warwick, *his Name and Title of Duke of* Northumberland *periſhed with him.* 2. pt. 19

Vane *ſaid on the Scaffold that his blood would make* Dudley's *Pillow uneaſy to him.* 117

Durham Biſhoprick.

It was deſigned, to have all the Land thereof taken from it. 135

Charged with the payment of the yearly Rent of 1000l. *to maintain the Garriſon of* Barwick. 2. pt. 139

E

EArth-quake *at* Croydon *in* Surrey *and the adjacent Villages.* 110

Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction.

An Act for the making of Biſhops by the Kings Letters Patents, and not by election of Deans and Chapters, and that all their Proceſs ſhould be in the Kings Name, and under

under his Seal. What was the aim of the Courtiers in and by that Statute, and what construction was made thereof. 51, 52

Where Lawmen and women have been capable of all manner of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and to denounce Excommunication. 2. pt. 109

Embaſſador.

Sent into France *by King* Ed. 6. 104

Emperor.

Refuſeth the friendſhip of the Engliſh, *or to aſſiſt them, notwithſtanding the great expences the* Engliſh *had been at for his aſſiſtance; what ſumms the* Engliſh *had ſpent therein.* 86

Sendeth a threatning meſſage to Ed. 6. *about the Princeſs* Mary, *who was denyed a tolleration of her Religion, the ſtiffneſs of the King therein, and an Embaſſador ſent to the Emperor about it.* 103

His death, his Funeral ſolemnized by Queen Elizabeth. 2. pt. 168

His Letter againſt the Excommunication of Queen Elizabeth *and all Proteſtants both living and dead.* 2. pt. 162

Encloſures.

Several Encloſures made of ſeveral waſt grounds of Abbeys diſſolved, were by Proclamation of the Protector ordered to be laid down, ſeveral commotions having followed thereupon. 75

Engliſh.

The Letany, Epiſtles and Goſpels when firſt ſaid in the Engliſh *tongue.* 20, 42

The Lyturgy and Bible being in Engliſh *was complained of by the Papiſts, but the ſame is juſtified and maintained.* 60, 67

Engliſh *Churches and their eſtates and conditions beyond Seas.* 2. pt. 59

By Injunctions of H. 8. *Curates were injoyned to teach the people to ſay the Lords Prayer, the Creed, and* Ave Mary *in the* Engliſh *tongue.* 6

Enterview *agreed to have been between* H. 8. *and* James *King of* Scotland, *but the* Scot's *King failed by the determent of ſome Popiſh Biſhops.* 11

Excommunication.

Not in uſe all the time of Ed. 6. 94

The endeavour of the Pope and Councel of Trent *to Excommunicate Queen* Eliz. *and all Proteſtants living and dead. The Emperors Letter againſt it, and the reaſons alſo.* 2. pt. 162

Execution of Offenders.

A Popiſh Prieſt hanged on the top of his own Tower in his Popiſh Weeds, and with his Beads at his Girdle. 76

Exeſter.

Beſieged by Rebels 40. *daies, was defended by the Citizens gallantly, and are relieved and rewarded by the King, the Citizens keep a yearly commemoration thereof.* ibid.

F

FAgus. *His body taken up out of his Grave by Papiſts and burnt, afterwards a ſolemn commemoration was made for him by Queen* Elizabeth. 2. pt. 71

Farrar, *His conſecration to the See of St.* Davies, *in what year it was.* 69

His Nature what, and Martyrdom when. 2. pt. 49

Faſt-Caſtle *in* Scotland, *Surprized by the* Scots. 62

Fire-Croſs, *What it is.* 44

First-Fruits and Tenths.

Inhibited to be paid to the Pope. 2. pt. 8

Releaſed by Queen Mary. 2. pt. 53

Reſtored to the Crown by Queen Elizabeth. 2. pt. 108

The Clergy in the Convocation 3. Mary *propoſed to have the penalty for not paying their First-Fruits and Tenths taken off.* 2. pt. 54

Fiſher, *Biſhop of* Rocheſter *beheaded, and his head ſet on a Pole.* 2. pt. 9

Fox, *refuſeth to ſubſcribe to the Articles of Religion, his Anſwer thereunto, his Diſpenſation was the occaſion of great hurt in the Church.* 2. pt. 165

France and French.

The French *by a* Herauld *defie the King of* England, *and beſiege* Bulloign. 80

French *Forces ſent to* Scotland, *caſt away on the* Iriſh *Coaſts.* 123

French *vanquiſhed by King* Philip, *by the help of the* Engliſh. 2. pt. 75

France *invaded by the* Engliſh *in* Eliz. *and take* Conquett *and burn it, with the Country about it.* 2. pt. 77

Francis *the ſecond King of* France *dyeth young, to the great diſtraction of the* French *Nation.* 2. pt. 137

Embaſſadors ſent into France *from* Ed. 6. *who treat, and conclude of a Match with the* French *Kings Daughter, Her Portion and Joynture what.* 104

Frankfort, *was the firſt Seat of the* Engliſh *Puritans.* 2. pt. 59

French-*Church in* London, *where it ſtands now, what it was at firſt, when it was firſt ſet up, and what dangerous conſequents enſued in the Church of* England *upon it.* 2. pt. 133

G

Girdian.

IT *was Ordained by* Solon *that none ſhould be made Gardian to any, to whom the Inheritance might fall by the death of the Ward.* 31

Gardner Biſhop.

He was the firſt that declared his averſneſs to the proceedings of King Ed. 6. *in the Reformation, the cauſe why he did it.* 41

He is ſent to the Fleet, *is reſtored, promiſeth to conform, and to declare it to the world in a Sermon, but he failing therein, is ſent to the* Tower. 63

He allowed of the Lyturgy, Subſcribes the Kings Articles, but refuſeth to confeſs his fault, or ſubmit, for which he is deprived, and the profits of his Biſhoprick ſequeſtred. 99, 49

He was a man of Parts and Learning, profeſſeth againſt his Sentence, appealeth to the King, and cauſeth his proteſt and appeal to be regiſtred. 100

His deſigns in delaying the Death of Cranmer, *in hope to be Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury, *and to hinder* Pole *from it, whom he loved not.* 2. pt. 57

What the Courtiers aimed at by him. 99

St. George.

His Feaſt was ordered to be kept on Whitſon-Eve, Whit-Sunday, *and* Whitſon-Monday, *and not on St.* George's *day, and ſhould be called the Order of the Garter only.* 135

His Chappel at Windſor *was deſigned to be diſſolved by ſome Courtiers.* ib.

Glaſier *Dr. preached down the obſervation of daies and times.* 57, 69

Goods of the Church.

Private mens houſes were furniſhed with Altar-cloaths, Copes, and Calices to be caroufed in, &c. 134

Goodrick, *Lord Chancelor hath the Great Seal taken from him.* 2. pt. 20

Goodman, *his Factiouſneſs what.* 2. pt. 59

Goodwin Biſhop of Hereford.

His Commentaries of the Engliſh *Biſhops, his Father was Biſhop of* Bath *and* Wells, *and Dean of* Chriſt-Church; *he ought never to be forgotten.* 2. pt. 164, 165

Goſpellers. *Who they were, and what Tenents they held, ſeveral of them were puniſhed, and others of them recanted, and wrote againſt their opinions.* 73

Graves.

The bodies of ſeveral perſons were taken out of their Graves, and ſome of them burnt, and others of them buried on Dung-hills. 2. pt. 69

Henry *Lord* Gray, *created Duke of* Suffolk. 113

Katherine Gray, *one of the Daughters of the Duke of* Suffolk *was marryed privately to the young Earl of* Hereford, *whereupon both are commited to priſon, where ſhe is delivered of a Son, and conceived again; Her Siſter* Francis *was alſo married and impriſoned.* 2. pt. 164

Gualter. *His Judgement of the Apparel*

parel of the Engliſh Clergy. 2. pt. 166.
Guiſe *Duke, His practiſes againſt Queen* Elizabeth *and his endeavours to have her excommunicated.* 2. pt. 137.

H

Habit.

Of Clergy-men at Church and abroad in E. 6. *his Raign what? the great ſtir againſt it at firſt, and by whom.* 92.

Haddington *in* Scotland.

Was beſieged by the French *and* Scotch, *who defeat* 1300. *horſe going to releive it* 61.
Was afterwards releived by the Earl of Shrewsbury, *after which the Town is ſlighted the which occaſioned the loſs of all that the* Engliſh *had in* Scotland. 61.
Hammond, *one of the Duke of* Somerſet's *ſervants betrayes his Maſter.* 112.
Heath Nich. *Dr. was made Lord Chancelour, He was a prudent and moderate man.* 2. pt. 58.
Herbert *Sir* William, *He was created Lord* Herbert *of* Cardiffe *and Earl of* Pembrooke. 113.

Hereticks.

Were prohibited by Conſtantine *from aſſembling together to practiſe their Religion, and the houſes wherein ſuch met were by him decreed to be pulled down.* 2. pt. 143.
Joane *of* Kent *burnt for Hereſie, what her Hereſie was, and her obſtinacy therein.* 88
Anne Askew, *was condemned for Hereſie.* 88
George Paris, *burnt for Arianiſm.* 89
King E. 6. *refuſed to ſign a warrant for burning of* Joane *of* Kent, *ſaying he would not ſend her to the Devil, but being prevailed with by the Archbiſhop, ſaid he would lay all the charge thereof on him before God.* 89.
There was not any Law in 2 Mar. *for putting of Hereticks to death.* 2. pt. 51.

Hertfort *Earl,*

He contracteth himſelf privately with Katherine Gray *and then travelleth into* France, *ſhe proving with child, he is called home and fined in Starr-Chamber and impriſoned.* 2. pt. 153
High Commiſſion Court, *when firſt erected, its excellency.* 2. pt. 110
Holinſhed, *He was a moſt painful and diligent writer.* 97
Homelies, *The Book of Homelies was diſliked of by* Calvin *and ſince by the Puritans, but was approved of by* Bucer. 80

Honors.

Being conferred on mean perſons cauſeth ſuſpition amongſt the people. 23
The ancient Kings of England *were ſparing in conferring of Honors.* 32
Beſtowed on ſeveral perſons. 113
Societies of Honors were firſt deviſed as a Teſtimony and tye of love. 104

Hooper John.

He forſakes the Kingdom, and ſetleth himſelf at Zurich, *and acquainteth himſelf with* Bullenger. 90
He returns into England, *affected with the nakedneſs of the* Zuinglian *or* Helvetian *Churches, though differing from them in ſome points of doctrine, eſpecially in that of predeſtination.* 90
He by his conſtant preaching and learned writings, grew in favour with the Earl of Warwick, *by whoſe procurement the King without his ſeeking, beſtowed on him the Biſhopriek of* Glouceſter. 90
He refuſed to take his Conſecration in his Biſhops habit, and obtains a Letter to the Biſhop of Canterbury *about it, who would not Conſecrate him otherwiſe.* 90
He deſires that he might not be charged with the Oath of Canonical Obedience. 90
He is committed Priſoner for his contempt, from whence he writes to Bucer *and* Martir. 91
Calvin *writes a Letter to the Protector to lend a helping hand to* Hooper. 91
The differances about him are compoſed, and what the agreement therein was. 91
He bears a grudge at Biſhop Ridley, *and was not reconciled until they met at the ſtake.* 91
His oppoſition was the firſt beginning of oppoſition to the Liturgy, Cap, Surplace, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England. 92

Horn *Dr.* *He was consecrated Bishop of* Winchester, 2d. Eliz. *he was famous for supporting the* English Liturgy *and Discipline against the* Zuinglians, 2d. part. 138

Hospital.

Christ-Church Hospital in London, *when and by whom founded, and how endowed.* 127

St. Thomas *Hospital in* Southwark, *when and by whom founded.* 127

Hugonets, *from whence, and why so called,* 2d. part. 149

Hume *Castle in* Scotland *was surprized by the* Scots. 62

I

Jesus Christ.

Several persons, both Fanaticks, Papists and others, that said they were Christ, 2d. part. 139

Due and lowly reverence to be used at the name of Jesus, 2d. part. 111, 116

Jewel *Bishop.*

His Challenge, with the contest about it by several persons, especially between him and Harding, 2d. part. 155, 156

His Apology for the Church of England, *when it was wrote: It was quarrelled at by the* Romanists, *and those of* Trent, *and pretended to be answered: It was translated into several Languages, and sent into all Countreys,* 2d. part. 155, 156

Images.

Were first taken down by Commissioners, by vertue of the Kings authority, and without a Parliament, though one were then sitting. 42

A Letter for the taking down of all Images, the discontent and insurrections about, and the ends of some in it. 56

Were left standing in Luthers *Churches, and he wrote a Book against those that had defaced them.* 56

Covetousness more than Zeal, was the cause why Images were taken down, they being very rich in Jewels, &c. Bishop Gardiner *dislikes the pulling of them down, Body was stabbed by a Priest for pulling them down.* 56

Were taken down and burned by Visitors of Q. Eliz. *who they were, and what. What they were to inquire after,* 2d. part. 118

An act in 3. E. 6. *for taking down of Images, and for bringing in of all Antiphonaries, Missals, Breviaries, Offices, Horaries, Primars and Processionals.* 78

Indulgencies.

Were granted to those that went on Pilgrimage to St. Winefreds *Well,* 2d. part. 54

Injunctions.

By H. 8. *whereby Curates were injoyned to teach the people to say the Lords prayer, the Creed, and* Ave Mary *in the* English *Tongue, wherein three Sacraments are mentioned.* 6

Of E. 6. *were obeyed by Priest and people.* 34, 39

Received by Bonner *Bishop, with a Protestation that he would obey them if they were not contrary to the Law of God, and the Statutes and Ordinances of the Church.* 41

Joan *of* Kent.

Her Crime, obstinacy and burning, the Kings refusal to sign the Warrant for her burning, saying he would not drive her headlong to the Divel. 88, 89

Ireland.

When it was first made a Kingdom. Hen. 8. *was first proclaimed King thereof, and the time when.* 21

When the Kings of England *were stiled but Lords of* Ireland, *they had their Vicegerents, Lieutenants, and Lord Deputies, and created Dukes, Marquesses and Earls there.* 21

What Progress was made in Ireland *in the Reformation by* Hen. 8. *The reasons why there were no Commotions there upon the Reformation.* 123

The Coasts of Ireland *were guarded by Ships in* Ed. 6. *his time.* 123

The Reformation of Religion there by Q. Eliz. 2d. part. 128

The great impoverishing of Churches there

there by Leases, Grants, &c. 2d. part. 128

The Liturgy was in Latine, and not translated into Irish as it was in Welsh, 2d. part. 128

Held by donation from Pope Adrian. 21

Q. Mary accepted of a new grant thereof from the Pope, 2d. part. 44

The Scots and the Pope were much troubled at the stile of King of Ireland. 21

Judge.

Whether any person that was particeps criminis, can be Judges of any the persons that were guilty of the same Offence, 2d. part 18

Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical.

Vid. Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.

K

King and Kingdom.

The Pope challengeth the power first to elect Kingdoms. 21

King Hen. the 8.

He marrieth Jane Seimour the morrow after Q. Anne Bollen was beheaded. 5

The Duke of Richmond his natural Son dieth. 6

He marrieth Anne Cleve, and after is divorced from her. 10

He marrieth Katherine Howard, and after cuts off her head. 11

He was neither the richer in Children by his many Wives, nor did he improve his Revinues by his many Rapines, but was forced for supplies of money. 11. 17

He endeavoured to unite the Crowns of England and Scotland, by a Match between the Scotish Kings Daughter, and his Son, Prince Edward; and for that end Feasteth the Scotish Lords that were in the Tower, and they promise to promote the Match, and were dismist thereupon; what they did therein. 11

The Agreement was broken by the falshood of the Scotish Nobility and Cardinal. 12

He maketh peace with the Emperor, and maketh War with France and Scotland, and taketh in Bolloine. 12

He declares Mary his Daughter illegitimate, and after by act of Parliament entaileth the Crown on his Son Edward, Mary and Elizab. and such as he should have. 14

He cuts off Hen. Earl of Surrey, the eldest Son of the Duke of Norfolk, his Name and Pedigree: The Earl was a man of great parts, and was beloved as the Ornament of the English Nation. 15

He spared no woman in his lust, nor man in his anger. The number of persons he put to death, and what Sir Walter Rawleigh his Judgement was of him. 15

His great corpulent Body. 14

He would not receive the Sacrament in any other posture than kneeling, though very weak; and said, That if he did not, not only cast himself on the ground, but under it also, he could not give unto the Sacrament the honour that was due to it. 15

He was acquainted of his death by Sir Anthony Denny: The manner of his death, and who were present with him at it. 16

In what condition he left his Kingdom to his Son, in reference to affairs at home and abroad. 16

Practices of Courtiers in his time to get Bishops Lands, and what succeeded on it. 17

He preserved the Bishopricks, and encreased their number, and what. 18

His several foundations and endowments. 18

He is acknowledged supreame head of the Church, and appeals to the Pope prohibited. 29. 2. part. 5

His Royal Tytles are confirmed by Act of Parliament. 20

He published a Book against Luther, the which is kept in the Popes Vatican; It was presented to the Pope by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and was received in solemn Assembly. 20

He was the first King of Ireland. 21

He made his Will and Testament. 22

He settles by his Will 600 l. per Annum on the Dean of Windsor, and 13 poor Knights. 23

He was married to Anne Bollen, before any Sentence of Divorce from Q. Katherine, 2d. part. 6

He was petitioned by his Parliament to marry Jane Seimour. 7

He marrieth Katherine Parr. 12

It was somewhat late before he cast his eye on the Lands of Bishopricks, though some thought the time long till they fell on them. 17

He directed his Bishops in the Convocation to compile a Book called, The Institution of a Christian man, containing the exposition of the ten Commandments, the Lords Prayer, and the Ave Maria, *and sends it to the King of* Scots. *The Book was amended by him, and after by* Cranmer, *and approved by the Convocation, and recommended to every Christian, and printed with an Epistle of the Kings before it.* 19

He was buried in Windsor *Chappel, and an* Obsequy *was kept for him in* France. 29

He was by his Father contracted to Q. Katherine *during his Infancy, by a dispensation from the Pope; what words were by her put into the dispensation,* 2d. part. 1

He at his age of 14 *renounceth the contract, by subscribing his name to an Instrument, the which he publisheth in the presence of a publick Notary, and several others,* 2d. part. 2

After the death of his Father he consenteth to the contract, 2d. part. 2

He is perplexed about his marriage with Q. Katherine, *and acquaints his Confessor therewith, who adviseth him to acquaint Cardinal* Pole *therewith, and he adviseth him to acquaint the Pope therewith, who entertains him with hopes,* 2d. part. 4

He sendeth Cranmer *and* Rochford *to* Rome *to maintain the Kings cause by disputation,* 2d. part. 5

He prohibiteth by Proclamation any to procure any thing from Rome *prejudicial to the Crown,* 2d. part. 5

His marriage with Q. Katherine *is declared unlawful by Cardinal* Wolsey, *and the Universities beyond Seas,* 2d. part. 4

He is divorced from Q. Katherine, 2d. part 7

King *Edward* the Sixth.

The time and place of his Birth, and his Pedigree. 1, 6

He was not created Duke of Cornwal, *or Prince of* Wales. 8

When he was Christned, and by whom. 9

His Tutors, proficiency in the Tongues, his sweet Nature, the Letters he wrote. 12

Who was his companion at his Book; what onours were conferred on his Tutor, and when he died; of what Religion he was, how much he was troubled, when his Companion was chastised. 13

He refused to tread on a Bible, and his great esteem he had of the Bible. 14

Great preparation was made for his investal in the principality of Wales, *his Robes and Garments, what they were.* 14

Crowned, with a general pardon granted to all but six persons. 33

His Reformation was good, though made when he was under Age by the advice of his Councel, as was the Reformation of Josias. 38

He was Knighted by the Protector, who with the same sword Knighted the Mayor *of* London, *and another.* 31

His excellent parts and abilities, &c. his minority abused to many acts of spoil and rapine, even to sacriledge, to the enriching of others, but not improvement of his own Estate, who was notwithstanding the same much indebted, notwithstanding the several wayes he had to get money. 131, 141

He lessened the expences of his Court and Family, by taking away several Tables. 132

Several persons were fined for cozening of him, for buying Lands with the Kings money, for making longer Leases of the Crown Lands than they ought, and for corrupt and fraudulent dealing. 132

A Commission was sped into all parts of the Realm, for the selling of the Lands and goods of Chanteries, &c. but intentionally was to seize upon all Hangings, Altar-cloaths, Coapes, &c. in Quires, Churches, &c. 132

His sickness and usage then, his prayer before his death, which was on the same day of the month that Sir Thomas More *was beheaded.* 136, 141, 154

The Plot against him by the Duke of Northumberland, *the speeches of the people of the Duke, and the Marriages by him made.* 137, 138, 139

The Boy that personated him in Q. Maries *time,* 2d. part. 39

He refused to sign a Warrant for the burning of Joan of Kent, *saying, He would not send her to the Divel. But afterwards being pressed to sign it by the Archbishop, said he would lay all the charge on him before God, which scaused some to charge the Archbishop, though unjustly.* 69

He sendeth Embassadors into France *to treat of a Match with the French Kings Daughter, and sendeth the Garter to the King of* France, *who is invested therewith.* 104

The Physitians would have had the King removed to a better Air, conceiving some hopes

hopes of his recovery, but it was hindred by by death. 139

He by Letters Patents entaileth the Crown on the Lady Jane, *who subscribed that Instrument.* 139

Why Q. Mary *did not enquire after his death.* ibid.

The Officrs of his Funeral performed in the English *Tongue.* 140

He founded Christ-Church in Abbington. 141

Images were taken down by the authority of the Kings Commission only, at the time when a Parliament was sitting. 42

It was an ancient Custom of the Kings of England, *immediately on the death of their Predecessors, to provide their Lodgings in the Toner, taking possession by that Royal Fort, as it were, of the rest of the Kingdom.* 154

Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.

Who was the first Lord Keeper in England, *and how he was made,* 2d. part. 103

Kett.

He is made head of the Rebels in Norfolk. *His and their remonstrance, he and his Forces possesses themselves of Mousheld-Hill over against* Norwich. 77

He beateth the Forces of the Marquess of Northampton. ibid.

Sir Francis Knolles.

Was a neer Kinsman to Q. Eliz. *he was a great favourer of Puritans, and caused the Crucifix to be broken off the Queens Altar in her Chappel,* 2d. part. 124

Knox.

His Actions beyond the Seas, what they were, 2d. part. 60

L.

Latimer *Bishop.*

He was a man of parts and learning, he gave over his ministration for eight years, he had some hand in composing the Homilies. 57

His manner of preaching was on the Gospels for the day; why he was not restored to his Bishoprick. 101

He was looked upon as a Bishop, though none. 102

He laboured much to have the Discipline of Christ, id est, *Excommunication restored, which was then not practised.* 94

Lipis Calaminaris, *found in* England, 2d. part. 135

Laud Will. *the most renowned Archbishop,* 2d. part. 84

Lawyers, *But two of them in* Westminster-Hall, 2d. part. 77

Lay-men.

Where Lay-men *have been Presidents in Ecclesiastical Councels and Convocations,* 2d. part. 113

Where Lay-persons *and Women have been capable of Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions,* 2d. part. 109

Leases.

The Bishops restrained from making Grants or Leases of their Manours Lands, &c. for above 21 years, except to the Queen, her Heirs and Successors. What was the design therein, 2d. part. 121

Leland John, *where he had his education; he was imployed by* H. 8. *to search for the antiquity of Religious Houses; his painful labours therein; and what became of his works.* 130

Leicester *Earl, so created by Q.* Eliz. *his insupportableness to the Subjects, his siding with the Puritans, and the great hurt he did in the Church. The great praises the Puritans gave him. The Manours that were given him by the Queen,* 2d. part. 167

Lent.

Was taught by some to be an Ordinance of man, and therefore might be broke. 39, 57

Proclaimed to be kept by abstinence from Flesh. ibid.

Letany, when it was first put into English. 20

London, *that proud City was seldom true to the Royal Interest, but secretly obsequious to every popular pretender.* 82

Lutherans.

Abominated none more than Engliſh *Proteſtants; called their Martyrs the Devils Martyrs; why they did ſo,* 2d. part. 80

Liberty.

To be of what Religion or opinion a man pleaſeth, as the Romans *were affirmed by* Tacitus *to have had under* Nerva. 48

Licence.

Was granted to John Alaſco *by the Kings Letters Patents to exerciſe his Religion in* London; *the ill conſequents of it.* 89

Granted by Q. Mary *to the Earl of* Suſſex, *to be covered in her preſence,* 2d. part. 20

Licoln *Biſhoprick was miſerably poled.* 129

Liturgy.

Who were the firſt Compoſers of the Liturgy in E. 6. *time. The Compoſers great moderation therein, and reſolution not to meddle with Forreigners or any but* Engliſh, *and alſo to retain the ancient Ceremonies.* 57, 65

Was firſt executed in St. Pauls, London, *a forwardneſs was in all people to it, and the learned Papiſts conformed to it.* 74

It was tranſlated into Latin *for* Bucer, *by* Alexander Aleſius, *a learned* Scot. 79

Calvin *writes a Letter to the Protector, thereby allowing of ſet forms of prayer, but diſliked Commemoration for the Dead, Criſm, Extream Unction, and the Book of* Homilies. 80

Was reviewed by means of the Letters, and ſtir made by Calvin, *but after it was confirmed.* 107, 122

Was tranſlated into French, Welſh, *when, and for whoſe uſe, but never into* Iriſh. 122

Was uſed in Ireland *without any Law in their Parliaments injoyning it.* 123

Was reviſed in Q. Eliz. *time; ſeveral paſſages therein were expunged, which might give offence to thoſe of the Church of* Rome. 2d. part. 111

All Papiſts came to it in Q. Eliz. *her time, until the tenth year of her Reign.* 2d. part. ibid.

A diſputation about it appointed, and the perſons on both ſides appointed; but the Popiſh Biſhops refuſed it, after that they had met, 2d. part. 112

It was enacted to be tranſlated into Welſh; *by whom to be done,* 2d. part. 157

It hath ſuch a well-tempered piety in it, that the Papiſts and Ambaſſadors of Forreign Princes, repaired to it, 2d. part. ib.

When Papiſts firſt began to ſlacken their attendance at it, 2d. part. 172

It was ſaid to be compoſed by the aid of the Holy Ghoſt. 65

Was confirmed by act of Parliament in 2. E. 6. 66

The Romiſh *party took offence at it, becauſe it was in* Engliſh, *but the ſame is defended.* 66

It was objected that the undertaking of it was unadviſed, and the act of ſome few, and not confirmed by the whole Clergy. 67

It was approved of by Bucer, *as to the main frame.* 79

How often the Liturgy, and in what manner the Divine Service thereof was performed in the beginning of Queen Eliz. *in her Chappel, both publick and private,* 2d. part. 124

Was received in Scotland, *and remained there the only form of Worſhip,* 2d. part. 127

M

Magick-Art.

One that ſhewed the Protector in a glaſs in what poſture all his friends and his Wife was in. 3

Marriage.

Of Prieſts lawful. 67,68

A Marriage concluded between King Edw. *the ſixth, and the eldeſt Daughter of* France 105

By the Statute of 2. E. 6. *It is deſired that Prieſts, &c. would abſtain from Marriage, &c.* 67

Martyrs in *Q. Maries* Reign.

A Warrant granted for the burning of Bishop Hooper, 2d. part. 48

The famous Martyrdom of Cranmer, Ridley *and* Latimer, *their Disputations and Tryals, their refusing to own the Popes Commissioners,* 2d. part. 50,51,52,53

The number of the several Martyrs that were put to death in heir Reign, in the several Dioceses of this Kingdom, 2d. part. 56, 57, 82

A Woman with child burnt, and the Child falling alive out of her belly, and taken up, was thrown into the fire and burnt with his mother, in Mary, 2d. part. 57

Five persons were burnt in Canterbury, *but a week before the death of Q.* Mary, *who prayed they might be the last,* 2d. part. 57, 81

St. Martin le grand.

Was founded by the Conqueror, suppressed by H. 8. *and surrendred to* E. 6. *who gave the same to the Church at* Westminster, *who leased the Body of the Church thereof to one* Kible, *and he built a Tavern on the East-end thereof, and the rest was turned into Tenements, and inhabited by strangers.* 60

Is exempted from the Government of London, *and is governed by Officers appointed by the* Chapter *of* Westminster. 60

Peter Martyr.

Was sent for over, when he came. 65, 79

He refused to wear the Cap and Surplice, and his reason why. That controversie was much upheld by him; he was much a Zuinglian. 79, 92

His return to Lambeth, *the consults against him; he is licensed to depart, and is furnished by the Lord Chancellor,* 2d. part 26

His Wives body was taken out of her grave, and buried in a Dunghil, but the same was re-buried by Qu. Eliz. 2d. part. 26

He was often present at Divine Service. 65,79

He is made the Kings Professor, and Canon of Christs Church in Oxon. 79

Marvel-Manour, was parcel of the possessions of the Bishops of Winchester. 3

Massacre of the Protestants in France, *and how many, by the* Guysian *faction,* 2d. part. 151

Masses.

Were had in several places after the Liturgy was established under the names of Communions, &c. A Letter was wrote by the Lords of the Councel to Bonner *to prevent, and he commits the matter to the* Dean *and* Chapter, *he being not willing to engage so far, until he had seen the issue of some Commotions.* 74

The forwardness of some in restoring the Mass, 2d. part. 24

Melancton. *There was a report of his coming into* England *about the third year of* Edward *the sixth, but it was but a report.* 65

Merchant strangers.

Suppress, who they were, and what, and why they were suppress. 108

Merchant-Taylors-School in London *built, by whom and when,* 2d. part. 145

Monasteries.

The first beginning of their Suppression, when, by whom it was first devised, 2d. part. 90

In what year they were suppressed. 9, 10

The number of the Houses that were suppress, their riches and yearly value, 2d. part. 90

To what the Religious persons of those Houses betook themselves, 2d. part. ibid.

The great lamentation that was made by the poor, for want of the relief they received from them, and of the employment they had in those houses, and the number of those persons, 2d. part. ibid.

The Bishops and Abbots joyned in the voting of them down, 2d. part. 91

Money.

What it cost the English *in the Quar-*

rels of the Emperors. 87
Decried by E. 6. *which had been advanced by former Kings.* 110
All base money decried by Q. Eliz. *and only Easterling or Sterling money to be coyned,* 2d. part. 135, 143
Montacute *Lord, executed for treason against* Hen. 8. *in indeavouring to destroy him, and advance Reginald Pole.* 10
Moor *Sir* Thomas *was beheaded.* 2. part. 19
Mumpsimus *and* Sumpsimus, *what, who used those words.* 17

Muscovite.

An Ambassador was sent from thence into England, *who was Shipwracked on the Coasts of* Scotland. *The loss of his goods, what; his Presents, entertainments and dismission, what and when,* 2d. part. 71
Muster in St. James *his Fields, by divers of the Courtiers.* 117

Mine.

A Mine of Brass was found in Cumberland, *in the Reighn of* Q. Eliz. 2d. part 135

Navigation.

The English *had but small knowledge in Navigation before the Reign of* E. 6. *and had few Merchants that brought in Foreign Commodities, but the same were brought in by the Easterlings.* 108
Nevel *Sir* Edward, *was executed for Treason against King* Hen. 8. 10
New-haven *in* France *was yielded by the* English *to the* French, *by occasion of the Plague there,* 2d. part. 151

Nobles.

Were formerly created at the Christning of Princes. 9
Created by Q. Mary *and some Bishops,* 2d. part. 37, 38
Preferred to great Places. 84
When the Lords of England *were Lords indeed.* 117
Northampton *Marques and his Forces beaten by* Ketr. 77
Norwich *City keep a Solemn Day of thanksgiving for their deliverance from the Rebellion of* Kett. 77

O

Oaths.

In all Acts for Subsidies all men were to give an account of their Estates upon Oath, 2d. part. 53
When the Oath of Supremacy was first enacted to be taken, and the cause thereof, 2d. part. 157
Obsequy *for* Francis *King of* France, *kept in* London, *and a* Requiem *sung in St.* Pauls *in* London, *and all Churches there.* 40
Observation of dayes and times cryed down by some in the beginning of the Reformation. 57

Ordination.

It was proposed that Ordination should be at other times than the four times in the year, 2d. part. 78
Of Priests, &c. *in* E. 6. *his Reign, were declared to be null and void in a Parliament,* 1. Mar. 2d. part. 36
Ordnance: Five and twenty men slain by a shot from an Ordnance. 46

Oxford.

The Bishoprick thereof was filled but little more than three years in 46. *and was so impoverished, that the Bishop thereof was forced to pray Alms of his Clergy for his maintenance,* 2d. part. 156
The Archbishop of Dublin *was made Bishop thereof, in* 4. Eliz. 2d. part. ibid.

P

Paget William *Lord.*

He was by birth a Londoner, *he was by fortune mixed with merit, preferred by*

ferred by degrees to be one of the principal Secretaries to H. 8. *who employed him in many Embassies and Negotiations.* 85,100

He had his share in the Lands of Chanteries, &c. and got the Bishop of Exeter's *house, which was by him enlarged and beautified, and called* Paget-house. *It was sold afterwards to* Dudley *Earl of* Leicester, *and after came to the Earl of* Essex, *and so was named* Essex-house. 85,100

He got the Mannor of Beaudesert (*and thereof was created Baron*) *and many other good Estates in* Staffordshire, *belonging partly to the Bishop, and partly to the Dean and Chapter. He had the Ear of the Protector and King.* 85,100

He was sent Embassador to the Emperor. 86

He was one of the Commissioners upon the Treaty with France, *when* Bulloign *was sold to the* French. 87

His House in St. Clements *was the place appointed for the cutting of the Duke of* Northumberland. 112, 113

He is sent to Prison. 112, 113

He is put from his Chancellors place of the Dutchy of Lancaster, *fined* 6000 l. *and had the Garter taken from him, and bestowed on the Duke of* Northumberland's *Son.* 119, 132

He sent notice to Queen Mary *of her being Proclaimed Queen.* 164

What he said concerning the cutting off of Queen Eliz. 2d. part. 98

He was one of the Executors of H. 8. *and was made a Councellor to his Son* E. 6. 26

He subscribed a Letter directed to Bonner *to proceed in the reformation of abuses.* 56

He is put from being Comptroler of the Kings house, and after he is made a Baron, being a Knight before; and is preferred also to the Chancellorship of the Dutchy of Lancaster. 85

Pall. *What it is.* 2d. part. 129

Papists. *Great labour was used that they might have a Tolleration of their Religion, and the reasons,* pro & cont. 2d. part. 142

Pardon. *A Pardon granted to all in time of a great Rebellion, and when the Prince cannot quell them is a means to disperse them,* 2d. part. 146

Parliament.

The causes why the Act of 28 H. 8. c. 7. *was made.* 6

All Chaunteries Colledges, Free-Chappels, and Hospitals were by Parliament given to H. 8. *for the carrying on of the War against* France *and* Scotland. 12

The Parliament in Edw. *the Sixth his time, was Prorogued from time to time, several Acts were then repealed, and the causes why, and several were then made.* 48

The Attorney of the Dutchy was Imprisoned for offering a Bill to the House of Commons, for retrenching the Ecclesiastical Courts, Reader. 9

The Parliament of the first of E. 6. *continued to the death of the King, and though the Members were of different Religions, yet they agreed to serve each others turn.* 48

Parr William.

He was created Marquess of Northampton. 31

Parsonages, *Were converted to lay and strange uses by the Courtiers in the Reign of* E. 6. 61

Passage. *An endeavour was made to find out a passage to* China, *by the* North-East *Coast,* 2d. part. 71

St. Pauls *Steeple* London, *How it came to be burnt; the several reports thereof by Phanaticks and Papists; the height length and bredth of that Church, the building of the same, and Benefactors to it,* 2d. part. 140

Pawlet, *Marquess of* Winchester, *first Earl of* Wiltshire, *and Lord Treasurer.* 101, 113

Percies.

Their Pedigree, Possessions, &c. 135

The Percies *were restored to their Pedegree and Antiquity,* 2d. part. 19

Persecution, *For Religion not to be used by the opinion of Cardinal* Pole, *and the Emperor,* 2d. part. 47

Philip *Prince of* Spain.

He arrived at Southampton, *the time when his Marriage, Stile, and places he came unto,* 2d. part. 39

His great Treasure he brought into England, *he procured the enlargement of several Prisoners, and of the Earl of* Devon *and Princess* Eliz. *who were imprisoned on suspition of having a hand in* Wyat's *Rebellion*, 2d. part. 39

Pilgrimages.

Were suppressed in Anno 1538. 10

Plague.

In New-haven *in* France, *which forced the* English *to yield it to the* French, *the* English *returning home, brought the Plague with them*, 2d. part. 161

A Plague in 5 Eliz. *which caused that* Michaelmas *Term was not kept; and* Hillary *Term following, was kept at* Hartford, 2d. part. 164

Pole Cardinal.

He was of the Blood Royal, eminent in Learning, and exemplary in life, he was intended to have been sent into England *by the Pope, his unwillingness thereunto, and the cause why*, 2d. part. 27

He sends over a Trusty Minister, who speaks with the Queen, 2d. part. 27

He is restrained by the Emperor from coming into England, *his arrival and restitution*, 2d. part. 41

He was against the putting of the Protestants to death, and the reason why, 2d. part. 47, 68.

He was not beloved of the Pope or Gardner; *but was suspected to favour of Lutheranism*, 2d. part. 57, 68

The Pope deprived him of his Legatine power, and put Petow *in his place; but after* Petow's *death, he is restored again*, 2d. part. 78

His Articles of Visitation, and wherein they differ from those used by all succeeding Archbishops of Canterbury. 69

He visits Cambridge, *and appoints Commissioners, who cite* Martin Bucer, *and* Paulus Fagius *to appear*, &c. *and Condemn them as Heretics*, &c. 2d. part. 70

He connived at his Officers in shedding of blood, 2d. part. 79

Pole Arthur, *and others were Condemned of Treason, but spared from Execution, with the cause why*, 2d. part. 146

Polidore Virgil, *who, and how named.* 41

Pope and Popery.

The Pope deprived H. 8. *by his Bull of all his Dominions, and caused his Bull to be set up in several places.* 10

He offered the Kingdom of England *to the King of* Scots, *and sent him a Breve, the Contents thereof.* 11

He challengeth the power to make Kingdomes, and was troubled when Ireland *was made a Kingdom by* H. 8. 21

The first beginning of the Popes downfall in England. *Appeals to him prohibited*, 2d. part. 5, 6

He was restored to his Supremacy by Q. Mary, *and all Acts made against him were repealed; but the Parliament then sitting, were unwilling to restore the Pope to his Supremacy, until they were secured to enjoy their Church Lands*, 2 part. 41

The Parliament ordered that a Petition be made to the Pope for pardon, in the behalf of themselves and the whole Kingdom; the Pope pardoneth and absolveth the Kingdome; the whole manner of the proceeding therein, 2d. part. 41, 42, 43, 44

The Pope would not allow that the Laity should have the Church Goods, his demand of Peter *pence, and what he said concerning it*, 2d. part. 45

He deprives Cardinal Pole *of his Legantine power*, 2d. part. 78

What he did upon his Restitution in Queen Maries *dayes*, 2d. part. 44

He is espoused to the French, 2d. part. 78

His answer to Q. Elizabeth's *Agent with him*, 2d. part. 103

His labour and offers to Queen Eliz. *to own the Jurisdiction of* Rome, 2d. part. 131

His labour to win Queen Eliz. *by fair means; he endeavours to reassume the* Trent *Councel to settle the differences in Christendome, and invites Queen* Eliz. *to send her Bishops or Embassadors there*, 2d. part. 138

His Nuntio sent to Queen Eliz. *advanceth as far as* Flanders; *but he was denyed to come over to* England. *The Arguments therein* pro & cont. 2d. part. 141

He was laboured by some not to send a Nuntio to her, but to Excommunicate her; his Christian answer to it, 2d. part. 141

Addresses

Addresses and Appeals to him, and the payment of all impositions are prohibited, and ordered that Dispensations be had from the Arch-Bishop, and not from the Pope. 19

The forwardness of some in restoring of Popery, during that the Laws of E. 6. *were in force, which was done by the names of forwarding the Queens proceedings, and those that did not, were punished as disturbers of the Queens proceedings,* 2d. part. 24

The great Bell of Christ-Church *in* Oxon, *was new cast, and called* Mary, *to knoll to Mass,* 2d. part. 24

His Authority was virtually restored by the Stat. 1 Mar. *whereby the Marriage of Queen* Katharine *was declared and made good,* 2d. part. 28

Priest, *Beaten by Sir* Hen. Seymour, *who being curst'd by him, came to nine.* 4

Preachers.

None were permitted to Preach, but such as had License, &c. 2d. part. 25, 113

Why there were so few Preachers in E. 6. *his time, what order was taken to send Preachers abroad.* 94,95

Predestination and Predestinarians.

The first beginning of that opinion, 2d. part. 64

Their manner of Writing is with scurrility and reproach. 74

Presages, *Of great Conclusions or alterations in States and Kingdoms by Earthquakes, Dolphins,* &c. 110

Presidents of Councels.

Where Lay-men have been Presidents of Councels Ecclesiastical and Convocations, 2d. part. 113

Preston Thomas, *One of the Opponents in a disputation before Queen* Elizab. *at* Cambridge *against* Carthright, 2d. part. 164

Procession. *Through* London *in Queen* Maries *Raign, for the Conversion to the Catholick Church. The number of the Crosses, Priests, Clerks, and Bishops that were thereat, with their attire, and the manner thereof,* 2d. part. 44

Proclamation.

For the Administring of the blessed Sacrament according to the order set forth. 58

In Queen Maries *Raign, prohibiting the shooting in Hand guns, and bearing of weapons, upon what cause it was made,* 2d. part. 47

By Queen Mary, *prohibiting that any person should pray for, or speak to, or with any Heretick, or once to say God help them, and yet* Bentham *at the Martyrdom of some cryed God help them, and all the people cryed Amen,* 2d. part. 79

By Queen Mary, *prohibiting the having of Heretical books,* &c. *and that those that had them, should suffer as Traytors by Martial Law,* 2d. part. 79

Protector of *Edw.* 6th.

The Earl of Hartford *chosen Governour of* Edw. 6ths. *Person, and Protector of his Kingdomes.* 31

He Knighteth E. 6. *and with the same Sword Knighteth the Maior of* London, *and an other.* 31

He is created Lord Seymour *and Duke of* Somerset, *which was a Dukedome belonging to the Kings Progenitors of the house of* Lancaster, *and he createth several other Nobles.* 31

He raiseth an Army to back his Reformation, and entertaineth Walloons *and* Germanes. 40

He raiseth an Army to Invade Scotland, *the number of the foot and horse, and who were the principal Officers. It Randevouzeth at* New-Castle, *and marcheth into* Scotland, *the time when and the manner how.* 43

He returneth an answer to a message and challenge sent him by the Lord Huntley *and the* Scots. 44

He Marshalleth his Army, giveth Battel, and winneth it, the number of the slain and taken. 46

He reapeth little fruit of his Victory for want of prosecution. 46

Why he did not prosecute that War. 47

He obtained this Victory the same day that Images were taken down and burnt in London, *which was the same day of the Month that the* Scots *were formerly beaten at* Floden-field. 47.

How long he remained in Scotland *with his Army.* 47

A Combination against him by Dudley, *and who he drew to his side against him.* 81

The Confederates against him Convene at Ely-house, *and send for the Maior and Aldermen of* London. 81

Rich *the Chancellor in an Oration sets forth in what danger the Kingdom was by the Protectors misgovernment, and he objected against him many misdemeanors, particularly named.* 82

He hearing of those things, and being at Hampton-Court, *causeth Proclamation to be made at the Court Gate, and other places for all sorts of people to come in, for the defence of the Kings person.* 82

He conveyeth the King with 500 *men to* Windsor-Castle, *and Writes to* Dudley *and his Lords, and to the Mayor and City of* London, *for* 1000 *men.* 82

He surrendreth himself, and is cast into Prison. 81

A Narrative of the whole plot against him. 81

He Subscribes to Articles with submission, and begs pardon, he is fixed and released out of Prison. 84

Upon his deposing, several persons were put out of their places, and others put in, and several Nobles created. 85

His Daughter is Married to Dudleys *Son, and he restored to the Kings favour.* 86

The whole plot against him, his Arraignment, Tryal, and Execution, and the strangeness thereof, the peoples mistake in shouting at his Tryal. 110

His Title, dispositions, and inclinations to Religion. 114

Several people dipped their Handkerchiefs in his blood at his Execution. 114

His death was judged to be the contrivement of Dudley. 114

Several persons adjudged to be in his plot, are set at liberty after his death. 114

What befell his Children, Friends and Relations after his death. 115

He was betrayed by Hamond *one of his Servants.* 115

Who were executed as guilty of his plot, and what Vane *said at his own Execution.* 117

The difference between him and his Brother Thomas. 72

He designed to pull down St. Margarets *Church in* Westminster, *to build* Somerset-House, *but the Workmen were beaten off by the people.* 72

Protestants.

Dutch *and* French *Protestants were banished the Kingdom in Queen* Maries *Raign, the cause why,* 2d. part. 26

What Protestants, and how many departed the Kingdom in Queen Maries *time,* 2d. part. 27

The estate of the English *Protestant Churches beyond the Seas in Queen* Maries *Raign,* 2d. part. 59

They had their meetings in London, *during* Bonner's *persecution, and had several good books,* 2d. part. 80

Protestation.

Bonner *Bishop, received the Kings Injunctions, with a Protestation that he would observe them, if they were not contrary to the word of God, but afterwards he revoked his protestation.* 41

A Protestation was taken by all Parsons, &c. *to prevent the disturbances of the Puritans,* 2d. part. 172

Psalms of *David.*

When, and by whom they were first composed in English *Meeter, who first caused them to be Translated into Meeter, and by what means they came to be first sung in Churches, and bound up with the Bible.* 127

Turned into Meeter in French *by* Clement Marrot, *and Tunes fitted to them, first sung in private Houses, and after in* French *Churches, and by other Nations.* 127

Puritans, Presbyterians, and Independents.

Their beginning Nonconformity about Caps and Garments, the great disturbance that came thereby, the which was much upheld by Peter Martir, *and* John Alasco, 90, 91, 92, 93. 2d. part. 60

They were the cause of the neglect of all laudable Solemnities. 114

Their strange carriage against Q. Mary *in Preaching against her, and otherwise the several affronts that were offered by them in disgrace of her Religion established, by shaving a Cat,* &c. *and shooting a Gun at a Preacher,* 2d. part. 47

Their

Their original, and several of their heads, and their actings beyond Sea, 2d. part. 59, *to* 63

The History of their disturbance to this Church, and the peace of Christendom, 2d. part. 63

They were preferred in the first year of Q. Eliz. *which caused a great disturbance*, 2d. part. 115

Their practices of overthrowing the Religion, Government, &c. established by Qu. Eliz. *their policy of setting up a* French *Church, which caused a Proclamation against them, as also against pulling down Statues, Monuments, &c.* 2d. part. 134

Their practices of taking down Altars, and bringing the Table into the Church, and of taking away Godfathers in Baptism, 2d. part. 144

All fasting Dayes and Festivals were by them prohibited, except occasional. Books and Sermons were by them dispersed amongst the people, against which a Book of orders was made, 2d. part. 144

Their great opposition against the Apparel, &c. of Priests, and their labouring of Forreign Divines therein, 2d. part. 164, 166, 172

In what year they were first called Puritans, 2d. part. 172

What Rastal *chargeth the Protestants withal, by reason of the actings of the Puritans*, 2d. part. 173

They were curbed by Q. Eliz. Reader. 10

Sampson *Dean of Christ's Church, deprived for refusing to wear the Cap and Surplice*, 2d. part. 164

The discords brought in by the Puritans, were a great cause why so many Papists refused to come to Church, 2d. part. 172

The Puritans pretended purity was accompanied with such irreverence, and their opposition drew so much licentiousness with it, that it gave a great scandal to all sober men, 2d. part. ibid.

A Protestation was to be taken by all Parsons, &c. to prevent the disturbances of the Puritans, 2d. part. ibid.

Q

Queen Katherine.

She was first married to Prince Arthur, *and also contracted to* H. 8. *by the Popes dispensation, what words she caused to be put into the dispensation*, 2d. part. 1, 2.

She is married to H. 8. *after he had renounced the said Contract; she hath issue by him, and is crowned with him*, 2d. part. 2

She is divorced from H. 8. *the whole proceedings therein*, 2d. part. 4

She sendeth a Letter to the King a little before her death, which causeth tears from him, 2d. part. 9

Her death, when and where it was, 2d. part. ibid.

Her Divorce was prosecuted by Gardner, *as far as by any*, 2d. part. 25

Queen Anne Bollen.

Her Pedigree and Education, 2d. part. 85

Her Beauty and deportment compared with Jane Seimour, 2d. part. 5

Her marriage with Hen. 8. *with a Narration of the whole proceedings therein, as also of her Death, Divorce, and her Letter to the King*, 2d. part. 85, *to* 96

Queen Jane Seimour.

Her Pedigree, and of the Seimours; *the derivation of her name.* 2

A Comparison between Her and Queen Anne Bollen. 5

She was married to H. 8. *the next day after that Queen* Anne Bollen *was beheaded.* ibid.

She was married to H. 8. *at the petition of the Nobles.* 7

Her Letter to the King after delivery of her Son. ibid.

Her Womb was not cut up, as some did report. ibid.

Her Death, place of Burial, where, and her Epitaph. 8

Her Letter to the Lords of the Councel, after her delivery of Prince Edward. 7

She left that Character of being the fairest, discreetest and humblest of Hen. 8. *His Wives.* ibid.

Queen Anne Cleve.

She was divorced from H. 8. 10

Queen Katherine Howard.

Was beheaded by H. 8. 11

Q. Katherine Parr. 12

Q. Jane Gray.

Here Pedigree, her admirable perfections of body and mind, her disposition and deportment, her Tutor, her Studies and Learning, her saying of her Parents and Tutor, her zeal to the Protestant Religion. 147,148,149

She is acquainted of the Kings Death, she being carried in state to the Tower; her excellent Answer. 157

She is proclaimed Queen with great concourse of people, but not acclamations of many. 158

The Attempts on her to change her Religion, her resolution and Answers therein, her Letter wrote to her Sister Katherine. 166

Her Tryal and Sentence. The manner of her Execution, and where it was; her behaviour and constancy thereat, her Speech, her Table-Book, and to whom she gave it, and the three sentences she wrote therein, 166, 167. 2d. part. 165

Some disliked her being proclaimed Queen; one was punished for words spoken at the proclamation. 158

Her Husband desired to take his farewel of her, but she advised the contrary, yet takes a farewel of him at her window, who is executed on Tower Hill. 167

All Statutes, Recognizances, Grants, &c. made in her time, were made void by act of Parliament. 168

Queen Mary.

She is sent for by Dudley *in the Kings name, and cometh part of the way, and after returneth, having intelligence of a Plot against her.* 154

Her Letter to the Lords of the Councel, and their Answer. 151

Notice was sent to her of her being proclaimed Queen, by the Earl of Arrundel *and Lord* Pagett. 164

When she was born, and of whom, 2d. part. 1

She was committed, during her Infancy, to the charge of Margaret, *Daughter of the Duke of* Clarence, *and why,* 2d. part. 2

Her intention was to have married Cardinal Pole, 2d. part. ibid.

She was promised in Marriage to the Dolphin *of* France, *and afterwards to the Emperor, and after to the* Dolphin, 2d. part. ibid.

She was after her Mothers death forsaken of all, and in high displeasure with the King, yet was she sought in Marriage by the King of Scots; *she is threatned to be cast into the Tower, she humbleth her self by letter to her Father, who sends instructions to treat with her on certain Articles,* 2d. part. 10,11,12

What she gained by the same. id.

Her Letter to the Protector, she is prohibited to have Mass, notwithstanding the interceding of the Emperors Embassador, 103. 2d. part. 13,14

She promiseth the Gentry of Suffolk *not to alter the Religion settled, but she broke her promise with them, and prosecuted all them that had been aiding to her, and put one into the Pillory, who had put her in mind of her promise,* 2d. part. 15

Dissolves her Army at Framingham, *her journey to* London, *she is met by her Sister* Eliz. *attended by* 1000 *Horse; her entrance into* London *was in magnificent manner, taking possession of the Tower, where she is welcomed by several Nobles and others, whom she kissed and restored; her Coronation, and the state thereof, and by whom performed,* 2d. part. 20

She was at first kind to her Sister Eliz. *but after strange to her,* 2d. part. ibid.

She licenseth the Earl of Suffex *to be covered in her presence,* 2d. part. ibid.

She preferreth several persons to several places, and putteth several out, 2d. part. 21

She granteth a general pardon, the which was much qualified, 2d. part. ibid.

She displaceth several Bishops and Ministers, and puts others in their rooms, 2d. part. 22, 24

She promiseth not to strain other mens consciences, and sendeth forth a Proclamation to that effect, 2d. part. 22,23

She endeavoureth to disinherit her Sister Eliz. 2d. part. 83,84

She is solicited to Marry, and hath three Husbands offered to her, viz. Lord Courtney, *Cardinal* Pole, *and* Philip *King of* Spain, 2d. part. 31

Her inviting Speech to Courtney *to Marry her, and what he did thereupon,* 2d. part. ibid.

The Articles of Agreement of Marriage

age between her and King Philip, *were declared publickly by the Lord Chancellor*, 2d. part. 32

Her Match with Spain *was concluded upon in Parliament*, 2d. part. 37

She was ſuppoſed to be with Child, and prayers were made for her delivery, and great preparations for the ſame, and thanks alſo given for her ſuppoſed delivery, and the Child deſcribed by ſome Preachers; others prayed againſt her being with Child, 2d. part. 46,47

Her reſolution to reſtore Church-Lands, and ſhe endowed ſome Religious Houſes, 2d. part. 65, 66

She accepteth a new Grant of Ireland *from the Pope.* 22

She could not be won to change her Religion, or any alteration to be made in her publick Offices of Religion, though wrote to by E. 6. *and the Lords of the Councel, and the reaſons why*, 102. 2d.part. 14

A Plot was laid for the carrying of her out of the Kingdom, whereupon ſhe is ſent for to London, 102. 2d.part. ibid.

Two of her Chaplains *and ſome others are committed Priſoners*, 102. 2d. part. ibid.

Her Chaplains *had liberty to ſay Maſs only in her preſence*, 102. 2d.part. 13

She is told that the King was reſolved not to endure to permit her to have Maſs any longer, her Anſwer thereunto, ſhe was reſtrained from having any of her Prieſts. 103

The Emperor labours and threatens War if ſhe may not have a toleration of her Religion, the Lords of the Councel move it, and arguments are made for it, but the King would not grant it, but wept, as did alſo the Biſhops at it, as being overpreſt to it. 103

Why ſhe did not enquire after the death of E. 6. 139

She admitted of a Conſultation for the burning of her Fathers body, and cutting off the head of her Siſter. ibid.

It was enacted that King Philip *ſhould have the Government of the Kingdom, &c. if Qu.* Mary *ſhould dye having iſſue*, 2d. part. 46

She was ſought in Marriage by the Emperor in her Fathers time and an agreement was made thereon, what her Portion was to be, and her Jointure, 2d. part. 3

She was deſigned to have been a Wife for the Duke of Orleance, 2d. part. ibid.

Her Legitimation was queſtioned upon a Treaty of a marriage with France, 2d.part ibid.

She was declared to be illegitimate by act of Parliament, 2d part. 9

She had ſome Matches offered her, but none ſucceeded, 2d. part. 14

Some of her ſervants were committed, 2d. part. ibid.

She is viſited by Biſhop Ridley, *who offered to preach before her, but ſhe refuſed it, upon which the Biſhop having drank in her houſe, ſaid, He had done amiſs to drink in that houſe where Gods Word was refuſed, and that he ſhould have ſhaked the duſt off his feet againſt that houſe, the which he ſpake with that earneſtneſs, that it made ſome mens hair ſtand an end*, 2d.part. ib.

She in her firſt year impriſoneth and removeth ſeveral Proteſtant Biſhops, 2d.part. 24

She ſends command to the Mayor of Rye *and* Dover, *to ſuffer all* French *Proteſtants to go over, and ſhe baniſhed all* French *and* Dutch, 2d. part. 26

The number of thoſe that in her Reign put themſelves into exile, who were the principal of them, 2d. part. 27

She takes away all Statutes whereby certain offences had been made treaſon, and others that were in the compaſs of a premuniri, 2d. part. 27

She deſigned in her firſt year to take away all Statutes whereby the Popes authority and Religion were reſtrained, 2d. part. 28

Her Marriage with Philip *King of* Spain *is carefully ſollicited by* Gardner, *with his reaſons why*, 2d. part. 31

The great Rebellions of Carew, Wyat, *and others, in the firſt year of her Reign, who were in the ſame*, 2d. part. 33, 34

She is called by Calvin *in his Comment upon* Amos, Proſerpina, *and that excelled in her cruelty all the Divels of Hell*, 2d. part. 35

She createth ſeveral Nobles, &c. and ſeveral Biſhops in the firſt year of her Reign, 2d. part. 38

She in her ſecond year removeth and preferreth ſeveral Biſhops, 2d.part. 40

She laboureth with the Parliament to have all acts againſt the Popes Supremacy

macy repealed; but could not prevail until the Nobles, &c. were aſſured to enjoy the Church-Lands, 2d. part. 41

An Act made in the ſecond year of her Reign, for the puniſhment of traiterous words againſt the Queen; on what occaſion it was made, 2d. part. 47

She by Proclamation prohibiteth the ſhooting in hand-guns, and bearing of weapons, and the occaſion thereof, 2d. part. ibid.

An Embaſſador coming to her from Ruſſia, *is caſt away in* Scotland, *but is after brought to* London *before the King and Queen, and preſented richly, and Articles of Peace concluded upon*, 2d. part. 71

She proclaims War againſt France, *and upon what occaſion*, 2d. part. 73

She in the fourth year of her Reign advanceth divers Clergy-men, and other Nobles, 2d. part. ibid.

Her death when, 2d. part. 83,84

Her funeral was ſolemnized, 2d. part. 105

Queen Eliz.

Her Education, Maſter and Learning, &c. 2d. part. 96

Her impriſonment in the Tower, and hard uſage there, 2d. part. 97

She is committed to Beddingfield, *who carrieth her to* Woodſtock, *where ſhe is very hardly uſed by him and his Agents*, 2d. part. 96

What Marriages were offered unto her, or were intended her, 2d. part. ibid.

The endeavours of King Philip *to gain her liberty*, 2d. part. 98

What Gardner *and the Lord* Pagett *ſaid concerning her being cut off*, 2d. part. ibid.

The intention of King Philip *to marry her*, 2d. part. 99

She is proclaimed Queen by the Parliament, in the Palace-yard, and at the Croſs in Cheap-ſide, 2d. part. 101

She repaireth to London, *is met by all the Biſhops, to whom ſhe giveth her hand to kiſs, except to* Bonner, 2d. part. 102

She lodgeth at the Charter-houſe, *and from thence goeth to the Tower, and is there entertained with a peal of Ordnance; at her entrance therein, ſhe giveth God thanks; ſhe goeth thence to* Somerſet-houſe, *and in the way is attended with throngs of people, who make loud acclamations*, 2d. part. 102

She granteth new Commiſſions to the Agents with all Princes, and with the Pope, 2d. part. ibid.

Releaſeth out of priſon thoſe that were impriſoned for the Proteſtant Religion, 2d. part 103

She is petitioned to releaſe Matthew, Mark, Luke *and* John, *who had been long impriſoned; her Anſwer thereunto*, 2d. part ibid.

She reſolves on a Reformation, but intends to proceed prudently, and appoints her Councel of the old ones, and ſome new ones to be added to them, 2d. part. ibid.

She commits the great Seal to Bacon, Heath *continuing Lord Chancellor, and* Bacon *made Lord Keeper, for which an Act of Parliament is made*, 2d. part. ibid.

She grants new Commiſſioners of the peace of Proteſtants, 2d. part. ibid.

She prohibiteth by Proclamation all preaching without Licence, which happened by occaſion of Proteſtants preaching againſt Papiſts, and the one againſt the other, 2d. part. 104

She prohibiteth by proclamation any perſon to innovate in matters of Religion, or to alter any the Rites or Ceremonies then uſed or retained in her Chappel, occaſioned by the forwardneſs of ſome Zealots, pulling down Altars without Licenſe, 2d. part. ibid.

She permitteth the Lords Prayer, *the Creed, the Letany and ten Commandments to be in the* Engliſh *Tongue, and prohibiteth the Elevation of the Sacrament*, 2d. part. ibid.

She ſecretly intends and projects a Reformation of Religion. The perſons whom ſhe acquainted with it, and imployed about it, 2d. part. 105

She ſolemnizeth Qu. Maries, *and the Emperor* Charls *the fifth's Funeral*, 2d. part. ibid.

She prepareth for her Coronation, and paſſeth by water from Weſtminſter *to the Tower in State, and reſtoreth and createth ſeveral perſons to honours*, 2d. part. ibid.

She

She before she took her Chariot, gave God thanks in a Prayer, and hath the acclamations of the people in her passage, she hath a Bible let down to her from a Pageant, by a Child called Truth, *she kisseth the Book, and layeth it to her bosom, she first kissing both her hands*, 2d. part. 106

She is Crowned by the Bishop of Carlisle, *after the Pontifical order, all other Popish Bishops refusing to perform the Office, why she was not Crowned by a Protestant Bishop*, 2d. part. 106

She Summons a Parliament, which commenced Jan. 25. *Of what Members it was composed, the language that Dr.* Scory *used, and how he justified* Bonner's *Butcheries, and said he was sorry he had not lay'd the Axe to the root of the Tree, and how other Papists behaved themselves there*, 2d. part. 107

Her Supremacy was confirmed by Act of Parliament, and the same expounded and defended, 2d. part. 108

Practices against the Queen with the French *by the Pope, who treats with the Queens Agent, that she would not alter Religion, the Agents reply*, 2d. part. 116

Her Agent with the Pope was by him stayed from going home, 2d. part. 116

She is Petitioned by the Parliament to Marry, and is sollicited thereunto by King Philip *and others, but without effect*, 2d. part. 118

She concludes a Peace with France, *who is to enjoy* Calis *for 8 years, or pay* 500000 *Crowns for it*, 2d. part. 119

She kept her Magnificence, by which her reparation was preserved abroad and at home amongst the Papists and other Subjects, 2d. part. 119,124

She is much laboured to turn her Religion, 2d. part. 142

She governeth her affairs with an even hand, to the admiration of many, 2d. part. 143

She calls in the Easterling *and* Flemish *money, and Coins new*, 2d. part. 143

She provides Arms, Ammunition, and Ships, 2d. part. 143,135

She upon the sollicitation of the French *Protestants, takes them unto her protection, and sends them aid of men and Shipping, who possess themselves of* New Haven, *&c. she publisheth a* manifesto *thereof*, 2d. part. 150,151

She takes her Progress to Oxon *and* Cambridge, *her entertainment there, what*, 2d. part. 163

She is visited by the King of Sweethland's *Sister, who is royally entertained, and brought a bed of a Son, who is named* Edwardus Fortunatus, 2d. part. 171

Her Title to the Crown, is by an Act Recognized, but not her Mothers Marriage confirmed, and why, 2d. part. 107

She held so great a Curb on the Puritan faction, that her Parliaments and Courts were quit of them, Reader. 10

She Imprisoned her Attorney of the Dutchy of Lancaster, *for offering a Bill ready drawn to the House of Commons, for retrenching the Ecclesiastical Courts*, Reader. 9

How often, and how reverently Divine service was celebrated in her private and publick Chappel by the Priests and Bishops, and how zealous she was in the performance of the same, she reproved some for preaching against the usages, and commended those that preached for them, 2. part. 124

The Pope sent a Letter to her and his Nuntio, what were the contents of them, and the others instructions. 2. part. 131

She by Proclamation *commands all the* French *and* Dutch *Protestants to depart the Kingdom, upon consideration of the great evil they wrought in the Church of* Engl. 134

She by Proclamation prohibiteth the breaking or defacing of any Tomb, Monument, or Grave, or other inscription of any person deceased, or to break the Image of any King, &c. or any other erected for memory only; or to break down any image without consent of the Ordinary; and also the taking away of the Bells or Lead belonging to Churches; which Proclamation ensued upon great disorders therein. 2. part. 134

She decryeth and calleth in all debased mony, and coyneth good coin. 2. part. 135

The English Merchants in her time make Adventures at Sea, and become able Seamen. 2. part. 135

She is jealous of the house of Suffolk, *and imprisoneth those that marry the Daughters*. 2. part. 154

She pardoneth Arthur Pole *and others, who were condemned for levying War against her, and advancing the Title of the Queen of* Scots, 2. part. 154

She makes peace with France, *and yet underhand protects the* Hugonots. 163

She taketh the Belgick-Netherlands *into her protection*, 2. part. 163

Mary *Qu.* of Scots.

She is carried young into France, *and is married to the* Dolphin. 62

She assumes the title of Qu. of England, *&c.* 2d. part. 116

She returns from France *into* Scotland, *and Ships are sent to intercept her in the way. An enterview was propounded and agreed to be between her and Q.* Eliz. *at* York, 2d. part. 152

Great stir was about her marriage, she marrieth the Lord Darnley, *and by him hath King* James, 2d. part. 171

How her marriage with the Lord Darnley *was liked and disliked,* 2d. part. 169

R

Rebellion.

Of Devon *and* Norfolk. 75

Of the Carews *and several others in Q.* Maries *Reign, and of Sir* Tho. Wyat, 2d. part. 33

The Rebellion of Wyat *defended in a Book by* Goodman *and* Knox, *the which Book was printed at* Geneva, 2d. part. 35

The Rebellion of Wyat, *who were in it,* 2d. part. ibid.

The Rebellion in Yorkshire, *in* 3. E. 6. 77

Recantation.

Several that made publick Recantation of their former Errors, in the time of E. 6. 39

Religion.

The People are tender of Religion, and sudden alterations of Religion are dangerous. 57

Great labours made by the Emperor to have Q. Eliz. *change her Religion, or to allow a tollerasion to the Papists, and the reasons* per & cont. 2d. part. 144

The Tolleration of several Religions in a Nation dangerous, 90. 2d. part. 165

Bonner *is commanded to preach against unlawfulness of taking up of Arms for Religion.* 78

Compulsion in matters of Religion dangerous, and not to be used, 2d. part. 47

Religion *and* Reformation of Religion.

It began in the year 1536. *what was then done,* p. 6. *But it was more particularly by* Cromwel, *in* 1535. 2d. part. 90

In Anno 1537. Graftons *Bible was finished, Printed and allowed, and several were executed for resisting the Kings desires.* 9

The Reformation of E. 6. *his Reign was intended on several ends by the Bishops, and by the Courtiers.* 33

Preface to the Reader. 2

The Rood of Grace, and several other Roodes were demolished and shewed to the people, and the deceits of them discovered, and what it was. 9, 42

The course and way that was taken in the beginning for a Reformation. 33

The Reformation made by E. 6. *by the advice of his Councel was good, though he were under age then, as was the Reformation of* Josias. 38

The over forwardness of some in the Reformation. 39

Opposed by some Bishops and Priests, and endeavours by them to disaffect the people to the Government by preachings false things. 60

It is lawful for particular National Churches to reform themselves. 123

In Scotland, *and what acts passed there in the time of the Queen there,* 2d. part. 160

Those that had the chief directing of the business of the Reformation, Resolved that none but English *heads and hands should be used therein.* 65

The readiness of the people to obey the injunctions in the Reign of E. 6. 39

A Letter sent from the Archbishop in 2. E. 6. *to* Bonner, *to proceed to the Reformation of abuses, and* Bonners *Letter thereupon to the Bishop of* Westminster, 54, 55

A Letter from the Lords of the Councel in 2. E. 6. *concerning the taking down of Images.* 56

The great opposition against the Liturgy, Caps, Surplice, and other Rites of the Church, begun by Hooper, *and seconded by* John Alasco, *and after followed by several others.* 92

The Controversie about Caps and Surplice

plice found no incouragement from Martin Bucer, *who wrote a Letter in behalf of it, but found incouragement by* Peter Martyr. 92

Biſhops that refuſed to ſubmit to the Reformation in the time of E. 6. 100

The cauſe why there were no Commotions in Ireland *in the Reign of* E. 6. *upon the Reformation; what reformation was by him made.* 123

The Reformation was furthered by Bonner, *who was as forward as any therein, during the life of* Cromwel, *who preferred and countenanced him,* 2d. part. 25

The Reformation of Hen. 8. E. 6. *Qu.* Mary *and Qu.* Eliz. *compared to thoſe appearances that were preſented to* Elijah *in Kings,* 2d. part. 82

The Courſes that Cromwel *took in the Reign of* H. 8. *for the taking away of the Popes Supremacy,* 2d. part. 90

The Rules approved by King James *in the reforming of Religion,* 2d. part. 159

Not to ſeparate further from the Church of Rome *in Doctrine and Diſcipline, than that Church had ſeparated from what ſhe was in her pureſt times,* 2d. part. ibid.

Ridley.

Made Biſhop of Rocheſter, *his temper, learning and opinion of the Euchariſt.* 53

He preached the Sermon at St. Pauls, London, *ſhewing the reaſons of depoſing Qu.* Mary. 164

He offered to preach before Qu. Mary, *but ſhe refuſed him; what he then ſaid, he having drank in her houſe,* 2d. part. 14

He is committted to the Tower by Queen Mary, 2d. part. 17, 25

Reſtitution of all goods taken from the French *by the* Engliſh; *a Proclamation to be made for it.* 40

Reverence.

To be obſerved in Churches, and at the Name of Jeſus, was enjoyned by Q. Elizabeths *injunctions,* 2d. part. 126

Rich.

He was created Lord Rich *of* Leez *in* in Eſſex, *and his Grandſon was created Lord of* Warwick. 32

He was preferred by the Protector to be Lord Chancellor, and after he conſpired againſt him, and joyned with Dudley *in his Conſpiracy againſt the Protector.* 81, 82

The Duke of Richmond, *the natural ſon of* H. 8. *dieth, to the grief of the King and ſorrow of the Court, he being a gallant perſon.* 6

Robbing of Peter *to pay* Paul; *from whence that Proverb aroſe.* 121

Roodes.

The Rood of Grace, and ſeveral other Roods, were demoliſhed and ſhewn to the people, and the deceits of them diſcovered to them, and what it was. 9, 42

Ruſſel.

He was made Earl of Bedford. 85

S

Sacrament.

The reaſon of making the Act of 1. E. 6. cap. 2. *of receiving the Sacrament in both kinds, and for puniſhment of thoſe that contemned and ſpake againſt the Sacrament.* 49

Abuſed by Zealots with odious names, as Jack *in a Box, round* Robin, *and Sacrament of the Halter; againſt which the Statute of* 1. E. 6. cap. 1. *was made.* ib.

The receiving of it in both kinds was generally uſed for 1260 *years and better, and it was conſecrated in ſeveral places without wine.* ibid.

The opinion of the Papiſts, Lutherans *and* Zuinglians, *about the Sacrament, and alſo of Biſhop* Ridley. 53

Great differences about the Adminiſtration thereof; ſome affirmed it to be of little regard, and by others it was irreverently uſed. 63

Sitting at the receiving thereof, maintained by John Alaſco, *who holding Chriſt but as their elder Brother, thought it no robbery to be equal with him, and ſit at his Table.* 92

The great irreverence and diſeſteem the people had the Sacrament in, by the taking down of Altars, and ſetting up of Tables. 106

Who were the firſt Compoſers of the order

for administring the Sacrament in the English Tongue in the dayes of E. 6. 57
A Proclamation for the administring of the Sacrament after that order. ibid.
Letters directed to the Bishops, to see the order for administration of the Sacrament duly executed, and who subscribed these Letters. 59
Sarke-Island *gained by the* French *from the* English, *and regained again by a stratagem by the* Flemish, 2d. part. 76

Savoy-Hospital.

Suppresst and given to Bridewel. 129
Of what endowment it was, 2d. part. 67
Scaliger, *A matchless person for Learning.* 130
Scarborough *Castle, surprized by* Strafford; *an* English *fugitive, who writes a traiterous Manifest, and after is taken and executed with others,* 2d. part. 72

Scots *and* Scotland.

Invaded by the Duke of Norfolk, *in* 1542. *and the* Scots *Army defeated by Sir* Thomas Wharton, *and Sir* William Musgrave. 11
The Scots *were troubled when* Ireland *was first made a Kingdom.* 21
Ten thousand French *land in* Scotland, *and besiege* Haddington *there.* 62
Several Garrisons there both of the English *and* Scots *slighted.* 89
Forces sent there by the English *to relieve the Reformers, and to dispossess the* French *of* Leith, 2d. part. 124
The beginning of the Reformation in Scotland *by* Knox. *But afterwards the Reformers agreed and subscribed to the Liturgy, Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of* England, *which for some time remained there,* 2d. part. 125
What Acts passed there by the Queen for Reformation, 2d. part. 160
Tolleration granted by the Queen there to the Protestants, who would not allow the same to her, 2d. part. ibid.
The Scottish *Queens entertainment in* London, *in her going home from* France *through* England. 114
The Marriage of King James *his Mother with the Lord* Darnley, *how liked, and of whom not liked.* 2d. part. 169

Great Seal.

Taken from Goderick *Lord Chancellor,* 2d. part. 20
Whether a man acting by authority of the Princes Councel, and by Warrant of the Great Seal might be charged with Treason, 2d. part. 18

Seimours.

Queen Jane *was of that Family.* 2
Their Pedigrees, Matches, Acts, Discents, Honours, Issues and Places they had. 2
Sir Edward Seimour, *his Nature, Pedigree, Honours and Atchievements, his Marriages and means whereby his first Wives Children were disinherited.* 2, 3
Tho. Seimour, *his Nature, Performances, Honours, Marriages attempted, reward, and end.* 4, 71
Sir Hen. Seimour, *his Honours, Estate setled on him, his beating of a Priest, who curst him for it, his end, and the great Poverty of his Family.* 4
Tho. *Lord* Seimour *attainted by act of Parliament, and executed; the time when, the manner how his ruine was wrought.* 70

Sermons.

The first time that Sermons were preached in the Kings privy Garden, who first preached there. 57
Preached at St. Pauls *Cross,* London, *which caused a great Tumult of the people, and that caused orders against it, and the Statute against disturbance of Preachers,* 2d. part. 28
Appointed to be every Sunday at Court, when before there were only Sermons *in the* Lent, *and on some great Festivals.* 95
Shrines *suppresst,* Anno 1538. *the riches of* Thomas Becketts *shrine.* 10

Sickness.

When and where the sweating Sickness began and ended. 110
That Englishmen only died of it, and how many died of it in a week in London, *and of what age they were that died of it.* ibid.
A most dangerous sickness reigning all the Kingdom over, whereof three parts of four were infected, and multitudes died thereof, and

and many Bishops, Priests and Magistrates; much Corn then spoiled for want of Labourers, and many Cures thereby were unsupplied, 2d. part. 81

Somerset-house *in the* Strand.

Was built by the Protector Seimour, *with the materials of two Churches, two Chappels, and three Episcopal Seats, which were all pulled down by him, to do that work, and yet there was not any Chappel by him made to that House.* 73

Spirit in the Wall what it was, 2d. part. 37,58

St. John *made Earl of*, Wiltshire. 85

Made Lord Treasurer. 84

Statutes.

Against disturbance of Preachers, and the cause of making that Stat. 2d. part. 28

For repealing the Laws made in behalf of the Reformation in E. 6. *his time*, 2d. part. 28

For invalidating of the Divorce of Qu. Katherine, *and for making that Marriage good*, 2d. part. ibid.

For punishing of traiterous words against Q. Mary, 2d. part. 47

For the putting to death of Hereticks, the several opinions of Cardinal Pole, Gardner *and* Bonner, *about putting the same in execution*, 2d. part. ibid.

What acts were made in the Reign of E. 6. *with the cause of making them.* 48

In 3. E. 6. *for taking down of Images, and bringing in of Antiphonaries, Missals, Breviaries, Offices, Honoraries, Primars and Processionals.* 78

1. Mar. *for the Attainder of* Dudley *Duke of* Northumberland, 2d. part. 29

Enabling Q. Eliz. *to take into her hands during the vacancy of Bishopricks, as many of their Castles, Manours, Lands, &c. as she pleased, and what was done therein.* 2d. part. 120

Restraining the Bishops from making Leases for above 21 *years, or three Lives, except to the Queen, her Heirs or Successors; the design therein*, 2d. part. 121

Steel-yard, *what it was anciently, and why so called*, 109, 112

Stepney *and* Hackney *Manours granted to* Wentworth, *when their contents.* 85

Stourton *created a Baron, when; he was hanged in a silken Halter*, 2d. part. 74

Subsidy.

Released by Q. Mary, *and another granted unto her*, 2d. part. 53

In former Acts of Parliament for Subsidies, an Oath was therein expressed to be given to all persons, to give a just account of their Estates, 2d. part. 53

Sudley *Manour, who were the ancient and several Owners thereof.* 4

Duke of Suffolk.

Released out of prison three dayes after his commitment, to the joy of the Lady Jane, *who died for him, and but once for her self*, 2d. part. 18

Suffragrans, *what they are, and what their jurisdiction was*, 2d. part. 112

Sunday, whether labouring on Sunday in the time of Harvest be lawful, and within the Statute. 38

Supremacy.

The Abbots of Reading, Colchester *and* Glassenbury, *executed for denying the Kings Supremacy, and their Abbies seized.* 10

Of Q. Eliz. *maintained, expounded and proved, her proclamation thereupon. The Declaration of the Bishops and Clergy in Convocation, concluding the meaning thereof*, 2d. part. 108,109,110

Oath of Supremacy, by whom to be taken; the cause why the Peers were exempted from it, 2d. part. ibid.

Bishops that refused to take the Oath of Supremacy in 1. Eliz. *who they were*, 2d. part. 14

Surplice.

Was a Vestment set a part for religious services in primitive times, both in the Eastern and Western Churches, 2d. part. 123

Surveyors, *When that Court was first set up, and when taken down.* 135

Sweden, *An Entercourse concluded with the* Swede *about Trade.* 109

Signing in Churches, how ordered by Qu. Eliz. *Injunctions*, 2d. part. 116

Sion *was formerly a Nunnery, was dissolved*

ſolved by H. 8. *repaired by Qu.* Mary, *diſſolved again by Qu.* Eliz. *to whoſe poſſeſſion it firſt came*, 2d. part. 66

T

Table.

Set up in the room of Altars, the great ſtir how and where it ſhould be placed, and where Prieſts ſhould officiate. 106

The great ſcoffing the Papiſts made about Tables, and the placing them, calling them Oglers boards. 106

How the Holy Table ſhould be placed, by Q. Eliz. *Her Injunctions, in Churches*, 2d. part. 117

Martin Bucer *declared againſt thoſe that would ſit at the Lords Table.* 92

John Alaſco *maintained ſitting at the Lords Table, and why?* 92

Tempeſt that blew up the mud out of a great River, and the Bells out of a Steeple, and other wonderful things, 2d. part. 81

Term.

Michaelmas *Term put off, and* Hillary *Term following kept at* Hartford, *by reaſon of a great Plague at* London, *in* 5 Eliz. 2d. part. 163

St. Thomas *Hoſpital in* Southwark, *when and by whom founded.* 127

Tolleration.

Of ſeveral Religions in a Kingdom very dangerous, 2d. part. 165

Granted by the Qu. of Scots *to the* Proteſtants *there, and they would not allow the ſame to Her*, 2d. part. 160

Tower of *London.*

It was an ancient cuſtom of the Kings of England *immediately on the death of their Predeceſſors, to provide their Lodgings in the* Tower, *taking poſſeſſion by that Royal Fortreſs of the reſt of the Kingdom.* 154

Trade.

The Engliſh had little forraign Trade untill the Reign of E. 6. *moſt forrain Wares being brought in by Eaſterling ſtrangers, and their own Commodities carryed out*, 109

Treaſon.

Whether any Act done by Authority of the Kings Councel, and by Warrant under the Great Seal may be Treaſon, 2d. part. 18

Earl of Devon *executed for Treaſon againſt* Hen. 8. 10

Treaties of Peace.

Between the Engliſh *and the* French *in* 4 E. 6. *who were Commiſſioners on both ſides, and where the Treaty was made.*

In all Treaties there muſt be ſome condeſcendings by the one or the other, yet he that yields the firſt inch of ground, gives the other party a ſtrong hope of obtaining the reſt. 87

Trent Councel.

The Popes proceedings in that Councel, 2d. part. 162

A Letter wrot to Biſhop Jewel, *to have ſome perſons to be ſent from* England *to that Councel, with* Jewels *Anſwer to it*, 2d. part. 146

What ſafe Conduct ſhould have been granted to come to that Councel, 2d. part. 146

The endeavours of ſome to have Qu. Eliz. *and all Proteſtants Excommunicated, the reaſon* pro & cont. 2d. part. 162

The great miſchief that came to the whole Church by that Councel, 2d. part. 162

Tumult.

A great Tumult in London *in Queen* Mary *Reign, cauſed by a Sermon Preached at St.* Pauls-*croſs, at which time Stones and a Dagger were thrown at the Preacher; what courſe was taken to prevent the like for the future*, 2d. part. 22

Twyford, *The Mannor of* Twyford *was anciently part of the poſſeſſions of the Biſhop of* Wincheſter. 4

Tythes.

Why the Clauſe of payment of Tythes of Merchandize, &c. was put into the Statute of 2 E. 6. cap.

The Tythes of London *are belonging to the cognizance of the Lord Mayor there*, 2d. part. 54

Vacan-

Vacancy of Bishopricks.

Why Bishopricks were kept vacant in the beginning of Queen Elizabeths *Reign*, 2d. part. 120

An Act of Parliament made enabling Queen Eliz. *to take into her hands during the vacancy of Bishopricks, as many of the Castles, Manours, Lands, &c. belonging to them as she pleased, and to give them rents out of Impropriations, and for them*, 2d. part. 120

Visitation.

In E. 6. *his time was carried on without any shew of opposition, and submitted unto.* 41

Of Cardinal Pole, *his burning of the dead bodies of* Bucer *and* Fagus, *and burying of* Peter Martyrs *Wives body in a dunghil*, 2d. part. 69

The Articles of Visitation of Cardinal Pole *were the same that are used this day by the Bishops*, 2d. part. ibid.

Who were Visitors in 1. Eliz. *what things they were to inquire after, the over-forwardness of the people therein*, 2d. part. 116, 117

Articles of Visitation to Commissioners in the time of E. 6. *and the Injunctions that were then enjoyned.* 35

W

Wales.

The principality of Wales *hath the Earldom of* Chester *and* Flint *dependents on it.* 14

The Robes and Garments for the Investiture of the Prince of Wales. ibid.

War.

Why the Protector did not prosecute the War in Scotland. 47

Proclaimed by Q. Mary *against the* French, *at the desire of* Philip *her Husband*, 2d. part. 73

Warwick *Earl.*

He conspireth against the Protector. 81

He was purchased to be of the French *party.* 87

Wentworth *made a Baron, and Lord Chamberlain, he got the Manours of* Stepney *and* Hackney *from the Dean of St.* Pauls, 2d. part. ibid.

Westminster.

The Abbey and Cathedral Church were designed by the Protector to have been pulled down, to have made him a house; but it was prevented by the parting with seventeen Manours leased to Tho. *Lord* Seimour *for 99 years, and as many for the Protectors use.* 61

The Bishoprick thereof dissolved by the Kings Letters Patents, and the County of Middlesex *laid to* London, *with the Lands thereof.* 121

The Bishoprick thereof dilapitated by Bishop Thurleby, *and upon its dissolution the Lands thereof were given to St.* Pauls, London, *which caused that Proverb of robbing* Peter *to pay* Paul. ibid.

The Church changed from an Abby to a Deanary, from thence to a See Episcopal, and at last to a Deanary. By whom it was so founded, of what it consists, what privileges it hath granted to it, what worthy men it hath bred, 2d. part. 66, 136

The Dean there is not subject to the Visitation of the Archbishop, and the Dean made his protestation at a Convocation accordingly, and was allowed, 2d. part. 158

Weston *Dr.*

He said that the Protestants had the Word, and they had the sword, 2d. part. 30

His speech at the disputation with Cranmer, &c. *with the laughter thereat, his having of Wine and strong drink by him*, 2d. part. 51

Will.

The last Will of King Henry 8. 22

Willoughby, *created Lord* Willoughby *of* Parham *in* Suffex. 22

Winefreds *Well.*

Indulgencies granted to those that went in Pilgrimage to the same, the cause thereof, 2d. part. 54

Windsor *Chappel, the Lands thereof*

were intended to have been taken away, and the ſame ſuppreſt. 135

Wolſey *Cardinal.*

His deſigns to croſs the Emperor, and why, his deſigns for a Wife for H. 8. *on his Divorce from* Q. Katherine, 2d. part. 4

He is brought into a Premunire, *and had all his goods ſeized on,* 2d. part. 5

He is removed to York, *is arreſted of Treaſon, brought towards* London, *and dyeth by the way at the Abby of* Leiceſter, 2d. part. 5

Wriouſley.

He was a man of mean Parentage, he was created Earl of Southampton. 31

He died deprived of the great Seal. 33,98

Wyat, *his Inſurrection, Infatuation and Defeat, with his and his Complices execution.* 2d. part. 4

York, *The goodly Hall and Epiſcopal Palace in the City were pulled down by* Tho. Young, *the Archbiſhop thereof; when the ſame were built,* 2d. part. 138

FINIS.